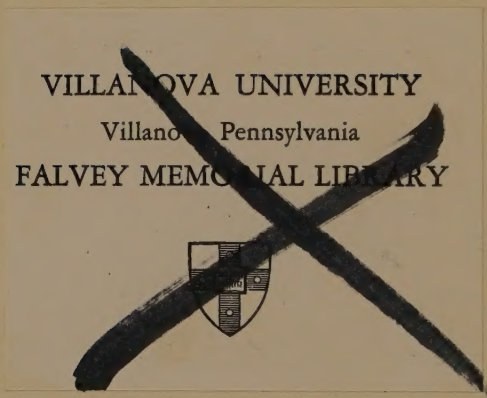

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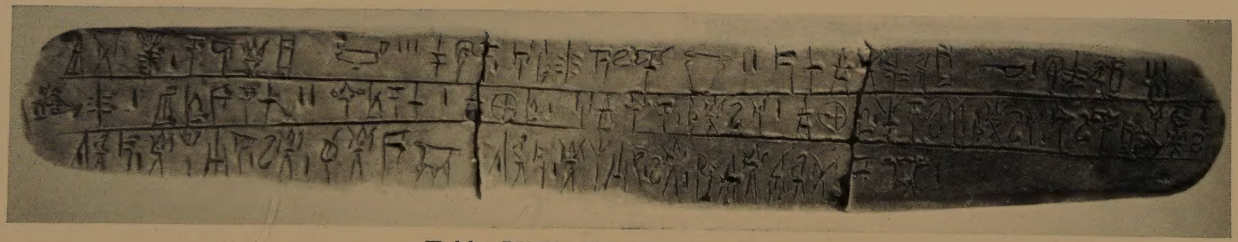
THE INTERPRETATION OF MYCENAEAN GREEK TEXTS



Tablet PY Ta 709+712 (see p. 29)

THE INTERPRETATION OF MYCENAEAN GREEK TEXTS

BY

L. R. PALMER

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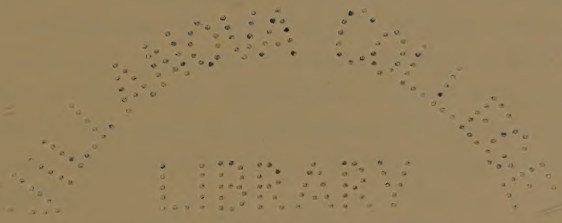

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PREFACE

THIS book was first conceived in 1956 as an 'Introduction to Mycenaean Philology' with a purpose at once protreptic and didactic. The decipherment of the Linear B script by the late Michael Ventris had made available written documents rich in information for students of the Mycenaean Age, a period which hitherto had been the preserve of prehistorians. It was noteworthy, however, that professional ancient historians, with few exceptions, were holding aloof and maintaining an attitude of reserve. This is still largely true in October 1962 as these words go to press. It must be frankly admitted that there were good reasons for such reserve in 1956. Even for those who judged that the decipherment was beyond challenge, the 'Philologie' of textual interpretation was still in its infancy. The first necessary step of testing the decipherment was to set the syllabic words, as deciphered by Ventris, in parallel with the Greek lexicon and to make identifications by applying the spelling rules. This method was virtually exhausted by Ventris himself in his *Glossary of 1556 Linear B Sign Groups* (distributed Christmas, 1953). It produced self-evident word identifications with contextual control in numbers which sufficed to put the decipherment beyond reasonable doubt.

Such, however, is the elasticity of the spelling rules that many of the possible equations yielded texts which lacked plausibility within the given 'counting house' context. It was now necessary to apply another method, well tried and tested in the interpretation of newly deciphered texts. As I wrote in 1954 (LP 3. 18), 'Greek is reduced to a bewildering number of homograms .... Only the context can decide which is the most probable or the least unlikely rendering.' The present work is a systematic attempt to carry out this programme. The meaning of the syllabically written words is circumscribed as far as possible by textual analysis before the lexicon is consulted. There has been some misunderstanding of this approach, with accusations

145827

of inconsistency: I have been reproached for constantly using myself the method which I decry in others. I take the opportunity of further clarifying the matter.

All elucidations of the Linear B texts in the last resort rest upon the self-evident 'etymological' identifications first made by Ventris. These are the foundation piles which he drove into the subsoil of Greek. Thus far we cannot dispense with the etymological method. It is the same in comparative philology. This science is based on the handful of self-evident word equations from which we extract the 'sound laws'. These form our 'hypotheses', subject to ever-renewed procedures of verification. Ventris's spelling rules are our sound laws. They are likewise to be regarded as hypotheses, and sound scientific methodology demands their reduction to a minimum. The approach adhered to in this book is 'economical' in this sense. It is also experimental and its results are tentative. This will not surprise those familiar with the uncertainties of the later texts written in the similar Cypriot syllabary. Compare, for instance, the versions of the Tsepis Stele by T. B. Mitford (*Minos* vi, 1958, 37 ff.), A. Scherer (*Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 144), and O. Masson (*Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, 304 ff.).

An example will serve as a further demonstration of the method. It is chosen deliberately to bring out the inherent uncertainties and also the limits set to this book. The texts exhibit an enclitic *-qe*. In a number of instances this clearly has the meaning 'and', and it is rightly identified with the Greek τε, with an initial labio-velar consonant long established for this word by comparative study. There are, however, other examples where this rendering of *-qe* produces nonsense. The distribution suggests that the syllable is attached to verb-forms (and to the negative) with a future reference, with a consequential effect on the word order. In so far as we are concerned here merely with the interpretation of the texts, the matter could be allowed to rest there. But the solution is not complete until the 'Mycenaean' word-form has been brought into relation with those of the later Greek dialects. Here the potential-prospective particle presents the forms κε(ν), κᾱ, ἄν. If, on the basis of the

diagnosed function, we equate these with the Linear B *-qe*, this implies that all the 'Hellenic' forms arose in the post-negative position, for only this could account for the consonant. This result is all the more interesting because it is merely an extension of a solution already proposed independently by Miss K. Forbes and myself (see A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings (edd.), *A Companion to Homer*, 91 f.) to explain the apparent deviation of Attic-Ionic *ἄν* from the other dialect forms. The further implication that all the later dialect forms are post-Mycenaean developments will complicate still more the calculus of dialect relations. An Indo-Europeanist will be required to take the question a stage further. He will pose the question what other reflections there are of the postulated Greek constellation $q^{w}en/q^{w}n̥$, $q^{w}ā$. The possibilities presented by Gothic *-hun* (likewise after a negative), Sanskrit *cana* (as pointed out to me by Professor E. Risch, who has arrived independently at the same solution), etc., are reserved for discussion elsewhere.

The foregoing example was chosen to emphasize the limitation of this book to 'interpretation' because it occurs in texts of considerable interest to historians—the documents relating to land-holding. It has been asserted and widely repeated that the general picture of the land-tenure system offered in previous studies is an Indo-European construction foisted on the texts from the outside. This is a misapprehension. Comparative philology is the comparison of the linguistic results reached by separate 'philologies'. In each linguistic field textual analysis and interpretation crystallize into grammar and lexicography. The work of the comparatist begins after, and rests upon, this preliminary groundwork. Our present task is essentially confined to the 'Philologie' of the Linear B texts. The reader will find no Indo-European constructions.

As is shown in detail below, the first step in the elucidation of the land 'book' is to arrange the 'pages' in their proper order. At once a grouping of entries becomes apparent which is also reflected in the totalling tablets: the *te-re-ta* are physically separated from the religious functionaries, and have craftsman affinities with *wa-na-ka-te-ro* connexions. Only after this preliminary

'diagnosis' do we face the problem of 'etymological' identification. If the solution τελεστάς is acceptable, we next have to decide which translation to choose. 'Man of the τέλος' would be the least venturesome; but for reasons set forth below I have preferred 'service man' (of the king). Again, *e-qe-ta* is shown by textual analysis to be a religious functionary, who also appears in the 'coastguard' texts and is there referred to by name and patronymic. The etymological identification as ἑqʷέτας leads to the literal translation 'Companion'. Others prefer the Latin *comes*, and I have decided on the English equivalent 'Count' because the use of name and patronymic suggests a grandee. No harm will be done if the terms used in the translation are read along with the detailed discussion and not taken *au pied de la lettre*.

This primarily analytical method has been applied systematically to all the main series of Linear B texts. In practice this meant working through the Pylos texts, including the important finds published since the appearance of *Documents*, and bringing in texts from the less-well-preserved Knossos archives and the few texts from Mycenae at the appropriate place according to their subject-matter. Many of the texts are too fragmentary for treatment in this way, and suggestions for such words as occur in them will be found in the glossary.

While the exposition has been deliberately devised to exhibit at once the potentialities and the uncertainties of these Bronze Age texts, the first part retains the features of an introductory manual. It seeks to provide the student with brief answers to some of the questions which he will ask on first approaching these texts: the finds, the editions, the puzzling system of classification, the script, and its transliteration. The discussion is limited to what is absolutely essential since a fuller treatment with ample illustration is available from Ventris's hand in *Documents*. Space had to be found, however, for the discussion of signs and sign values which were still unrecognized or unsolved in 1956. The latter part of the Introduction gathers up the threads and summarizes the results of the detailed exegeses in the main body of the book. The Glossary, which is also the word index, contains the bulk of extant Linear B words. Experience has shown

that it is inconvenient to separate place-names and personal names from vocabulary words, but the main classifications have been shown by marginal indications: P = place-name, E = ethnic, M = man, and W = woman.

My main indebtedness is, of course, to *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. The chief obligations in addition to this are noted at the beginning of each section, the abbreviations being those adopted for *Studies in Mycenaean Inscriptions and Dialect*. Space forbade the detailed discussion of the multifarious and interesting proposals which are implicitly rejected. I tender apologies for the seeming discourtesy. However, what is offered may be regarded as no more than a sustained experiment. Much remains, and will possibly always remain, debatable.

The work has been long in the press, and for technical reasons it would have been difficult and expensive to take account of the work which has appeared since February 1960. However, the articles of the Glossary offer some compensation since this was compiled at a late stage of the work. Attention may also be drawn to the Addenda.

I wish to thank Miss G. R. Hart for much criticism and invaluable help in preparing the typescript. Gratitude is also due to Dr. Ch. Karouzos of the National Museum, Athens, and to Dr. N. Platon, formerly of the Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, for generous facilities in studying the Linear B texts in their charge. Great help was also provided by Dr. Carl Albiker, who lent optical apparatus and instructed me in its use. My wife consented to put her experience of scientific drawing at my disposal and spent long hours in the museums analysing the 'hands', especially of the Pylos Cn series. The organization of these texts into sets was basic to their interpretation: at once the evidence offered for a system of 'transhumance' was seen to be illusory.

Finally, acknowledgement is due to Miss Alison Frantz and to the *American Journal of Archaeology* for permission to reproduce tablet PY Ta 709+712 for the frontispiece. Fig. 4 is based on the facsimile published in *AJA* 62. 1958. Plate 43. The significance of the text in testing the decipherment is discussed below (pp. 29 ff.).

L. R. PALMER

October 1962

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INTRODUCTION

I. EPIGRAPHY

THE FINDS

OBJECTS inscribed with what later came to be known as 'Minoan' writing came to the notice of Sir Arthur Evans from 1889 onwards in the shape of bead seals engraved with hieroglyphic characters. Evans succeeded in tracing them all to Crete, and in 1893 he announced to the Hellenic Society the existence of a Cretan system of hieroglyphics comprising some sixty symbols. Further discoveries enabled him to distinguish a linear phase of the same script, which he later subdivided into an earlier phase Linear 'A' and a later Linear 'B'. In March 1900 Evans began to excavate on the Hill of Kephala, the site of the ancient Knossos, and within a matter of weeks he had unearthed hundreds of inscribed tablets, some still embedded in the charred remains of the wooden box which had presumably contained them. Subsequent discoveries brought the number of tablets to close on 3,000, most of which are inscribed in the second or 'B' phase of the linear script.

Evans has described his discovery of the successive types of Minoan writing in *Scripta Minoa* i 8–18, which besides the hieroglyphic and Linear A material included fourteen Linear B tablets. Another 120 figured in *Palace of Minos* iv, but complete publication was not achieved until after Evans's death, in *Scripta Minoa* ii (1952).

Indispensable as this edition is for showing the structure and lay-out of the tablets, the authoritative text is that in transliterated form: *The Knossos Tablets*, by E. L. Bennett, J. Chadwick, and M. Ventris (ed.), 1956 = *KT*; revised ed. 1959).

Until 1939 Mainland use of the script was known only from inscribed jars. The largest find was made in 1921, when twenty-eight stirrup-jars painted with Linear B signs were found in the Mycenaean palace in the Kadmeion at Thebes. Similar finds have been made at Eleusis, Mycenae, Orchomenos, and Tiryns. They have been published with photographs by G. P. Carratelli (1945). The fact that so many of these vessels bear

Cretan place-names (see p. 275) casts doubt on their Mainland provenance.

In 1939 C. W. Blegen found some 621 Linear B tablets in a room (the 'Archives Room') of the Mycenaean 'Palace of Nestor' at Ano Englianos, some 6 miles north of the classical Pylos. In the summer of 1952 484 more pieces were unearthed, yielding after joining some 350 tablets. The definitive publication is E. L. Bennett, *The Pylos Tablets*, 1955 (= *PT* ii). Further finds were made in 1954 and 1955 (E. L. Bennett, *The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos*, 1958); and again in 1957, 1958, and 1959 (C. W. Blegen and M. Lang, 'The Palace of Nestor, excavations of 1957', *AJA* 62. 1958. 175–91, with plates 38–49; 63. 1959. 121–37, with plates 25–34; 64. 1959. 153–64, with plates 44–47).

At Mycenae Linear B tablets were found in and near houses outside the palace wall by A. J. B. Wace in 1952–4. The definitive publication is *The Mycenae Tablets* ii ed. E. L. Bennett, 1958 (= *MT* ii). More pieces have been reported during road-widening operations at Mycenae in 1957: see S. Marinatos, *Praktika* 33. 1958. 166–71.

The tablets are of two types. The so-called 'palm-leaf' shape is an elongated slip of clay with writing running parallel to the long sides with usually not more than two lines. The second type takes the form of a rectangular page with height greater than width. There may be as many as twenty-nine lines of writing and the entries are often arranged in columns. The Pylos (PY) land tablets (pp. 186 ff.) show evidence that the palm-leaf type were sometimes provisional notes, later combined in records of the page type (see pp. 189 f.), which formed sets, the first tablet of the set beginning with a brief indication of the contents of the document and sometimes the occasion on which it was compiled (e.g. En 609 = No. 78, Ta 711 = No. **248**). Below it will be argued that the CATTLE tablets form similar series with headings of the type *pi-*82 we-re-ke*= 'Herds of Phia'. The tablets were apparently stored in baskets or boxes which were tied with string and then sealed. Surviving clay sealings show brief inscriptions indicating the contents of the boxes (*MT* ii 102–5; JC 12. 1–5).

The tablets show a flat writing surface, whereas the back is domed 'and often bears traces of hand- and finger-prints' (MV in *Docs.* 11). It is concluded that the tablets were prepared for use from the clay by pressing a lump on a flat surface as they were required. Wace (*MT* ii 14) observes that the Mycenae (MY) tablets 'seem to have been coated . . . with a fine mud-coloured clay on which lines were incised. . . . The writing was done apparently while the clay was still damp and it does not appear that the tablets were baked but merely allowed to dry, perhaps in the sun.' The same holds good of Pylos and Knossos. In all three places the preservation of the tablets has been due to accidental baking in the conflagrations which destroyed the palaces.[1] The conclusion imposes itself that all the records refer to transactions in the last year of the respective palaces. This is borne out by the occurrence only of the names of months and of the expressions 'this year,' 'last year', and 'next year' (see further below, p. 305).

The tablet prepared, the scribe divided it up by cross-lines. The palm-leaf type mostly have a single line of writing, but examples are known which contain two and three lines (e.g. the Pylos Ta tablets (pp. 338 ff.), of which Ta 721, with five lines, is intermediate between the palm-leaf and the page type). Particularly characteristic are the Knossos (KN) CATTLE tablets (pp. 177 ff.) which begin with a proper name written majuscule, whereas the other entries appear in two lines divided by a horizontal ruling. The page type is used for longer and more complex entries. In the E series (pp. 186 ff.) the earlier palm-leaf versions, containing individual entries, were later consolidated in a more complex document consisting of a set of page tablets. Entries in both types which required more space than the single line at the disposal of the scribe are usually continued above the line already written, so that such upper lines are to be read second. Additional glosses are sometimes written in this suprascript position. Occasionally

[1] For the effect of water on sun-dried tablets we may quote the story told by Pausanias (iv 31) about the action of Temenos in deciding the allocation of Messenia. He put the lots into a vessel containing water. The lot of the sons of Aristodemus was merely sun-dried (*ξηρᾶς ἀπὸ ἡλίου*) and so disintegrated unlike that of Cresphontes, which was fire-baked (*ὀπτῆς πυρί*).

they form headings which may have no syntactical connexion with the rest of the text (e.g. *po-me ποιμήν* in Ea 817). Subordination of some entries to others may be indicated by reducing the size of the characters (see p. 273).

Paragraphing is indicated by leaving one line or more blank. Of particular interest is the 'calendar of offerings' (PY Tn 316), where the initial *pu-ro* is written the full height of each paragraph, a fact which must be exploited in the interpretation (see p. 261).

The texts present two categories of entry: (1) signs followed by some numerical indications, and (2) to the left of these, a continuous text consisting of one or more groups of signs divided by a short vertical line. The two categories were diagnosed by Evans as ideograms and syllabic signs respectively.

SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION

In his edition of the Pylos tablets E. L. Bennett adopted a classification 'designed to bring together for more significant comparison texts of similar content'. The primary divisions were determined by the ideograms. Each series having a common ideogram was allotted a capital letter (A = MAN/WOMAN C = CATTLE, etc.). Each series was then subdivided, the determining factors being modifications and combinations of the ideograms, shape of the tablet, set patterns of words, etc. Such sub-classes were indicated by adding a lower-case letter to the capital. The number following the double-letter prefix is the excavator's inventory number. One source of confusion must be noted. The F class was originally intended to include commodities measured in dry measure other than WHEAT (class E) and the class G for commodities in liquid measure, but this was overlooked in the extension of the system to the Knossos tablets and the Mycenae tablets (*MT* ii 10). Consequently many of the OIL tablets carry the prefix F instead of the intended G. In referring to a tablet it is necessary, in addition to the double-letter prefix and inventory number, to indicate the site where the tablet was found. Thus a complete reference has the form PY Tn 316.

Conspectus of the Classificatory System

Class	*Ideogram*
Aa (PY)	WOMAN+*ko-wa*+*ko-wo*+DA+TA
Ab (PY)	,, ,, ,, ,, +WHEAT+FIGS
Ad (PY)	MAN+*ko-wo*
Ae (PY)	MAN
Ag (KN)	MAN^{c}+WOMAN+*ko-wa*+*ko-wo*
Ai (KN)	WOMAN+*ko-wa*+*ko-wo*+WHEAT
Ak (KN)	WOMAN+*ko-wa*+*ko-wo*+DA+TA
Am (KN)	MAN+*ko-wo*
An (PY, page type)	MAN
Ap (KN, page type)	WOMAN
As (KN, page type)	MAN
Au (MY)	MAN
B (KN)	SEATED MAN (= MAN^{B})
Be (PY)	SEATED MAN (= MAN^{B})
Ca (KN)	EQUINE
Cc (PY)	CATTLE
Ce (KN)	CATTLE
Ch (KN)	BULL (also OX+*170)
Cn (PY, page type)	CATTLE
Co (KN)	CATTLE
C (KN)	CATTLE
Da (KN)	RAM
Db (KN)	RAM+EWE
Dc (KN)	RAM
Dd (KN)	RAM+EWE
De (KN)	RAM+EWE
Df (KN)	RAM+EWE
Dg (KN)	RAM+EWE
Dk (KN)	RAM+WOOL
Dl (KN)	EWE+*ki*. RAM+WOOL
Dm (KN)	RAM
Dn (KN)	RAM

Class		*Ideogram*
Do	(KN)	EWE+RAM
Dv	(KN)	RAM+EWE
Dw	(KN)	RAM+EWE
Dx	(KN)	RAM+EWE
E		WHEAT

(for subdivisions see pp. 186 ff.)

Fa	(PY)	CYPERUS?+O (see p. 302), UNGUENT
Fg	(PY)	WHEAT+FIGS
Fh	(KN)	OIL
Fn	(PY)	BARLEY
Fo	(MY)	OIL
Fp	(KN)	OIL
Fr	(PY)	OIL
Fs	(KN)	BARLEY+FIGS+OIL+FLOUR+WINE+HONEY
F	(KN)	Miscellaneous provisions
Ga	(KN)	CONDIMENT
Ge	(MY)	SPICES
Gg	(KN)	HONEY+AMPHORA
Gn	(PY)[1]	WINE
Go	(MY)	*134 (a liquid, LINSEED OIL?)
Gv	(KN)	TREE
G	(KN)	WINE, etc.
Jn	(PY)	BRONZE
Jo	(PY)	GOLD
J	(KN)	BRONZE
K	(KN)	VESSELS
La	(PY)	CLOTH
Lc	(KN)	CLOTH+WOOL
Ld	(KN)	CLOTH+BAG (?)
Le	(KN)	CLOTH+WOOL
L	(KN)	CLOTH

[1] Gn 1184 with OIL+WE should be strictly F.

Class	*Ideogram*
Ma (PY)	*146, etc. (see pp. 300 ff.)
Mc (KN)	*142, etc.
Mn (PY)	*146 (see pp. 300 ff.)
M (KN)	*146, etc. (see pp. 300 ff.)
Na (PY)	SA
Nc (KN)	SA+LB
Ng (PY)	SA
Nn (PY)	SA
Ng (KN)	SAFFRON
Oa (KN)	INGOT
Od (KN)	WOOL (see p. 239)
Oe (MY)	WOOL
Og (KN)	LB
On (PY)	*154 (see pp. 300 ff.)
Pa (PY)	*169
Pn (PY)	*169
Pp (KN)	ADZE
Qa (PY 1957)	*189 (= KE)
Ra (KN)	SWORD
R (KN)	SPEAR, ARROW
Sa (PY)	WHEEL
Sc (KN)	CORSLET+CHARIOT[a]+HORSE
Sd (KN)	CHARIOT[b]
Se (KN)	CHARIOT[b]
Sf (KN)	CHARIOT[c]
Sg (KN)	CHARIOT[c]
Sh (PY)	CORSLET
Sn (PY)	ZE+*171
So (KN)	WHEEL
Ta (PY)	HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT
Tn (PY)	VESSELS+WOMAN+MAN

Class	*Ideogram*
Ua (PY)	Miscellaneous provisions and animals
Ub (PY, 1957)	E
Uc (KN)	Miscellaneous
Ue (MY)	Miscellaneous provisions
Uf (KN)	DA+PA
Un (PY)	Miscellaneous provisions and animals.
U (KN)	Miscellaneous rare ideograms
Va (PY)	Numerals only
Vc (KN)	,, ,,
Vd (KN)	Names separated by vertical divisions
Vn (PY, page type)	Numerals only
V (KN)	,, ,,
Wa (PY)	Labels
Wb (KN)	Labels
Wr (PY)	Sealings
Ws (KN)	Sealings
Wt (MY)	Sealings
X	Fragments
Z	Painted inscriptions

THE IDEOGRAMS

The 'ideograms' (see Fig. 1) are not strictly speaking ideograms in the sense in which the term is applied to certain signs of oriental scripts, where they appear along with syllabic signs in continuous texts. They are rather indicators of commodity and also of their units of measurement like £ and $. Some of them are readily recognizable (e.g. MAN, WOMAN, HORSE, CHARIOT, TRIPOD, etc.). The meaning of others must be gathered from the words which accompany; e.g. *130[1] found together with *e-ra*$_3$*-wo* = ἔλαιϝον

[1] The syllabic signs are given numbers 1–89, as numbered by S. Dow (*AJA* 58. 1954. 88) in accordance with Bennett's order of the syllabary. The numerical references for the ideograms were devised by Ventris and Bennett. They are 'divided into functional groups corresponding to the break-down in Bennett's *Index* 107–17; and these groups have been numbered beginning 100, 110, 120, etc., with some provision of spare numbers for future additions' (*Minos* 4:1. 1956. 6).

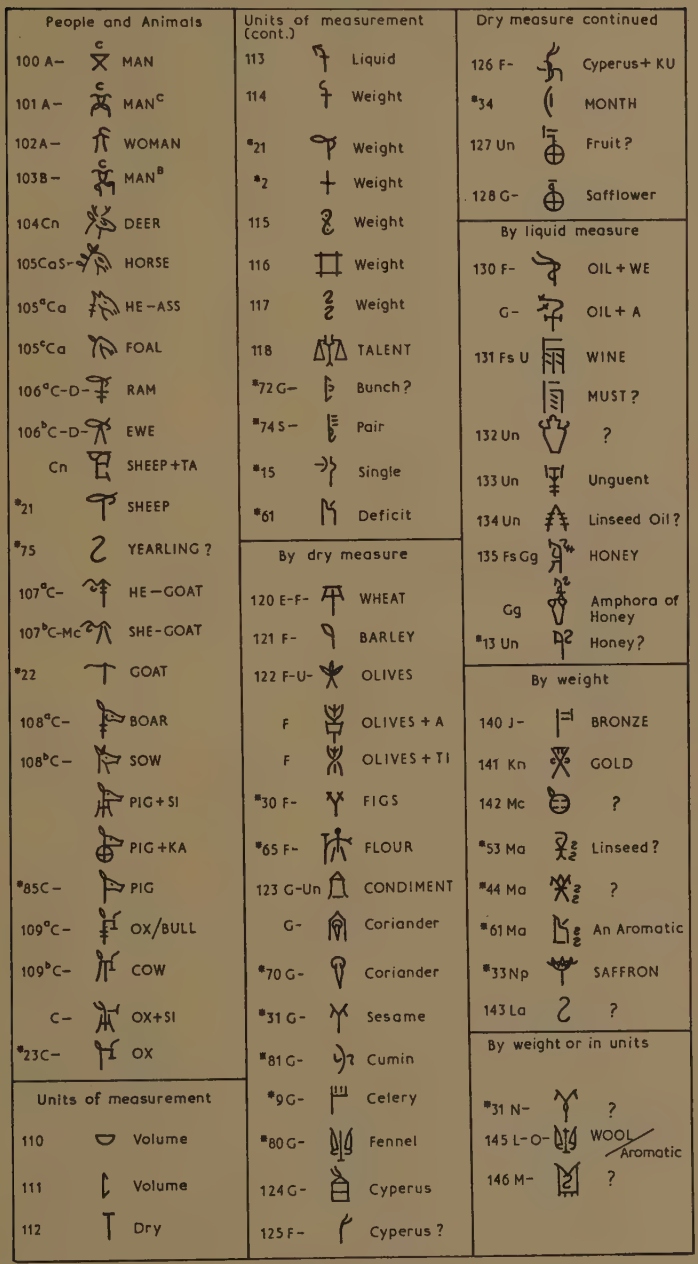
People and Animals
100 A– MAN
101 A– MAN^C
102A– WOMAN
103B– MAN^B
104Cn DEER
105CaS– HORSE
105°Ca HE–ASS
105ᶜCa FOAL
106°C-D– RAM
106ᵇC-D– EWE
Cn SHEEP+TA
*21 SHEEP
*75 YEARLING ?
107°C– HE–GOAT
107ᵇC-Mc SHE-GOAT
*22 GOAT
108°C– BOAR
108ᵇC– SOW
PIG+SI
PIG+KA
*85C– PIG
109°C– OX/BULL
109ᵇC– COW
C– OX+SI
*23C– OX
Units of measurement
110 Volume
111 Volume
112 Dry
Units of measurement (cont.)
113 Liquid
114 Weight
*21 Weight
*2 Weight
115 Weight
116 Weight
117 Weight
118 TALENT
*72 G– Bunch?
*74 S– Pair
*15 Single
*61 Deficit
By dry measure
120 E-F– WHEAT
121 F– BARLEY
122 F-U– OLIVES
F OLIVES + A
F OLIVES + TI
*30 F– FIGS
*65 F– FLOUR
123 G-Un CONDIMENT
G– Coriander
*70 G– Coriander
*31 G– Sesame
*81 G– Cumin
*9 G– Celery
*80 G– Fennel
124 G– Cyperus
125 F– Cyperus ?
Dry measure continued
126 F– Cyperus+ KU
*34 MONTH
127 Un Fruit?
128 G– Safflower
By liquid measure
130 F– OIL + WE
G– OIL + A
131 Fs U WINE
MUST?
132 Un ?
133 Un Unguent
134 Un Linseed Oil?
135 Fs Gg HONEY
Gg Amphora of Honey
*13 Un Honey?
By weight
140 J– BRONZE
141 Kn GOLD
142 Mc ?
*53 Ma Linseed?
*44 Ma ?
*61 Ma An Aromatic
*33 Np SAFFRON
143 La ?
By weight or in units
*31 N– ?
145 L-O– WOOL / Aromatic
146 M– ?

FIG. 1 (part 1)

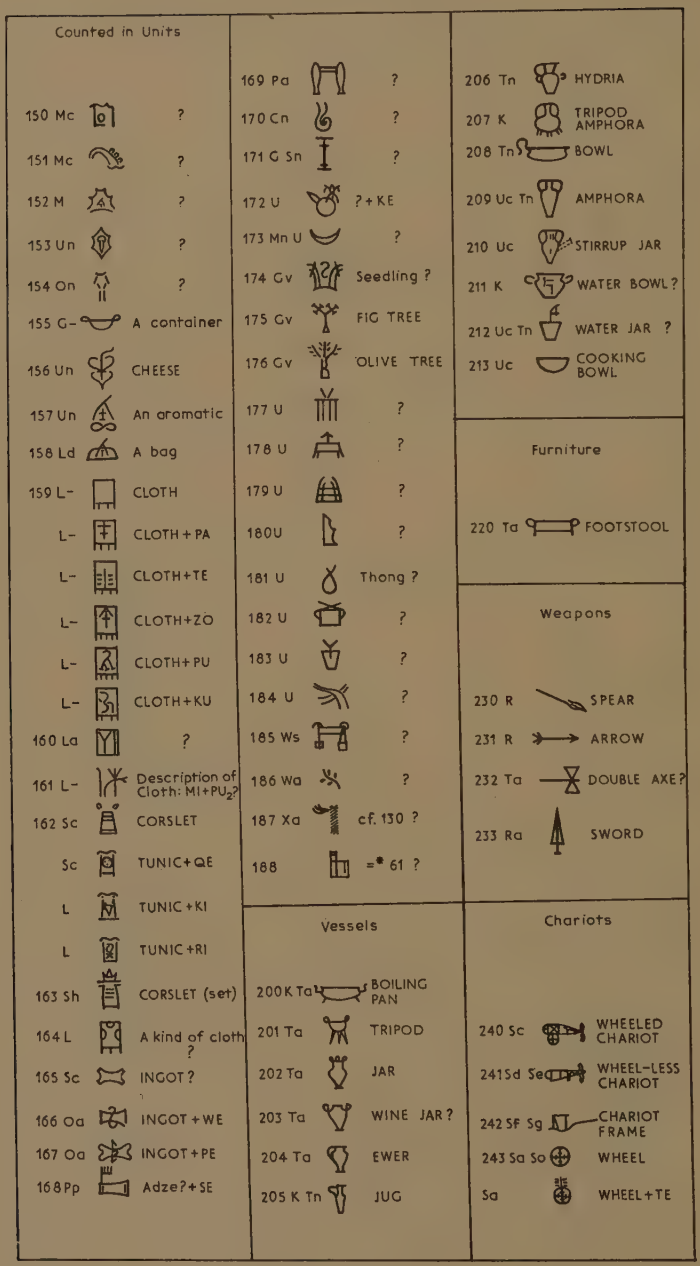
Counted in Units
150 Mc ?
151 Mc ?
152 M ?
153 Un ?
154 On ?
155 G- A container
156 Un CHEESE
157 Un An aromatic
158 Ld A bag
159 L- CLOTH
L- CLOTH+PA
L- CLOTH+TE
L- CLOTH+ZO
L- CLOTH+PU
L- CLOTH+KU
160 La ?
161 L- Description of Cloth: MI+PU2?
162 Sc CORSLET
Sc TUNIC+QE
L TUNIC+KI
L TUNIC+RI
163 Sh CORSLET (set)
164 L A kind of cloth ?
165 Sc INGOT?
166 Oa INGOT+WE
167 Oa INGOT+PE
168 Pp Adze?+SE
169 Pa ?
170 Cn ?
171 G Sn ?
172 U ?+KE
173 Mn U ?
174 Gv Seedling ?
175 Gv FIG TREE
176 Gv OLIVE TREE
177 U ?
178 U ?
179 U ?
180 U ?
181 U Thong ?
182 U ?
183 U ?
184 U ?
185 Ws ?
186 Wa ?
187 Xa cf. 130 ?
188 =* 61 ?
Vessels
200 K Ta BOILING PAN
201 Ta TRIPOD
202 Ta JAR
203 Ta WINE JAR?
204 Ta EWER
205 K Tn JUG
206 Tn HYDRIA
207 K TRIPOD AMPHORA
208 Tn BOWL
209 Uc Tn AMPHORA
210 Uc STIRRUP JAR
211 K WATER BOWL?
212 Uc Tn WATER JAR ?
213 Uc COOKING BOWL
Furniture
220 Ta FOOTSTOOL
Weapons
230 R SPEAR
231 R ARROW
232 Ta DOUBLE AXE?
233 Ra SWORD
Chariots
240 Sc WHEELED CHARIOT
241 Sd Se WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT
242 SF Sg CHARIOT FRAME
243 Sa So WHEEL
Sa WHEEL+TE

FIG. 1 (part 2)

Notes on the Ideograms

103. MAN[B]: possibly = 'craftsman' (see p. 137).
***75.** Some kind of sheep, possibly *κέταλον* (see *Docs.* p. 196).
***61.** For the addition of O. to the list of aromatic substances, see p. 302.
124, 125, 126. For the view that these may all represent aromatic substances, see pp. 300 ff.
130. For the surcharged OIL ideogram, see pp. 245 f., where it is suggested that OIL = olive oil and the surcharged ideograms other types of vegetable oil.
***31.** For the possibility that SA is a standard container for certain types of commodity connected with perfume making, see pp. 310 ff. SA measured by weight is presumably an abbreviation for *sa-sa-mo* (see p. 272).
141. For the two forms of the GOLD ideogram, see p. 263 n. 1.
145. For the confusion between MA and WOOL, see p. 270.
146. For the suggestion that this is not 'textiles' but some kind of aromatic substance, see pp. 300 ff.
152. Possibly not SKIN but some kind of aromatic or its standard container (see pp. 300 ff.).
154. See p. 301.
158. BAG (container for cloths?) (see p. 293).
159. For the CLOTH ideograms and their wool ratios, see pp. 290 ff.

'olive oil'. The ideograms are sometimes fused with a syllabic sign which often appears 'surcharged'. Thus an AMPHORA may bear the sign *A*, this being the initial of the word in question. The PIG may be fused with the sign *SI* or *KA*, possibly standing for *σίαλος* (?) and *κάπρος* (?). Such syllabic signs are frequently written before the ideogram. These concomitant syllabic signs form the class of 'adjuncts'. They give an additional specification to the value of the sign. See, for instance, on the CLOTH tablets, pp. 290 ff. Not seldom syllabic signs standing alone serve as 'ideograms'. NI (tentatively identified as 'figs'), SA (see p. 274), and MA (see p. 272) are examples. A whole syllabic word may appear as a monogram before a numerical: for example, *156 *tu* + ro_2 = *τυρός* CHEESE, and *me*+ *ri* = *μέλι* HONEY. Such ligatured words might be called 'logograms'.

The symbols used in the Linear B script to indicate weights and measures were convincingly analysed and explained by Bennett (1950). Whereas in Linear A quantities were calculated in terms of successive fractions of a single major unit, the Mycenaeans who used Linear B had for weight, dry measure, and wet measure a series of signs for units of decreasing size bearing a fixed proportionate value, much like £ *s. d.* or cwt. qrs. lb. oz. The largest unit of weight is indicated by a sign representing

a pair of scales. This presumably stands for a talent (*Docs.* 57). In the weight series successive sub-units show the following fractional values of the major unit: $1 : \frac{1}{30} : \frac{1}{120} : \frac{1}{1440}(?) : \frac{1}{8640}(?)$. That is to say, the ratios in ascending order are $6 \times 12 \times 4 \times 30$, such that six of the smallest units make one of the next highest and so on.

Capacity is measured in two series, one for dry measure and the other for wet measure. The ratios for dry measure in descending order are $1 : \frac{1}{10} : \frac{1}{60} : \frac{1}{240}$; the relationships can also be expressed as $1 \times 4 \times 6 \times 10$, this series representing the ratios of adjacent sub-units in ascending order. For wet measure the corresponding figures are $1 : \frac{1}{3} : \frac{1}{18} : \frac{1}{72}$ or, in ascending order, $1 \times 4 \times 6 \times 3$. The two smallest units are common to both systems, but the largest units of the dry and wet series are in the ratio of 10 : 3. VC compare 'our own two series, which share pint and quart but diverge to bushel and gallon' (*Docs.* 55).

In attempting to determine the absolute values of the above capacity measures we take as our starting-point the fact that five of the second largest unit in the dry series represent the basic minimum monthly ration of wheat for a man (see pp. 116 ff.). Since this is equivalent to thirty (5×6) of the next smallest unit, it follows that the daily ration was one of these smaller units. This enables us to equate it tentatively with the *choenix*, which in later times was the standard basic ration of wheat for a man (see p. 96). We now proceed to make a series of deductions from this equation to test its plausibility, bearing in mind that the daily ration in question may have had a fairly wide range of variation and that the *choenix* itself was of different capacity in different parts of Greece.

The *choenix* in later times was divided into four *kotylae*, a word which in Homer is used with reference to a cup (e.g. *Il.* 22. 494 of the cup held to the lips of Astyanax). Now the unit which we have equated with the *choenix* is likewise divided into four, and the ideogram which represents this smaller unit has the appearance of a small cup or basin. Above the two lower units the Attic and the Mycenaean systems diverge. In the former 8 *choenices* make a *hekteus* and 6 *hekteis* a *medimnos*. In the

Mycenaean system 6 'choenices' make the next highest unit, and 10 of these go into the major unit, which consequently measures 240 'kotylae' according to our deductions. If we now take the Attic capacity as our basis, this means that the major Mycenaean measure of dry volume was roughly 54 litres ($60 \times 0{\cdot}9$, this last being the estimated value for the *choenix*, see *Docs.* 56 f.). The figure for the Attic *medimnos* is 43·5 litres. However, if the Spartan ('Pheidonian') *medimnos* was some three-sevenths larger (*Docs.* 37), and so approximated to 62 litres, it will be seen that our figure lies between the Attic and the Spartan major unit of dry measure and closer to the latter.

There is little inherent plausibility in the figure of 120 litres arrived at in *Documents* on the basis of more complex calculations and suppositions. It is highly questionable whether the figures of *eruthra* and *leuka* in the Mycenae 'spice' tablets (pp. 271 ff.) are to be equated, and the conversion factor of a density of about 15 lb. per cu. ft. of *eruthra* assumed 'for the sake of argument' is arbitrary. What vitiates the calculation is the failure to determine the nature of the 'surplus' in the Pylos Ab series (see p. 117) with its 5:2:1 ratio and the consequent misapprehension of the important information contained in KN Am 819, where the same ratio 5:1 is observed as between the monthly rations of men and boys. Further, in PY An 128 the figure BARLEY 'choenices' 322 (plus some fraction) on the reverse is not necessarily to be added to the figure WHEAT 'choenices' 161½ on the obverse, where there was plenty of room for the scribe to add the barley entry had he so wished. The figure for barley is precisely double that for wheat, and the figure on the reverse may be merely an 'endorsement', a bookkeeping entry where the wheat is converted into barley at the conversion rate of 2 for 1. Analogous bookkeeping practices are known from Egypt (see J. Černy (1954)). Thus, so far from being the monthly rations for fifty-two men, the grain figure on An 128 represents only a fraction more than the rations for three days (see pp. 232 f.).

We now pursue further the consequence of our equation of the basic daily ration with the *choenix*. The two lower units, the 'kotyla' and the 'choenix', are identical in the dry and the wet

series. But thereafter they diverge: there are 6×10 'choenices' in the highest unit of dry measure and only 6×3 in the major wet-volume measure. If the capacity of the lower units was identical in the two series, the major unit of wet measure in Mycenaean Greece would have been 18 'choenices', that is to say, on the above estimate, some 16 litres. As is pointed out in *Documents* (59 f.), 'the most frequent size of Mycenaean stirrup-jar . . . has a capacity of approximately 12–14 l. Like our own quart and pint bottles, it is likely that this stirrup-jar represents a unitary quantity in the system of liquid measure.' As will be seen, this is very close to our own deduced estimate for the major unit of wet measure. In *Documents* (see p. 59), the capacity of the stirrup-jar is arbitrarily equated with the *second* highest unit in order to bring the figure into alignment with their estimate for the corresponding unit of dry measure. However, it is possible to check the two proposals by comparing PY Gn 428 with Fn 314. The former text records issues of wine, and the latter payments of barley. As we shall see, most of the Fn texts record payments measured in barley to craftsmen and others. One of these, *i-*[*ja*]*-me-ni-jo*, figures in both texts, and he receives 8 'choenices' of barley and 6 of wine. For reasons given below this may be regarded as the payment for four days' work. Exactly the same figs : wine ratio is observed in PY An 35. 7, where there are adjacent entries representing 180 'choenices' of wine and 240 of figs, that is again 6:8. Since equal rations of figs and wheat were issued (see p. 116), we can deduce that the wine : grain ration is again 6 : 8 and that this represents the proportions in the basic Mycenaean diet. It will not be an accident that the first part of the text lists 12 *to-ko-do-mo* and that this divides exactly into the above ration figures, which therefore on our standard represent twenty days' rations for the men in question.

To return now to our calculations, we may compare the Mycenaean basic allowance of 2 'choenices' of barley and 1½ of wine with the amounts laid down in the armistice terms for the Spartans on Sphakteria: these were two Attic *choenices* of barley and 2 *kotylae* of wine. The Mycenaean allowance is thus much more generous for wine though identical for barley. VC's

figures are, however, nearly three times higher even than this. They also imply that great quantities of the precious perfumed oils and unguents were lavished on the gods in the periodic offerings. For instance, in Fr 1205 the quantities on my estimate would be 16 'choenices', but on VC's calculations $2\frac{2}{3}$ stirrup-jarfuls (see p. 241). So in conclusion we may recall that all our figures have resulted from the determination of the basic monthly ration of a man as five of the second highest unit. All the deduced values may be regarded as 'verifications'. As we have seen, they lead to a figure for the major unit of dry volume not greatly different from that of later times. In particular we may emphasize the ratio of 4 'kotylae' to 1 'choenix'.

This raises the question of the conventional rendering of the Mycenaean symbols in our translations. 'Medimnos', 'choenix', and 'kotyla', between inverted commas as a warning that they are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, would be less misleading than the absolute figures in litres given in *Documents*. The second largest unit, being one-tenth of a 'medimnos', has no later analogue. Perhaps we might coin the term 'dekateus' on the model of *hekteus*.

Less difficulty attaches to the determination of the absolute values for the units of weight. The major unit, represented by a pair of scales, is plausibly equated with the talent, and its value is deduced by identifying it with the octopus weight of 29 kg. found in the palace of Knossos (*Docs.* 57). We follow, however, the practice of *Documents*, at the cost of a 3 per cent. error, in using the round figure of 30 kg. for the major unit. The values of the series in descending order will then be: 30 kg. : 1 kg. : 250 gr. : 20·8 gr. : 3·4 gr. or less.

Wool is weighed in units of 3 kg. and only the next lowest unit (1 kg.) is used, so that the weigher of wool is indifferent to an inaccuracy of $\frac{1}{2}$ kg. This enables us to distinguish WOOL from the 'spice' MA, which is weighed down to an accuracy involving the fourth lowest unit (see Addendum to p. 289).

For further study of the weights and measures and their oriental affinities see below, pp. 96 ff. We summarize the findings in Fig. 2.

The numerals reveal a decimal system of notation, which was taken over from Linear A. Signs are known for 10,000, 1,000, 100, 10, and the units. No signs for fractions are attested. The strokes for the tens and units are arranged in characteristic patterns (see Dow (1954) 124).

W. F. Anderson has demonstrated (*AJA* 62. 1958. 363–8) that not only addition and subtraction but also multiplication and division could be carried out with the Mycenaean notation.

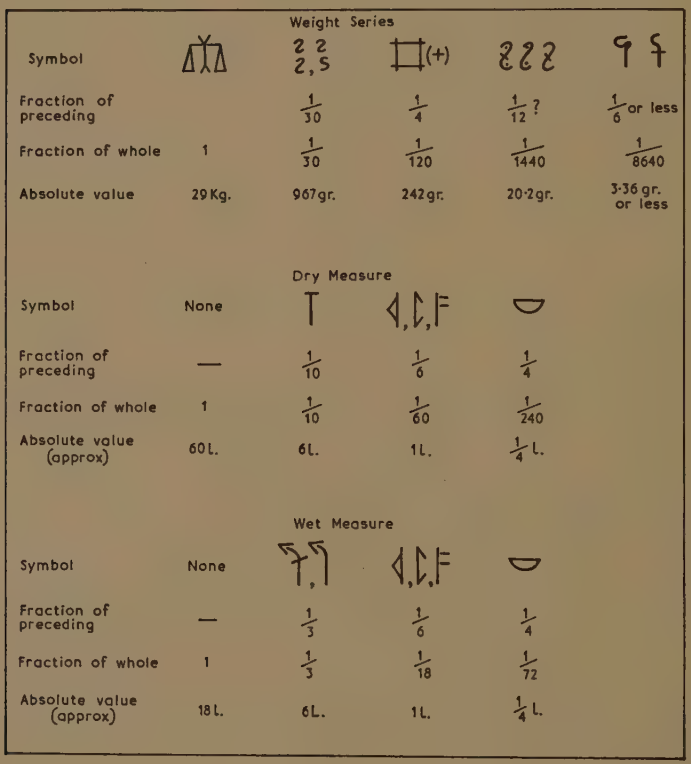

FIG. 2

Many tablets contain evidence of simple addition and subtraction (e.g. the PY Jn BRONZE tablets). A more complex operation was required to calculate the rations for the women and children of the Ab series together with their escort (see p. 116). Bennett

(*Index* 117) has detected six examples of tallying. Presumably the scribe will not have bothered to use the ideograms in such rough calculations. This consideration is used below to suggest a solution for an aberrant ration total on Ab 555, where the scribe has wrongly copied WHEAT 16 for the expected 12/4.

THE SYLLABIC SIGNS

The texts which accompany the numerical entries consist of groups of signs one or more in number marked off by a short vertical line—the 'word-divider'. Bennett lists eighty-nine such signs (*PT* ii 201), some of which are rare. The number of signs suggested at an early date that the script was syllabic. It was successfully deciphered by M. Ventris in 1952 and his solution won swift acceptance. After a broadcast announcement in June 1952, Ventris first submitted his solution to a group of interested scholars in a privately circulated 'Experimental Mycenaean Vocabulary' (dated '7. 52'), which contained 553 numbered items of the following pattern: ' *da-mo* ds. δαμωι community'. Notable entries are 102 and 103 '*μεϝίοες* "smaller" ', 245 '*ὀρό-μενος+ ὀπί* "keeping watch" ', 331 '*qετροπο-φι* "quadrupeds; animals" '. At the end appears the experimental syllabary in the form of a 'grid'.

Ventris subsequently entered into collaboration with J. Chadwick, and their joint article appeared as 'Evidence for Greek dialect in the Mycenaean archives', *JHS* 73. 1953. 84–103. For the history of the decipherment see *Docs.* 14–23 and JC 13.

Already in 1952 C. W. Blegen had unearthed new material on which the proposed decipherment could be tested. This enabled the critics, made uneasy by the inexactitude of the script and the elastic spelling rules (see p. 24), to treat the proposed solution, regardless of the way in which it was reached, as a complex set of *predictions* relating to the language and its grammatical system, as well as to the occurrence of particular groups of signs in contexts guaranteed by the ideograms. The publication by Blegen of the famous TRIPOD tablet (Ta 641 = No. 250, see p. 343) with its *ti-ri-po*, *ti-ri-po-de* correlating with TRIPOD 1,

TRIPOD 2, and other similar correlations proved sufficient to sway the bulk of international opinion. Later finds made in 1955 and 1957 again presented texts self-evidently Greek.

Criticisms were voiced, notably by A. J. Beattie, *JHS* 76. 1956. 1–17, and E. Grumach, *OLZ* 52. 1957. 293–342; replies by Treweek, *BICS* 4. 1957. 10 ff., L. R. Palmer, *OLZ* 53. 1958. 101–17, J. Chadwick, JC 13. 90 ff.

Notes on the syllabic signs

The signs left undetermined in '*Evidence*' were naturally those which offered the greatest difficulty. They were either of infrequent occurrence or attested for the most part in names, which offer little in the way of contextual clues or control. In the diagnosis of such signs attention should be paid in the first instance to the facts of distribution, since abnormal clustering in particular positions often gives a clue to the nature of the sounds concerned. For instance, high frequency of occurrence after a front vowel or a back vowel may suggest that the consonant concerned is a glide, *j* after a front vowel and *w* after *u*. Alternatively, glide sounds after an undetermined sign may give a clue to the vowel in question. Thus the appearance of an added syllable *-we* in the dative-locative of *a-*29* indicated that the vowel of *29 is *u* (see below). Again, the orthographic conventions for writing consonant clusters (e.g. *ti-ri* for *tri-*, see below) will distort the natural frequency of a sign and produce a spurious phenomenon of vowel harmony between adjacent syllables. We may apply what I have called the 'chamaeleon principle' (*Gnomon* 1954. 66) to determine the vocalic value of the signs in question (see below on pu_2, *su*, and the spelling rule relating to initial *wr-*).

The most convincing evidence for the value of a sign is equation with another sign of known value in a pair of words whose identity is established by contextual analysis. Such a case would be *a-ze-ti-ri-ja-i* = *a-ze-ti-*64-ja-i*, if the latter reading were certain (see below). We may list here linkage with a known sign by means of inflexion: e.g. *to-pe-*17* singular and plural, *to-pe-zo* dual, when it has been established that the dual of the *a*-declension ends in *-o*. Hence *17 = *za*. Equation of personal names is more risky since there are many pairs which differ only in one syllable. However, identity may here be satisfactorily established by 'cluster resemblances', that is by comparing groups of names: e.g. the adjacent herdsman entries *qe-ta-ko*, $o\text{-}pe\text{-}pa_2$ in Cn 570 are matched with the herdsmen *qe-ta-ko* Cn 600. 14 and $o\text{-}qe\text{-}pa_2$ Cn 45. 9, the last two tablets being in the same hand. This equation, it is true, suggests only the quasi-identity of the two signs in question, *pe* and *qe*, but the point of principle should not be neglected. All that such a pair of words entitles us to conclude is that the two alternating signs are 'quasi-equivalent' (see below on *82 and the equation *pi-*82-de* = *pi-jo-de*).

In assessing the plausibility of a suggested value distinction should be made between the 'first guess' and the confirmatory 'yield' (also called the 'clicks') which the value produces when applied to the other instances of its occurrence (the 'dossier'). 'First guesses' themselves will be graded according

to a scale of probability. As we have said, the most objective approach is the study of distribution. Here the facts are not in dispute. Determination by guessing words is most plausible in the case of a vocabulary word under contextual control (including the accompanying ideogram). Least satisfactory are those 'first guesses' based on elements of the nomenclature, personal names or place-names; but this is often the only course open with many of the undetermined signs since their dossier is largely composed of such items.

The following values for signs left undetermined in '*Evidence*' have won general acceptance.

*17 *za* (MV 1954). It was established, as we have said, by the inflexional alternation *to-pe-*17* × *to-pe-zo*. On the palatalized quality of the consonant = *kja*, see p. 36.

*23 *mu* (suggested independently by J. Chadwick and H. Mühlestein in 1954). The 'first guess' was the name *a-*23-ta-wo* = *Amuthawon*. The yield is poor, the only vocabulary word being *mu-jo-me-no*, whose interpretation is disputed (see p. 258). On the above standards, therefore, the value should be classed 'doubtful' (so JC 7. 238).

*29 pu_2 (LP 1; see further M. Lejeune, *Minos* 4. 1956. 30). On the palatalized quality of the consonant and its use mainly to represent the aspirated consonant, see p. 38).

*33 ra_3 (LP 1; also MV and EB independently). The value was first suggested by the alternations *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja*, *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-ja*, *pe-*33-ko-ra-i-ja* (see p. 66). This yielded *Κύθηρα* for *ku-te-ra_3*. Confirmatory evidence was soon forthcoming: e.g. *ze-pu_2-ra_3*, genitive *ze-pu_2-ra-o*, *ku-te-ra_3*, genitive *ku-te-ra-o* (see p. 114). The presence of ra_3 as the mark of the nominative plural now indicated that its more precise value was *rai*. Weight was lent to this by the observation that the second element of *pe-ra_3-ko-ra-i-ja* was identical with that of *de-we-ro-a_2-ko-ra-i-ja*, where the a_2 suggested a sound with a palatal offglide or onglide (see p. 37). The matter was finally clinched by the association of *e-ra_3-wo* with the ideogram previously identified as OLIVE OIL.

*56 pa_3 (LP 1. 67). The value was first suggested by the orthographic alternation **56-ra-ku-ja* and *pa-ra-ku-ja* in a CLOTH context. Other pairs were **56-ti*: *pa-ti*, and *ka-ra-*56-so*: *ka-ra-pa-so*. The value also appears in A. Furumark's table, *Eranos* 53. 1953 (appeared 1954). 112, without supporting evidence (see footnote, ibid. 113).

*58 *su* (AF 1). The 'first guess' was **58-qo-ta* = *συβώτας*; cf. LP 1. 67, where by application of the 'chamaeleon principle' *ku-58* was guessed as *ξύν*, yielding *ku-su-pa-ta* = *ξύμπαντα*. *ku-58-ro* was interpreted as *ξύλον*, but this turned out to be a false reading for *ku-su-pa* = *ξύμπαν*. **58-ko* was interpreted as *σῦκον*, but the text (KN V 479. 1) is apparently a list of names largely of un-Greek appearance (e.g. *du-pu-ra-zo*, *wa-je*). *Σύσκος* would account for the syllables.

*65 *ju* (LP 4. 43; cf. P. Meriggi, *Athenaeum*, N.S. 33. 1955. 66). The first diagnosis was based on the distribution of the sign: always after a front vowel. This suggested that the consonant was a glide *j*. The vowel was guessed as *u* merely because *ju* was an unoccupied place in the *j*- series. The yield was *di-ju-pa-ta* interpreted as *διύφαντα* in a CLOTH context.

Closer analysis modified this to *Διυφάντας*, proper name of a weaver (see p. 296). *e-pi-*65-ko*, in a context of building materials (see no. **264** p. 367), yielded *ἐπίζυγον* (cf. *ἐπιζυγίς*), and later (LP 13. 578, see p. 367) *pe-*65-ka* was taken as *περίνγα*. A number of scholars then independently identified *i-*65* as *ἱύς* 'son' and Ventris suggested that *i-je-we* = *ἱέρει* was the dative of this word (see p. 264). It is noteworthy that in the two words containing the Indo-European root *iug-* it should be written as *ju-ko* and not *zu-ko* (see below, p. 367 and Addendum).

*71 was shown to be *dwe* by the alternative spelling *te-mi-de-we-te* in PY Sal 266 (M. Lang in *AJA* 62. 1958. 189), cf. *te-mi-*71-te* in the WHEEL tablets of Knossos and Pylos.

*87 similarly is *twe* or *kwe* as is evidenced by the spellings of the technical word *o-da-*87-ta*, *o-da-tu-we-ta*, *o-da-ku-we-ta*, *o-da-ke-we-ta* (see p. 321).

Values for the small remnant of rare signs are still under discussion.

*82 is the most important since it involves identification of the key place-name *pi-*82* (see p. 65) and of the goddess *pe-re-*82*. My own suggestion for the consonantal value *j* was again based on a fact of distribution: in *ri-*82-ta-o*, *ki-ri-*82-jo*, *pi-*82*, *pe-re-*82*, it shows preference for the position after a front vowel, especially *i*. The vocalic component was guessed as *a* because *pe-re-*82* is grouped with two other goddesses whose names end in *-a* (see p. 263).

The second step was the pairing of the name *ki-ri-ja-i-jo* An 519. 3 with *ki-ri-*82-jo* Jn 320. 4 and *ki-ra$_2$-i-jo* KN Sc 103. To this we may add *ri-ja-ta* KN X 1411, cf. the genitive form *ri-*82-ta-o* on the inscribed Theban vessel TH II (for the Cretan connexions of these vessels, see p. 275).

The value thus diagnosed yields *pi-jai* = Phiai as the first of the 'Nine' places of the Hither Province (see p. 66). This identification generates a series of geographical implications which are susceptible to verification (see p. 67). The occurrence of the form *pi-jo-de* in the 1955 OIL tablets (see p. 247) adds to the evidence. It has the characteristic allative form in *-de*. If it is urged that this is a different place from that indicated by *pi-*82-de*, then *pi-jo* will be the only new place-name in the new series and it is a unique attestation. On the other hand, we have evidence of the interchange of *o* and *a* in these texts (see p. 249 on *wa-no-so-i* × *wa-na-so-i*). For the interchange of *jo* and *ja* in a place-name cf. *e-pi-jo-ta-na* (An 5), *e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja* (Ad 687).

*pe-re-*82* yields the name of the goddess as *Πελεία*. Verification is sought in the fact that many scholars had already inferred the existence of a Minoan-Mycenaean 'Dove Goddess'. Similar theriomorphic deities in our text are *i-qo* = *Hippos* (see p. 277) and possibly *o-pi* = *Ophis* (see p. 103).

Rejection of the proposed value implies that the distribution is merely an accident of the documentation; further, that the above pairs of names are in fact different names with all syllables except one in common, and this accident includes the uniquely attested place-name *pi-jo-de*.

To substantiate this doubt it would be necessary to choose an equiva-

lent number of examples at random from the dossier of a sign of known value and to establish (1) the probability of such predominant chance occurrence after front vowels; (2) the existence of as many pseudo-pairs all involving only one other consonantal value; and (3) a yield of contextually satisfying words such as the place-name *Phiai* and the divine name *Peleia* and a pair of place-names such as *pi-*82-de*, *pi-jo-de*.

We may measure on this scale the plausibility of another value suggested for this sign. Both M. S. Ruipérez (MR 8) and G. P. Carratelli (GC 12. 3) have suggested a value sa_2. Their first arguments are negative. Neither scholar takes account of the distribution, and both urge that the pairs of names may be accidental. Ruipérez argues that *pi-jo-de* can have nothing to do with *pi-*82-de* and even if it did this would prove the value jo_2 for *82. A similar argument has been advanced by M. Doria (*2° Colloquio* 100–4). The fallacy reveals itself if we apply the argument to other pairs. In the Ma series *pe-ru-si-nu-wa* (Ma 126, 225) alternates with *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* (Ma 216, 330, 335, 378, 379), both forms referring to *o-pe-ro* and therefore intended to represent the neuter *περυσινρόν*. On the above reasoning the two signs should be equated and read either wo_1 and wo_2 or wa_1 and wa_2. The fact is that the equation merely justifies the conclusion of 'quasi-equivalence' (see above, p. 18).

The 'first guess' at the proposed value is based on the identification of the divine name *pe-re-*82* with **Πέρσα*. This, it is urged, is the Mycenaean form for Persephone. The verification will therefore take the form of asking whether any student of Mycenaean religion had previously advanced such a view on other evidence, as was the case for the 'Dove Goddess'. Such verification is not forthcoming. Further, it must be observed that the name *Persa* would be spelt *pe-sa*. Connexion of the syllabic group with the alleged Mycenaean name is achieved only by appeal to a special spelling rule, on which see below, p. 27. The only 'yield' is the place-name *Pisa* as the first of the 'Nine' tributary places. On Pisa T. J. Dunbabin writes (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 649): 'Pisa was the district round Olympia; it probably never contained a town.'

*85 The suggested value sa_2 (that is palatalized *s'a* = *sja*) is based on the alternative spelling of the place-name *a-si-ja-ti-ja* as *a-*85-ta*$_2$ in Ma 17 (LP 4. 37*f.*), the name *a-si-ja-ti-ja* being expected in this tablet (see p. 303). The equation yields the proportion formula *-ti-ja*: ta_2 :: *-si-ja*: *85. Therefore *85 = *sja* just as ta_2 = *tja*. The tablet is damaged and the reading *85 uncertain. Autopsy, however, has shown traces which cannot be reconciled with any other sign than *85. This, combined with the fact that *a-si-ja-ti-ja* is expected and that there is no other place-name in this series of the 'Seven' (see p. 75) which has a syllabic pattern *a-?-ta*$_2$, strengthens the case for the reading and hence the value. J. Chadwick accepts the reading but would prefer to deduce the value *si* from the equation *si-ja* = *85 on the grounds that this may be merely 'une graphie approximative' (*Et. Myc.* 89). Consistency would then suggest that ta_2 ought to be read ti_2. Chadwick finds confirmation in the place-name **85-ri-mo*, which it is difficult to dissociate from *su-ri-mo*;

another such pair is found in the Knossian name **85-ri-jo* and the Pylian *si-ri-jo*. On the other hand, **85-ja-to* of MY Au 102 is comparable with *su-ja-to* KN M 719. By this means two values for *85 are obtained, *si* and *su*, which are 'reconciled' by appeal to a 'trait de la langue préhellénique'. This is to confuse a feature of the language with the value of a given sign, and a true parallel should be sought in the varying phonetic value of another sign. So far this has not been demonstrated, and the alleged pairs of names do not suffice to introduce a revolutionary new principle into the syllabary. It will be wiser to accept the evidence as it is given, if the above reading is correct, which imposes the conclusion that *85 is used as a substitute for the fuller spelling *si-ja*. This has the advantage of yielding a doublet which fits into the general system of oppositions between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants, which appears to be a basic structural feature of the syllabary (see below, p. 38). As an example of the interchange between palatalized and non-palatalized sounds we can cite the form *a-sa-ti-ja* in Mn 162.

The most convincing 'yield' for the suggested value is the vocabulary word **85-te* = σαρτήρ 'brush' in a context of 'minor appurtenances of the hearth' (see p. 29). Σιάλιος = **85-ri-jo* is a plausible name for a herdsman, but this adds little or no support to the value. The sign occurs predominantly in the initial position in elements of the nomenclature, and this makes it likely that the sound was one strange to Greek. The only vocabulary words other than the above-quoted **85-te* are **85-ro*, some feature of a chariot (see p. 318), and **85-de-pi* (instrumental plural), the name of some accessorial element of decoration (see p. 32). However, if **85-u-te* (KN Od 666, see p. 240) is correctly determined as *sjāwetes* 'this year', this, besides being an important confirmation of the value of sign *85, is also of dialect interest. *za-we-te* we have interpreted as *kjāwetes* 'this year' (see p. 305). The Knossian form has advanced farther than the Pylian example towards the later σᾶτες. If the value is *sja-*, then **85-u-te* is evidence for the assibilation of *kj-*. (See Addendum.)

Evidence for the remaining signs is too scanty to permit of identification. *64 the value ri_2 appeared plausible on the report from G. Huxley that *a-ze-ti-nu-ja-i* of KN L 1568*e* (see p. 297) should be read *a-ze-ti-*64-ja-i* = *a-ze-ti-ri-ja-i*. The sole yield was the proper name *a-*64-jo* masculine, *a-*64-ja* feminine, which could have been interpreted *Halios*, *Halia*. However, careful autopsy with adequate magnification failed to confirm this new reading and there can be little doubt that this is a genuine mistake on the part of the scribe. *64 must remain therefore an unsolved problem.

*22 shows a curious preference for the neighbourhood of the syllable *di*: *a-di-*22-sa* KN F 841. 2, *ta-di-*22-so* X 5564, *o-*22-di* As 1520. 11. Other examples are **22-ri-ta-ro* Dw 1216, the frequent Cretan place-name *da-*22-to* with the ethnic *da-*22-ti-ja*, and the proper name *ta-*22-de-so* TH VII. The sole clue to the value of the sign is the possible equivalence of the last name with the Knossian *ta-mi-de-so* (on the Cretan connexions of the Theban inscribed vessels, see p. 275). This would

suggest a value 'quasi *mi*'. The restriction of the sign to non-Greek nomenclature is significant as well as its close alliance with *di*. This would suggest a sound of a non-Greek character. The fact that the place-name begins with *da-* is also to be noted: cf. *da-pu*$_3$*-ri-to-jo*.

*34 and *35 are taken to be variants of one and the same sign. If this were true, then this would be the only sign of the syllabary which is reversible. Consequently it will be wiser for the time being to treat them as different.

The value *ai*$_2$ was suggested by E. L. Bennett on the supposition that *ai-ke-u* of Ta 641 was the same word as **34-ke-u* of Ta 709. But I have argued (see p. 343) that these words refer to different ornamental features of the tripods in question (see also *o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u*). M. Lang has suggested (*International Congress of Classical Studies*, 1959) that the value of these signs is *ru*$_2$. The 'first guess' is based on the proper name *po-*34-wi-do* as *Πολύϝιδος*. This is the weakest type of diagnosis and it is made weaker by the fact that the name has a long iota which is attributed to the influence of a hidden digamma (Schwyer, *Gr. Gr.* i 227), so that we should expect a Mycenaean spelling *po-ru-wi-du-wo* or *-wi-do-wo*.

If, however, we accept this experimental value as *ru*$_2$, analysis of the syllabary (see p. 40) forbids us to assume an exact equivalence between *ru*$_1$ and *ru*$_2$. The structure of the syllabary postulates a palatalized consonant, and there appears to be a pronounced tendency towards employing the palatalized *r*-signs to indicate *l* rather than *r* (see LP 4).

We now insert the value. **34-ke-u* would give either *λυγκεύς* or *λυκεύς*, and both are encouraging in so far as they offer words in the same category as *ai-ke-u* 'goat (motif)' (see p. 344). Archaeological confirmation is hardly likely to be forthcoming for either solution in view of the paucity of tripods 'of Cretan workmanship' from Mainland sites. Animal protomes are, of course, known elsewhere (see D. H. F. Gray, *BICS* 6. 1959. 52).

34-ke-ja* emerges satisfactorily as *Λυκεία* either as a woman's name or as the distinguishing epithet of a goddess, for this tablet (PY **Fn 187. 19) is concerned with the issue of barley to shrines and cult personnel. **34-te* could be *λυτήρ*, (PY An 218. 11): this is at least a known Greek agent noun. The word is apparently the name of some office (see p. 142).

*o-*34-ta* is a place-name (PY An 654. 3, An 519. 11, see p. 156) and could stand for *'Ολυνθα* or *'Ολυτα*.**34-zo* (KN Dx 1253) could be *Λύκιος*, the name of a herdsman, particularly in view of the popularity of this type of spelling (*zo* for *kio*) in the Cretan documents. For *a-*34-to* in a CLOTH context = *?ἀλλύτω*, see PY La 626.

All the above examples concern *34, and the yield is encouraging; it is in fact more impressive than that of *23 = *mu*, which has found general acceptance.

*35 For this the most attractive 'first guess' arises from the equation of **35-ki-no-o* in PY Vn 46. 5. 10, where it appears to be the name of some small piece of carpentry (see p. 367), with *ai-ki-no-o* of the KN CHARIOT tablets (Se 879 and 1006), for both words appear to be at home in the category of joinery terms. But the insertion of the value *ai*$_2$ produces

words of strange phonemic structure, such as *a-ai₂-ka* in Le 786 and 787. For this word see p. 295. There is little to support the same value for *35 as for *34 and they should be kept apart.

*66 Finally, we must consider the possibility that two different signs have been confused in *66. The variant listed as 66 in our table has been allotted the value *tja* (conventionally rendered *ta₂*) for the reasons mentioned above. But this value will not do for *o-*66-we-o*, a proper name (An 261. 2, etc.), which recurs in the forms *o-to-wo-o* (An 616. 4), *o-to-wo-we-i* (Vn 851), and *o-tu-wo-we* (Jn 658. 7, 725. 5). The sign in question must therefore belong to the labialized series with the value *two* (see MD 4). Renewed inspection of the tablet, however, showed important differences in the drawing of the sign in An 261, so this version has been distinguished as *66*a* and given the value *two*.

II. THE SPELLING RULES

The phonetic values of the signs were determined in the first instance by equating certain groups of constant occurrence in the Knossos tablets with the Cretan place-names and their derived ethnics: *ko-no-so*, *ko-no-si-jo*, and *ko-no-si-ja*, etc. Since previous analysis of inflectional phenomena had revealed interrelationships between certain signs, the experimental insertion of the place-names by a sort of 'chain reaction' determined the phonetic value of thirty-one signs of the syllabary. This led to the identification of words such as *ko-wo*—κόρϝοι and *ko-wa*—κόρϝαι, and of inflexional systems such as *po-me*, *po-me-no*, *po-me-ne* = ποιμήν, ποιμένος, ποιμένει. From such equations the spelling rules were deduced which formed the bridge from the syllabic groups of the tablets to the Greek words known from post-Mycenaean texts.

Each sign has a syllabic value consisting of a vowel, or a consonant plus vowel (for these see Fig. 3). In spelling a given word the scribes divided it into syllables. If the syllable began with a vowel either at the beginning of a word or internally after hiatus, the appropriate vocalic sign was used, distinctions of quantity being ignored. Similarly, the diphthongal components *i*, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, were ignored. There is, however, a special sign for initial *ai* (see below). The *u*-diphthongs are normally noted (e.g. *ze-u-ke-u-si*, *na-u-do-mo*, *a-ro-u-ra*). Thus a syllabic initial *e-* before a syllable beginning with a consonant may represent *ĕ* (+*i*,+*l*, +*m*,+*n*,+*r*). For syllables beginning with a consonant the system ignored (with one exception) the distinctions between

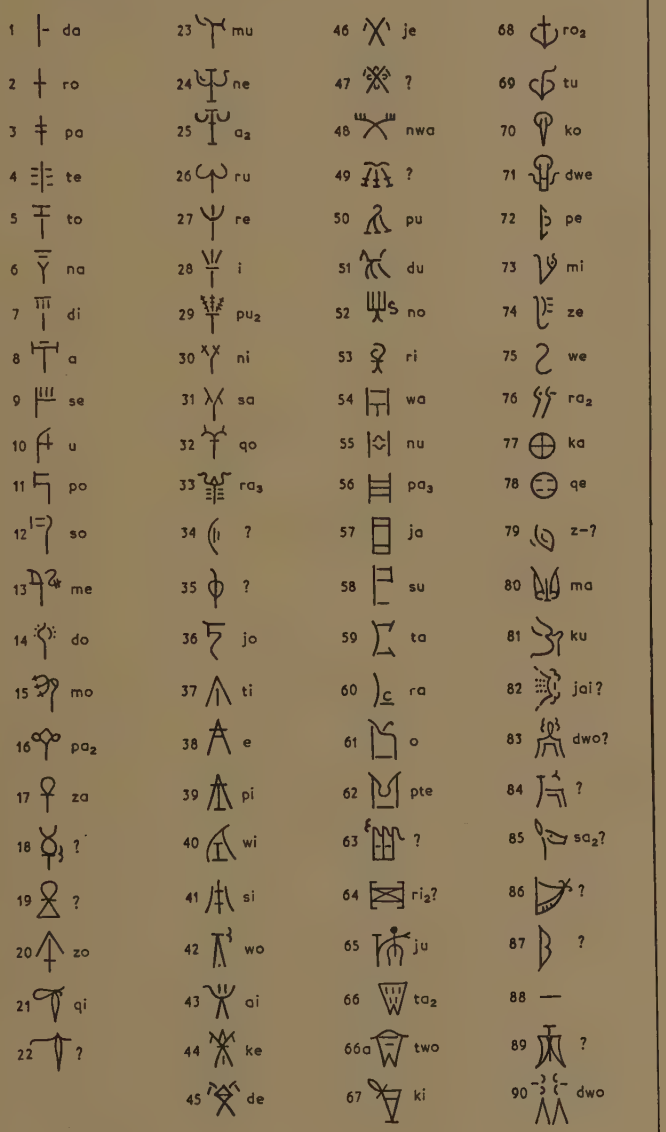
1 da
2 ro
3 pa
4 te
5 to
6 na
7 di
8 a
9 se
10 u
11 po
12 so
13 me
14 do
15 mo
16 pa2
17 za
18 ?
19 ?
20 zo
21 qi
22 ?
23 mu
24 ne
25 a2
26 ru
27 re
28 i
29 pu2
30 ni
31 sa
32 qo
33 ra3
34 ?
35 ?
36 jo
37 ti
38 e
39 pi
40 wi
41 si
42 wo
43 ai
44 ke
45 de
46 je
47 ?
48 nwa
49 ?
50 pu
51 du
52 no
53 ri
54 wa
55 nu
56 pa3
57 ja
58 su
59 ta
60 ra
61 o
62 pte
63 ?
64 ri2?
65 ju
66 ta2
66a two
67 ki
68 ro2
69 tu
70 ko
71 dwe
72 pe
73 mi
74 ze
75 we
76 ra2
77 ka
78 qe
79 z-?
80 ma
81 ku
82 jai?
83 dwo?
84 ?
85 sa2?
86 ?
87 ?
88 —
89 ?
90 dwo

FIG. 3

the voiceless, voiced, and aspirated plosives. Thus *pa-* may represent *pă* (+*i*,+*l*,+*m*,+*n*,+*r*), or *bă* (+*i*,+*l*,+*m*,+*n*,+*r*), or *phă* (+*i*,+*l*,+*m*,+*n*,+*r*). The dental series stands apart in having special signs for the voiced plosive *d*, so that *ta*=*tă* (+*i*,+*l*,+*m*, +*n*,+*r*) or *thă* (+*i*,+*l*,+*m*,+*n*,+*r*). At the end of the word the final consonant is not noted: in Greek such sounds may be *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, or *s*. An exception is formed by the dorsal[1] stems of the consonantal declension: nominatives of the type ϝάναξ are represented as *wa-na-ka*; cf. *Αἰθίοψ* as *ai-ti-jo-qo* (but see on *wo-no-qo-so*), ϝάξ=*ra-kà* (p. 301).

The problem of consonantal clusters is solved on the same principle as in Cypriot. Gemination is ignored, but all members of non-homogeneous clusters receive the vowel which immediately follows: e.g. Knossos = *ko-no-so*, χρυσός = *ku-ru-so*, ἄνθρωπος = *a-to-ro-qo*, δρυτόμος = *du-ru-to-mo*, τέκτονες = *te-ko-to-ne*. Where the second consonant of the cluster is *w*, the 'empty' vowel may be *u*: e.g. *wi-du-wo-i-jo* (also *wi-do-wo-i-jo*, *wi-dwo-i-jo*), *a-ra-ru-wo-a*. Initial *w* before *r* is similarly represented: *wi-ri-ni-jo* = ϝρίνιος 'leathern'. There is no sign *wu*, consequently *wru* has to be rendered as *u-ru*: e.g. *u-ru-to*=ϝρύντοι (see p. 151). *nw* is written usually *nu-w-* but there is a special sign for *nwa* (see p. 39).

The treatment of *s* requires special notice. It is ignored where it precedes a plosive, whether initially or internally: e.g. σπέρμο = *pe-mo* (on the vowel see p. 42), φάσγανα = *pa-ka-na*. Before *m*, however, it receives notice: αἰκσμάνς = *ai-ka-sa-ma* (see p. 284), δεσμοῖς=*de-so-mo*. If *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*=σφακτηρια(ι), this would constitute an exception to the stated rule about *s* (but see p. 184).

The Knossos scribes occasionally note *i*-diphthong. Examples are: *ko-to-i-na* as against PY *ko-to-na* (κτοίνα), *wo-i-ko-de* (ϝοῖκόνδε), *e-pi-qe-i-si* (ἐπίq^{w}εισις). If *i* and *u* are immediately followed by a vowel, the resulting glide sounds *j* and *w* are usually rendered as they are in the Cypriot syllabary: ἱερεύς=*i-je-re-u*, Ἀλεκτρυών = *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*, κύανος=*ku-wa-no*, etc., Note however: *i-e-re-u*, *ti-ri-o-we*, *a*$_2$*-ra-tu-a*, etc.

u appears occasionally to have the value consonant plus vowel: *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-u-na*, *me-u-jo* (also *me-wi-jo*), *di-u-jo* (also *di-wi-jo*). Note

[1] The term 'dorsal' is used in preference to 'palatal' or 'velar' or 'guttural'.

further the spellings *e-u-wa-ko-ro*, *e-wa-ko-ro*, *e-wi-ri-po* and the alternatives *ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*, *ra-u-ra-ti-jo*. It has been suggested that *we* may also stand for *u*: *we-a-re-ja*, *we-a_2-re-jo* = ὐάλειος, *we-je-we* cf. ὐιήν 'vine', *we-i-we-sa*, a proper name = Ὑῑϝεσσα, *we-(j)a-re-pe* = ὐαλειφες (p. 247), *we-je-ke-e* = ὐεικεε, *we-e-wi-ja* (PY Ub 1318. 4, see p. 229) = ὐεία (J. Chadwick, *2° Colloquio* 14). All these interpretations are open to doubt in some degree.

Another point to be noted is that analogy tends to fix the stem of a noun in the spelling of the nominative: thus ϝάναξ=*wa-na-ka*, ϝανάκτει=*wa-na-ka-te*. A form which conforms to the strict spelling rule is, however, attested in the 1955 tablets from Pylos: Fr 1215, *wa-na-ke-te*.

Finally, we note some alleged exceptions to the rule about the non-notation of anteconsonantal *r* where it may be considered as the second component of a diphthong. *we-re-ke* has been equated with ϝείργει, but see p. 168 for the interpretation as ϝρέγες 'enclosures', 'herds'. *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* has been connected with ὀργεῶνες, but see p. 214. There is no certain identification validating this spelling rule, and all the examples adduced involve a preceding *w* with the same vowel as the *r*. It was the great predominance of 'isovocalism' in words beginning with *w-r-* that led to the conclusion that *w* was noted before *r*, contrary to VC's original rules (see *Gnomon* 1954. 66 and below, p. 44). It would be, therefore, wise to regard with suspicion any 'etymological' interpretations where identification is achieved only by assuming this *ad hoc* spelling rule. See on *pe-re-sa* (?) (p. 21), where the *e* is supposed to be an empty vowel whose quality is determined by the preceding syllable.

It has been noted (E. Risch) that the scribes avoid writing a word as a monosyllable. However, the only example is *qo-o* (PY Cn 3. 2), where the identification as $g^{w}\bar{o}n$ rests on the alleged spelling rule, so that the line of argument is circular.

III. PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION

From the preceding rules it will be evident that they allow great play to an interpreter who merely has recourse to the lexicon. Thus a group *a-ko* may represent ἄγω, ἀγών, ἄγγων, ἄγος,

ἄχος, ἀσκός, ἀργός, ἄλγος, ἄγχος, ἄρχω, etc. (LP 3. 18). Nevertheless, the first steps were necessarily the ransacking of the lexica for possible equivalents. The longer words offer fewer possibilities and such tentative identifications provide an experimental context for the determination of the words associated with them. Ventris pursued this road systematically during 1953 and he embodied his findings (along with those of a growing body of colleagues) in his 'Glossary of 1556 Linear B Sign Groups', distributed privately at Christmas 1953. This virtually exhausted what was to be achieved by this 'etymological' method. It peopled the Mycenaean world with a host of ghost occupations such as 'headband-makers, musicians, and sweepers' (see p. 114).

What remained was to apply the so-called combinatory method which seeks to determine the status of the various words by purely internal analysis. Of great help is the fact that the different classes of documents show stereotyped formulaic structures. From this there emerges the important interpretational principle that words occupying the same 'place' in the structure belong to the same category and so provide mutual checks on subsequent 'etymological' identification.

For instance, in a given list of personnel many of the items will be ambiguous in case form. Thus in PY An 724 the first three entries are in parallel. The case of the first word is ambiguous in two instances (*me-nu-wa*, *ra-wa-ke-ta*), but the other is clearly in the dative (*e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-ne*). It will be inadmissible to start with the ambiguous examples, to assume that they are nominative, and then to devise an *ad hoc* spelling rule (exceptional rendering of the final consonant) to explain *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-ne* as a nominative. The same principle holds good of place-names which figure so largely in these documents. Names of the first and second declension (*me-ta-pa*, *ka-ra-do-ro*) do not show the distinction between nominative and locative. The ambiguity is resolved, however, if they are in parallel with *a-pu*$_2$*-we* and *pa-ki-ja-si*.

Such a preliminary determination of the case of a noun can be vital to the interpretation. Thus in the recurrent formula of PY Tn 316 (= No. **162**) the second word is the name of a shrine or sanctuary; but the case is ambiguous except for *pa-ki-ja-si*.

Sound method demands that the other nouns occupying the same 'place' should be similarly interpreted. The question now arises whether the dative-locative can be used in a 'lative' sense. Later Greek distinguishes between Ἀθήναζε and Ἀθήνησι, and the dative in this sense is confined to personal recipients. That Mycenaean usage was similar is shown by tablets like Fn 187 with its alternation between latives like *po-si-da-i-jo-de* of destinations and *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* for recipients. Thus any interpretation is suspect which construes the shrine-names of Tn 316 in any case but the dative, guaranteed by *pa-ki-ja-si*, or interprets the dative otherwise than as locative in function (see p. 264).

The principles of interpretation involved may be conveniently illustrated from a tablet the missing centre piece of which was not found until 1957.[1] Meanwhile translations of the end-pieces had been offered. It would be difficult to conceive of a severer test both for decipherer and interpreters. In the following text the new centre portion is enclosed between heavy square brackets.

Ta 709

pi-je-ra$_3$ *to-qi-de-ja* *200 3 *pa-ko-*[*to a-pe-te-me-ne* *214 2 *po-ro-e-*]*ke-te-ri-ja* IMPLEMENT 1 *ko-te-ri-ja* 6

**85-te* 1 *pu-ra-u-to-ro* 2 *pa*$_2$*-ra-to-ro* 1 *e-k*[*a-ra a-pi-qo-to pe-de-we-sa* 1 *e-ka-*]*ra i-to-we-sa pe-de-we-sa so-we-ne-ja* **85-de-we-sa-qe* 1

ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke **34-ke-u* TRIPOD 1 [*ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je*]*-u* TRIPOD 1

That the text dealt with cooking utensils was obvious from the ideograms. *pi-je-ra*$_3$ readily identified itself as φιέλαι, and *to-qi-de-ja* was interpreted as an adjective meaning 'decorated with a spiral' (see p. 339). Tripods were clearly visible in the third line, as was the word *ti-ri-po*. In the second line *pu-ra-u-to-ro* offered a single etymological equivalent—πυραύστρῳ 'two fire-tongs'. Eminently compatible with this was σπάλαθρον for *pa*$_2$*-ra-to-ro* 'a fire rake'. In **85-te* the first syllable was uncertain; but I had suggested palatalized *s'a* (see pp. 21 f.) and interpreted the word as †σαρτήρ 'brush'. For *ko-te-ri-ja* the instrument suffix seemed

[1] See *AJA* 62. 1958. 182 with plate 40, fig. 11 (our fig. 4). On the circumstances of the find see C. W. Blegen, ibid. 177 f.

Fig. 4

evident and this left *ko-* as the verbal root from which an instrument word must be made with a sense harmonious with 'fire irons'. χω(σ)τηρια 'shovels' was suggested, and the whole set summed up as 'the minor appurtenances of the hearth' (LP 12. 81). We now reach the missing piece: the next following word is *e-ka-ra*=ἐσχάρα 'hearth', *et sim.* Not merely this, but we now see that the hearths are described by words for which translations had already been offered:

e-ka-ra a-pi-qo-to pe-de-we-sa
*e-ka-ra i-to-we-sa pe-de-we-sa so-we-ne-ja *85-de-we-sa*

True to our structural method, we must conclude that *a-pi-qo-to* and *i-to-we-sa*, being in the same 'place', belong to the same semantic set. *a-pi-qo-to* was identified by VC 'etymologically' with ἀμφίβατος and translated 'of encircled type'. My own diagnosis was based upon the observation that this word tends to occur immediately before an entry referring to the 'feet' of an object and after a mention of the *e-ka-ma*, which apparently refers to some kind of support (Ta 642. 3, 713. 1, 713. 3, 715. 1). This formulaic 'place' suggested that *a-pi-qo-to* referred to some aspect of this support of the objects in question, and it was interpreted as 'splay-legged' (< ἀμφιβαίνω 'stand astride'). We now see that it contrasts with *i-to-we-sa*, which consequently must harmonize semantically. The only etymological equivalent now yields a satisfactory 'opposition' to 'splay-legged'. ἵστος is a reduplicated noun from *stā* 'stand' and it means 'anything set upright'. The opposition 'splay-legged' : 'with upright(s)' has satisfied a severe 'compatibility test', which may now be pursued further.

In Ta 715. 2 (see p. 347) *a-pi-qo-to* is also in 'structural opposition' with *po-ro-e-ke*. The latter word had been identified by VC as προεχής 'projecting'. This word is, however, known only from an emendation to Plutarch and an entry by Hesychius glossed σπουδαῖος. Moreover, in the next line the word *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* occurs (dual). The first part of the compound is identified as πυξο- 'box wood'. This implies that *po-ro-* is likewise a material (I have suggested πῶρος 'marble') and that *e-ke* represents *e-ke-s-*, this corresponding to a neuter *s*-stem.

The formulaic analysis thus shows that (1) *a-pi-qo-to* has a contextual preference for supports and feet, (2) *po-ro-e-ke* occurs in the formulaic 'place' of *a-pi-qo-to*, (3) *pu-ko-so e-ke-e*, linked morphologically with (2), is bracketed by *a-pi-qo-to* and 'feet'. This points to the conclusion that the *e-ko-s-* is some part of the support. A further indication was given in the word *we-je-ke-e*, which refers to pairs of wheels assigned to the chariot of a named person and consequently must indicate that they are ready to receive the body of the chariot. Here, too, analysis suggested that the adjective was based on a neuter noun *e-ko-(s)* (see p. 324). New support for this came from the (1957) finds from the workshop of the palace, where a tablet (Va 1324) records *e-ke-i-ja*, *pe-di-je-wi-ja*, and *a-ko-so-ne*. Here again, a derivative from *e-ko-(s)* is associated with axles. The second word is evidently a derivative from a noun *pe-di-*, which echoes *pe-de-we-sa* as a constant member of the 'structural support' group of words. All this results from a single principle of interpretation, consistently applied.

There remains the final description of the second hearth: *so-we-ne-ja *85-de-we-sa*. This pair of words occurs constantly in the final position of the Ta descriptive formulae (see p. 338), and for that reason they were diagnosed as 'accessorial decorative motifs'. It is noteworthy what a preference for each other's company the two words have. They must represent a common combination of motifs in Mycenaean decoration. For statistical reasons **85-de-we-sa* was determined as 'rosettes' (LP 12. 65). We now know that the words here refer to a hearth. M. Lang points out[1] (*per litt.*) that 'the decoration on known hearths is of two kinds only. One sort has many lines of red, white, blue, or black. The other has the fixed hearth decoration, which is now called either "flame pattern" or "notched" plumes, *with rosettes in between*' (my italics). Thus there is a satisfactory concordance between the purely philological analysis 'predicted' of Mycenaean hearths and the archaeological finds. Tentatively we may translate *so-we-ne-ja *85-de-we-sa-qe* as 'with flame pattern (*or* notched plume) and rosettes'. For the remaining problems of this text see p. 342.

No hint should be neglected in this essential preliminary step

[1] See also D. H. Gray, *BICS* 6. 1959. 53 with plate ix.

of diagnosis. For instance, *te-ko-to-a-pe*, occurring also as *te-ko-to-na-pe*, has been etymologized as τέκτων ἀπῆς 'a carpenter was absent'. What should give pause is the consistent omission of the word-divider. This, as we shall see, is characteristic of the double place-names (p. 76). If we now examine the structural 'place' of *te-ko-to(n)-a-pe*, we find that it is paralleled in all instances by place-names (see p. 132). Hence we should diagnose the word as a place-name.

Of particular importance for internal analysis is the observation of correlations between the text and the ideograms, or between the various items of the ideogram entries. The attempts to 'etymologize' by the acrophonic principle the entries DA, TA in the Pylos A series provide an instructive example of this. Below (p. 117) it will be shown that these entries correlate with a fixed ration surplus, and that they represent consumer entities.

The determination of the status of a single keyword may affect the interpretation of a whole text. This is the case in Ta 711, which indicates the occasion on which the elaborate furniture inventory was drawn up. Here everything depends on the diagnosis of the word *da-mo-ko-ro*. If all roads converge on the conclusion that this is a proper name *Damoklos*, then the whole interpretation of this important text as centring round the appointment of a man to the office of *da-mo-ko-ro* falls to the ground (see pp. 354 ff.).

The importance of the observation of a series of 'oppositions' at a given place in the formulaic structure may be further illustrated from the Pylos CATTLE tablets. In the 'owner' place we find (1) proper names in the genitive, (2) *pa-ra-jo*, (3) zero. This implies a positive value for 'zero'. The tentative conclusion that the herds belonging to 'zero' are the king's will account for the fact that the tablets headed *we-re-ke* list 'ownerless' herds. The *we-re-ke* tablets are now seen to be the first 'headed' tablets of sets which naturally first list the royal herds. A study of handwriting confirms this conclusion. The analysis removes the basis for the contention that the tablets of these sets were written at different times and list given herdsmen at different stations at different seasons. It invalidates the conclusion that the texts reflect a system of transhumance (see p. 169 ff.).

We may insist further on the principle of economy of hypotheses in interpretation. If, for instance, in the A series the type of entry *NE-WO-PE-O* (place-name) WOMAN+CHILDREN+RATIONS is established, with a corresponding entry *NE-WO-PE-O ko-wo* MAN in the Ad series, it will be more 'economical' to fit *A-PU-KO-WO-KO* into this framework rather than to 'etymologize' the latter and produce an entry relating to 'headband-makers, sweepers, and musicians'. See pp. 114 ff. for the application of this principle, with a reduction in the number of occupational categories.

New texts offer an opportunity for the most rigorous application of the principle of economy. Here the categories set up for the interpretation of existing materials will stand in the relation of 'predictions' to the new texts, and the new material provides a welcome opportunity for testing not only the decipherment but also interpretational methods. The first step will be to interpret the new data within the categorical framework already set up. Verificatory procedures will then be devised to test the results which emerge. If they prove satisfactory, no further categories will be added.

The number of hypotheses set up to explain a given set of facts is an objective measure of the 'arbitrary', and explanations can be graded on a numerical scale. A completely 'arbitrary' explanation is one which requires x hypotheses for x facts. It follows that the most 'economical' explanation is the least 'arbitrary'. For an important application of the principle of economy and 'prediction' to new material see pp. 240 ff. on the 1955 OIL tablets.

In conclusion it should be said that we cannot dispense with the etymological method. The presupposition of all interpretations is that the syllabic groups as deciphered by Ventris represent Greek words in a dialect near to the reconstructed ancestral form of Arcado-Cypriot (see pp. 60 ff.). Consequently no explanation will be completely satisfactory until the syllabic groups have been anchored in Greek of a recognizable form complying with normal syntactical rules of Greek. In texts reflecting a Bronze Age civilization which was separated from the later Hellenic world by a catastrophe and a dark age of some centuries it will not be surprising

that many technical words have not survived, but at least their grammar must conform to that of later Greek and of Arcado-Cypriot in particular. Briefly, the principle is that 'diagnosis' by the combinatory method must precede ransacking of the reference books for possible equivalents, and this imposes a salutary discipline on the etymological method. A good illustration is offered by attempts to identify the technical word *qe-ro*$_2$, which figures in the ARMOUR texts. Below (p. 333) it will be argued that this is the name for a two-piece corslet sewn with metal plates arranged in rows. No word of comparable meaning exists in the lexicon of Hellenic Greek, and the not surprising conclusion is that this is a technical word which has not survived.[1]

In many cases the etymological method is the only one open to us. However, in interpretations of this kind where there is no external control in the shape of ideograms and the like it is sometimes possible to devise an internal type of control. This is the 'compatibility' test. Thus in Ad 691 we have a major category of women written majuscule *O-PI-RO-QO* with the words *e-ke-ro-qo-no-qe pa-wo-ko-qe* written small above and evidently in the genitive case, since we have a nominative *pa-wo-ke*. All the words lack the distinctively feminine ending and are presumably compound words. The set-out of the text suggests that *O-PI-RO-QO* is the major category[2] and the other two words are sub-classes written as a gloss above the major entry. The first etymologizes as ὀπίλοιϙ^{w}οι 'remnant, surplus': the other two, purely etymological, interpretations as 'wage-earners' and 'ancillaries' (see p. 116) are both 'compatible' with the major class as thus etymologized.[3] An etymological identification of an existing Greek word without contextual control of this sort may rank as no more than plausible. Interpretations which involve inserting invented words in the

[1] We might compare the desuetude of *hauberk* 'medieval coat of armour, especially one of chain-mail, or cloth covered with rings, scales, or small plates of steel'.

[2] A further point is that the scribe of Ad has combined in Ad 691 the entries relating to Aa 777 and Aa 795. This is a unique procedure which puts these entries into a separate category (see p. 120).

[3] Another good example of the compatibility test is the group of 'spice' words. Ventris committed himself to *ko-ri-a*$_2$*-da-na* 'coriander' in 1952. This 'prediction' had subsequently to stand the test of 'compatibility' with a whole group of associated words found on tablets recovered in 1954 from Mycenae (see pp. 271 ff.).

Greek dictionary without preliminary 'diagnosis' carry little conviction, and this applies *a fortiori* to inventions of proper names and place-names.

IV. THE MYCENAEAN LANGUAGE

The language revealed by the decipherment is Greek, and more specifically a dialect of Greek closely akin to the Arcado-Cypriot assigned by philologists to the Mycenaean Peloponnese because of the close and exclusive resemblance between the dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus in historical times. (See C. D. Buck, *GD*[3], 7 ff.).

PHONOLOGY

An essential preliminary to the discussion of the phonological features of Mycenaean is the determination of the phonetic values of the syllabic signs. These were deduced experimentally in the first instance from the equation of syllabic groups with place-names and vocabulary items known from later Greek sources. Thus **70-*42* is equated with κόρϝοι and the Mycenaean word transcribed *ko-wo*. But *ko-wo* can also be the equivalent of -χοϝος, -χοϝοι, etc. To avoid confusion of thought it is necessary is distinguish between the 'value' of a sign and its later 'equivalents' (LP 4 *passim*). This is particularly necessary in the case of the zeta series. *me-*20-e* is equated with μέζοες. Thus the consonant of *20 is 'equivalent' to the sounds spelt variously ζ, δδ, etc., in later Greek documents. All we can say is that the consonant of *20 is ancestral to the later ζ, δδ, that is to say the Mycenaean value lies between the postulated IE **gj* and the post-Mycenaean ζ, δδ. Now *to-pe-*20*, being interpreted τορπέζω (dual, see p. 348), shows that the consonant of *20 is also the product of original **dj*. This means that Mycenaean already shows the phonemic convergence of **gj* and **dj* to a single sound, which is ancestral to post-Mycenaean ζ, δδ. However, orthographic alternations between *ze* and *ke* suggested that the consonants of the zeta series had retained their plosive character. *su-za*, correlated with a tree ideogram, was interpreted as συκίαι. Since the last word never developed a spirant consonant, the observed facts are best

accounted for by assigning the 'value' palatalized *k'* to the consonants of the series conventionally transcribed *za*, *ze*, *zo*. Thus *me-*20-e* has the value *me-k'o-e*, representing Mycenaean *megjoes*, which is ancestral to μέζους. Support for this theory has recently come from the PY 1957 texts, which list, *inter alia*, skins described as *ai-za*, which is interpreted as αἰγία. *ka-zo-e* is likewise explained as κακίοες (see p. 50). It should be added that sign *74, conventionally transcribed *ze*, also stands in the etymological position of IE **je* in *ze-u-ke-u-si*, *ze-u-ke-si* (see p. 229), so that we have the typically Greek convergence of IE **j*, **dj*, and **gj* in this initial position. Note, however, the representation by *ju* in *pe-ju-ka*, *e-pi-ju-ko* (see p. 367). What is common to συκίαι (*su-za*), χαλκια (*ka-za*), αἰγία (*ai-za*), and κακίοες (*ka-zo-e*) is the dorsal plosive consonant followed by iota, distinctions of aspiration, etc., being ignored. This 'value' should, therefore, be given to the signs of this series in words where later Greek shows ζ, δδ, ττ, σσ. The form which the convergence will have taken by Mycenaean times is that a plosive consonant will have developed before initial **j* and the plosive of the combination **dj* will have been retracted to the dorsal position. This conclusion can be avoided only by the assumption of a twofold value for the so-called zeta series. Parallels can be found from other writing systems (so E. Risch), but such an hypothesis is *ad hoc* and superfluous. It is both possible and more 'economical' to explain all the facts by assigning a single consonantal value to the zeta series, and this has the advantage of fitting in to a consistent phonemic analysis of the syllabary. A good 'yield' is *za-we-te* = κιάϝετες 'this year' (see p. 305).

Study of the quasi-equivalent doublet signs has suggested that some of these represented palatalized sounds: a_2 alternates with *ja* and also with *ai*.[1] The palatalization is thus 'prosodic' in that it affects the whole syllable, so that a_2 represents a vowel with a palatal on-glide or off-glide. ra_2 alternates with *ri-ja* and is assigned the value *rja*. ra_3, on the other hand, is regularly used in *e-ra*$_3$*-wo* = ἔλαιϝον, and the specific value *rai* is further supported by the alternation of *ku-te-ra*$_3$ (nom. pl. *-ραι*) and *ku-te-ra-o* (gen. pl. *-ραων*) in the PY Ab series. The value of *66 = ta_2 is likely to

[1] See LP 4. 37; further, ML *Mém.* 102 ff.

be *tja* (see p. 21). This leads to another possibility: the place-name *a-si-ja-ti-ja* appears to be written *a-*85-tja* in Ma 397. 1. This suggested that this scribe used single palatalized signs to represent *si-ja* and *ti-ja*. *85 is thus in parallel with *66 = *tja*; hence its value would be *sja*. (On **85-te* = σαρτήρ 'brush' see p. 29).

The doublets of the labial series are more difficult: pu_2, however, appears to enjoy a preference in the representation of the aspirated plosive. It is also used regularly in the frequent place-name *a-*pu_2; if this represents *Αἰπύ*, then the Homeric spelling shows an epenthetic *i* which may reflect the palatalization of the following consonant. pa_2 may represent the labio-velar q^wa (see below). We have, however, another sign *56, to which the value pa_3 is assigned. The sign occurs predominantly in proper names of the humbler classes, in a Cretan place-name pa_3*-ko-we*, in the name of a divinity pa_3*-ti*, and in *ku-ru-su-*pa_3 a tripod stirrup-jar. The dossier is significant in that it points to a non-Greek sound. In general the rarer signs tend to occur in place-names and the like, which makes their determination difficult (see above).

The distribution of 'equivalents' as between the various doublets and the evidence for palatalized sounds were tentatively accounted for by the working hypothesis that 'the Aegean language which lies behind this syllabary had a phonemic system characterized by an opposition between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants. When the syllabary . . . was adapted for the purpose of writing Greek, the very different phonemic system of this Indo-European language was analysed by an ear attuned to Aegean distinctions . . . the Aegean ear identified the Greek aspirates . . . with its own palatalized series' (LP 4). We list the doublets thus distinguished:

pa (= *3): *pja* (pa_3 = *56), *ta* (= *59): *tja* (= *66), *ka* (= *77): *kja* (*za* = *17), *ra* (= *60): *rja* (=*76), *sa* (= *31): ?*sja* (= *85), *ke* (= *44): *kje* (*ze* = *74), *ko* (= *70): *kjo* (*zo* = *20), *pu* (= *50): *pju* (= *29), *ro* (= *2): *rjo* (= *68).

The aberrant *62 = *pte* may be brought into alignment if we bear in mind that *pj* in Greek developed to *pt*. Thus the Aegean ancestor of *62 may have been *pje*. However, its value in Linear B is *pte*.

The above theory of the syllabary was first put before the London Seminar (*MLS* 17 xi 54 and 16 iii 55) and published in LP 4. H. Mühlestein (HM 2) reached similar conclusions about the zeta series; M. Lejeune (*Mém.* 95 ff.) subsequently re-examined the evidence for a_2 (*25). It should be emphasized that the matter is still *sub judice*. J. Chadwick (JC 7. *2° Colloquio* 238 ff.) has lent support to the overall analysis and also approves the above explanation of *62 = *pte* < *pje*.

Besides the palatalized series the Linear B syllabary contained signs representing labialized consonants. The Indo-European labio-velars were still phonemically distinct from the dentals and labials with which they fused in post-Mycenaean Greek, although the exact phonetic value remains uncertain (see below). Apart from ?*kwa* (= *16), *kwe* (= *78), *kwi* (= *21), *kwo* (= *32) we also have *nwa* (*48), and *kwe* or *twe* (= *87). Recently *dwe* (= *71), *dwo* (= *90 and possibly *83), and *two* (= *66a) have been added. The existence in the syllabary of a system of oppositions *plain*:*palatalized*:*labialized* to the neglect of the oppositions *voiceless*:*voiced*:*aspirate*, which are essential to Greek, strongly suggests that the ancestral form of the syllabary was created for a non-Indo-European language (LP 19. 29).[1] Such phonemic systems are found *inter alia* among Caucasian languages.

The determination of the phonetic value of *16, conventionally pa_2, remains uncertain. The overwhelming majority of the occurrences are in place-names and personal names, and this alone suggests a sound of a non-Greek character. The surest identifications of vocabulary words are *ku-su-to-ro-pa*$_2$ = ξυστροφά and *pa*$_2$*-ra-to-ro* = σπάλαθρον. The root στρεφ- lacks self-evident etymological connexions and so gives no indication of the ancestral form. For σπάλαθρον there are the variant forms σπάλαυθρον, σκάλαυθρον, and this constellation suggests a non-Greek loanword with an alternation between a dorsal and a labial consonant. *pa*$_2$*-si-re-u* was identified with βασιλεύς at an early state of the decipherment, but, as we shall see, this is open to serious doubt, and in any case the word has no self-evident etymology. There remain the possible examples of spelling variations which

[1] J. Chadwick, in supporting the above theory of the syllabary, writes (*2° Colloquio* 12): 'on aura raison de se méfier des valeurs proposées qui n'entrent pas dans le système de consonnes palatalisées et labialisées.'

point to a 'quasi-equivalence'. In Mycenae we find the allative form *te-pa$_2$-de*, which can hardly be separated from the locative *te-pa-i*. The name *te-pa$_2$-ja* (KN and PY) is also explicable as the corresponding ethnic. Some instances of *pa$_2$* are possibly referable to former labio-velars: *e-to-ro-pa$_2$-ta* has been connected with *ἐντροπόω*, etc. (see Glossary), and the name *o-pa$_2$-wo-ni* with *Ὀπάϝων*. More important is *pe-pa$_2$-to*, a part of a chariot (see p. 317); for if this is rightly interpreted *βέβατον* 'step, floor', then the labial consonant in the reduplication reinforces the evidence of *te-pa-i*. The tentative conclusion is that *pa$_2$* is a sound distinct from *pa*, yet of a labialized character. The hypothesis that this is *pw* (Gallavotti) would account for the facts. This would fit into the above system with its triple oppositions: *3 = *pa*, *56 = *pja*, *16 = *pwa*.[1]

The above analysis enables us to arrange the established values of the Linear B signs as a grid of phonemic oppositions.

Grid of sign values

a	(*8)	*ai* (*43)	*e*	(*38)	*i*	(*28)	*o*	(*61)	*u*	(*10)
pa	(*3)		*pe*	(*72)	*pi*	(*39)	*po*	(*11)	*pu*	(*50)
pja, *pa$_3$*	(*56)		*pje*	(*62)					*pju*	(*29)
da	(*1)		*de*	(*45)	*di*	(*7)	*do*	(*14)	*du*	(*51)
			dwe	(*71)			*dwo*	(*90 = ?*83)		
ta	(*59)		*te*	(*4)	*ti*	(*37)	*to*	(*5)	*tu*	(*69)
tja	(*66)		*twe*	(*87)			*?two*	(*66a)		
ka	(*77)		*ke*	(*44)	*ki*	(*67)	*ko*	(*70)	*ku*	(*81)
kja	(*17)		*kje*	(*74)			*kjo*	(*20)	*kju?*	(*79)
kwa?	(*16)		*kwe*	(*78)	*kwi*	(*21)	*kwo*	(*32)		
ma	(*80)		*me*	(*13)	*mi*	(*73)	*mo*	(*15)	*mu*	(*23)
na	(*6)		*ne*	(*24)	*ni*	(*30)	*no*	(*52)	*nu*	(*55)
nwa	(*48)									
ra	(*60)	*rai* (*33)	*re*	(*27)	*ri*	(*53)	*ro*	(*2)	*ru*	(*26)
rja	(*76)				*rji?*	(*64)	*rjo*	(*68)	*rju?*	(*34)
sa	(*31)		*se*	(*9)	*si*	(*41)	*so*	(*12)	*su*	(*58)
sja?	(*85)									
ja	(*57)	*jai* (*82)	*je*	(*46)			*jo*	(*36)	*ju*	(*65)
wa	(*54)		*we*	(*75)	*wi*	(*40)	*wo*	(*42)		
ha	(*25)									

The imperfections of the graphic system need no further emphasis, and much interpretation is required to deduce the phonemic system of Mycenaean.

[1] On *pa$_2$* see LP 4. 8 ff.; ML *Mém.* 303 ff.; V. Georgiev, *Et. Myc.* 51 ff.

Vowels

The Indo-European vowels are preserved in the main. There is a tendency to confuse *a* and *o*: *e-pi-jo-ta-na* and *e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja*, *wa-no-so-i* and *wa-na-so-i*, *qe-ra-si-ja* and *qe-ra-si-jo*, *pi-ja(i)-de* and *pi-jo-de*, *pe-ru-si-nu-wa* (twice in the PY Ma series qualifying *o-pe-ro* for the usual *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*). On *pe-mo* × *pe-ma* see p. 214 and on *o-ka* = ?ὀρχά see p. 154.

The examples of the interchange of *e* and *i* are few and suspect of non-Greek origin: e.g. *i-pe-me-de-ja* (if this is to be equated with Iphimedeia), *me-nu-wa* (if this = Minyas), pa_2-*me-si-jo* × pa_2-*mi-si-jo* (proper names), *ku-te-so* (if this = κύτισος), *e-pa-sa-na-ti* × *i-pa-sa-na-ti* (a woman's name), *di-pa* (if = δέπας), *ti-mi-to* cf. *te-mi-ti-ja*, *a-te-mi-to* cf. *a-ti-mi-te*. The alleged example of the raising of *o* to *u* in *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* is removed if this is identified as *Fρυπιαῖοι* rather than *Ὀλυμπιαῖοι* (see p. 153). Vowel contraction appears to be unknown even in hiatus of two identical vowels. *e-ke-e*—*ἔχε(h)εν*, *ko-to-no-o-ko* = κτοινοόχος, *e-e-to* = *ἔε(ν)τοι*. Note, however, $pe\text{-}ra_3$-*ko-ra-i-ja* × *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-ja* (see p. 19), *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (see p. 251), and *ko-to-no-ko* (p. 201).

Possible interchange of *i* and *u* has been mooted by J. Chadwick (*Et. Myc.* 89). His examples are **85-ri-mo* = *su-ri-mo*, **85-ri-jo* = *si-ri-jo*, **85-ja-to* = *su-ja-to*, which depend on his determination of *85 (see p. 21); *mo-ri-wo-do* = μόλυβδος, *ta-ni-ko* (An 567) = *ta-nu-ko* (An 13), *u-ta-no* (Cretan place-name) identified with the later *Itanos*. All the examples are thus suspect, and the interchange, if established, would reflect conditions in the pre-Greek nomenclature (so Chadwick).

Sonants

Initially the sonant nasal $\dot{n}$ is represented as in later Greek by *a-* before a consonant and *an-* before a vowel: *a-ki-ti-to* (p. 310), *a-no-no* (p. 199), *a-na-mo-ta* (p. 318), a_2-*te-ro* < **sm̥tero-* (p. 305). In medial and final syllables the scribes tend to use signs containing an *o*-vowel in all the sonants attested: *qe-to-ro-po-pi* < **q*^{w}*etr̥podphi* (p. 127), *to-pe-za* < *(q^w)*tr̥pedyə* (p. 346), *e-ne-wo-pe-za* = *ἐννεϝο-* (p. 347); *a-no-wo-to* < **anousn̥to* (p. 363), which exemplifies the different treatment in initial and medial syllables; *a-pi-qo-to* =

ἀμφίg^{w}οτος < **-g^{w}ητος*; *a-mo-ta* = *ἄρμοτα*, Attic *ἅρματα*. *pe-mo* = *σπέρμα*; but the scribe of PY, Er 312, who wrote no other tablet (Bennett), alone writes *pe-ma* (see p. 214). Prima facie the practice of the scribes suggests that *o*-coloured vowels had developed from the sonants in Mycenaean. The matter will be further discussed below. For uncertainty cf. further *a-re-pa-zo-o*, *a-re-po-zo-o*, *a-re-pa-te* = *ἀλειφη(τ)-ζόος*, *ἀλειφάτει* (see p. 270).

Consonants

The Indo-European plosives had all been faithfully preserved so far as we can judge from the inexact script. Since there is a special series to render the voiced dentals, while the *t*-series renders both the aspirated and the unaspirated dentals, it is evident that Mycenaean had already unvoiced the Indo-European aspirated plosives. This is, of course, characteristic of Greek as a whole.

Important for dialect relationship is the assibilation of tau and theta before iota: *e-ko-si*, *pa-si* (*φασί*), *di-do-si*, *ki-ti-je-si* (*κτίενσι*), etc.; *a-pu-do-si* (*ἀπύδοσις*), *e-pi-qe-i-si* (*ἐπίq^{w}εισις*); *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*, cf. *ra-wa-ke-ta*, *e-qe-si-jo*, cf. *e-qe-ta*, *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo*, cf. *ko-ru-to*, *ko-ri-si-jo*, cf. *ko-ri-to*, *za-ku-si-jo* < *Ζάκυνθος*. The last two examples illustrate the assibilation of the pre-Greek ending *-νθος*, of the type still preserved in the derivative from the Attic deme name *Προβάλινθος*: *Προβαλίσιος*. On the preposition *po-si* cf. *ποτί* see p. 55.

In the nomenclature there are a few instances of hesitancy between *ti* and *si*: *tu-ti-je-u* (PY Cn 4. 6) may be the same name as *tu-si-je-u* (An 519. 7). This may be ascribed to competition between a conservative and a more recent phonetic spelling. We may compare *Ortilochos* (*Il.* 5. 546), the grandfather of *Orsilochos* (*Il.* 5. 542). Cf. further *ta-ti-qo-we-u* = *Statig^{w}oeus*, *o-ti-na-wo* = *Ortinawos*. Among the ethnics we can quote *ti-nwa-si-ja* (Aa 699, Ab 190), *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o* (Ad 684). Some ethnics show the unassibilated form: *da-*22-ti-ja*, *ra-ti-jo*, etc.

The presence of a distinct series of signs which are used in positions where etymologically we should expect reflections of the Indo-European labio-velar consonants (e.g. *-qe* 'and') shows that they were still phonemically distinct when the Mycenaean orthography was established. The spelling *i-qo* for *ἵππος*, which

goes back to IE **ekwos*, reveals a phonetic convergence of *q^wo* and *kwo*. However, since *ἵππος* shows a double consonant in post-Mycenaean Greek, some difference of pronunciation must lie behind the identical Mycenaean spelling. It may have been a question of syllabification or juncture analogous to the distinction of [kw] evidenced in 'three-quarters' as against 'back-water'. There is no clue to the precise phonetic values. It has been suggested (Gallavotti) that the sounds may have been labialized labials *pwa*, *pwe*, etc. This would represent an intermediate stage leading to the Aeolic representation by labials.

Examples:

a-pi-qo-ro-i = *ἀμφιϙ^{w}όλοι(h)ι*, *ai-ti-jo-qo*, *ai-ti-jo-qe* = *Αἰθίοϙ^{w}ος*, *Αἰθιόϙ^{w}ει*, *a-to-ro-qo* = *ἀνθρώϙ^{w}ωι*; *a-pi-qo-to* = *ἀμφίg^{w}οτος*, *qo-qo-ta-o* = *g^{w}ωg^{w}οταο*, *-qe* = enclitic *-q^we* 'and', *e-pi-qe-i-si* = *ἐπίϙ^{w}εισις* 'after-payment', *o-pi-ro-qo* = *ὀπίλοιποι*, etc.

In the neighbourhood of a *u*-sound Mycenaean, like all Greek dialects, shows a dorsal stop for the labio-velar: e.g. *qo-u-ko-ro* = *g^{w}ουκόλοι*, *ku-na-ja* = *γυναία* (see p. 353), *e-u-ke-to* = *εὔχετοι* (IE **eug^wh*).

Examples before a consonant are *qe-re-ti-ri-jo* = *g^{w}λητρίω* (see p. 367), *qi-ri-ja-to* = *ϙ^{w}ρίατο* 'bought'. The last word occurs in KN B 822, which lists MAN^B (p. 137), but there is no ideographic entry for this item. This strengthens the interpretation that it is a gloss.

Preservation of labio-velars before final *-s* is indicated by occasional spellings such as *wo-no-qo-so* (KN 897, 1015) = *ϝοίνοϙ^{w}ς*, the name of an ox. In an initial position we have *qi-si-pe-e* = *ξίφεε* (see p. 357).

Certain alternations of spelling indicate a tendency for the labio-velars to develop into labials: *i-po-po-qo-i* = *ἱπποφόρg^{w}οι(h)ι* (see p. 227), *qe-re-qo-ta* × *pe-re-qo-ta* (see p. 196), *o-qe-pa$_2$* × *o-pe-pa$_2$* (see p. 167). In all these examples the labio-velar affected is followed by a labial or labio-velar, so that the change may be ascribed to assimilation or dissimilation (M. Lejeune). *ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$* × *ra-pi-ti-ra$_2$*, however, could not thus be explained, nor again *te-o-qo-ri-ja* × *te-o-po-ri-ja*, but in neither instance is identity of the

paired forms certain. (*to-so-ne*) *qo-zo* = πόκοι (MY Oe 118) is altogether uncertain. Nevertheless, there is no evidence at all of a progression towards the sibilants of Arcado-Cypriot, and this must affect the explanation of the verbal form *e-ke-qe* (see pp. 189 f.).

s. The aspiration of initial antevocalic and intervocalic *-s-* is, of course, characteristic of Greek as a whole, and Mycenaean is no exception. In Greek of later times the intervocalic aspirate disappeared, but in Mycenaean there are some grounds for believing that it still persisted in the pronunciation. In the Mainland texts there is a distinct tendency to use the sign a_2 in plurals of the *s*-neuters: e.g. *pa-we-*a_2, *me-zo-*a_2, *ke-re-*a_2 (σκέλεα, see p. 343), *te-tu-ko-wo-*a_2. The tendency to use palatalized signs to indicate the aspirate may account for its use in a_2*-te-ro* = ἄτερον, a_2*-ro-u-do-pi* (see p. 345).

A more vexed question is the interpretation of *s*-spellings in relation to the products of palatalized stops which are in later times written variously σσ or ττ: e.g. φυλάττω < φυλακjω (see below). Note the preservation of *s* in a consonant cluster: *ai-ka-sa-ma* = αἰκσμανς, later αἰχμάς.

w. This sound appears to be preserved in all positions: *wa-na-ka* = ϝάναξ, *wo-no-qo-so* = ϝοίνοψ, *we-to* = ϝέτος. Intervocalically: *pi-ro-we-ko* = φιλόϝεργος, *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* = κλαϝιφόρος. Before consonants:[1] *wi-ri-ni-jo* = ϜρινιϜο-, *u-ru-to* = ϝρύντοι. After consonants:

[1] In *Evidence* VC believed that digamma was not noted before consonant, this rule being deduced from etymological identifications. This procedure is circular. A distributional observation suggested a different conclusion (LP 1): 'If the orthographic rule about the neglect of initial *W* before *R* is correct, then in the words beginning *w-r-* in these texts the first vowel will be "full" as opposed to the "empty" orthographic vowels; and since vowel harmony is not a feature of Greek, then we should expect a random distribution of vowels as between the first two syllables. This means that *WERA*, *WERE*, *WERI*, *WERO*, *WERU*, etc. should be equally common. So, if the alleged rule is correct, isovocalism should appear etymologically only in the proportion of 1 in 5. But if *W* is indicated before *R*, then the true etymological distribution will be distorted by the appearance of "empty" vowels of the same quality as the vowel following the *R*. That is to say, isovocalism will gain ground on the natural heterovocalism. Now in Bennett's *Index*, of the 26 words beginning with *W-R-* no fewer than 18 are isovocalic. Even allowing for chance, which may produce accidental distortion in small numbers, this seems far too great an increase over the 5–6 which would be expected if the rule about the neglect of *W* before *R* were correct.

'This establishes a prima facie case for believing that *W* is noted before *R*.' The argument is relevant to another spelling rule, namely, that occasionally *r* as a syllabic final is sometimes expressed before a following plosive. The examples

wi-dwo-i-jo = ϝιδϝόϊος, *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* = ξένϝια, *do-we-jo* = δορϝειο-, *ko-wo* = κόρϝος.

Alleged cases of loss rest upon dubious etymological connexions: e.g. *o-ro-me-no* = ὀρόμενος. 'Etymology', however, is not evidence, and previously accepted connexions should simply be abandoned if they conflict with the new evidence. Thus the participle *e-ra-pe-me-na*, if rightly interpreted ἐρραφμένα (cf. *ra-pte*, *ra-pi-ti-ri-ja*), renders the connexion with **werp* impossible.

j. The representation of initial **j*- as ζ- or its ancestral Mycenaean equivalent is seen in *ze-so-me-no* = ζεσ(σ)ομένῳ, *ze-u-ke-u-si* ζευγεῦσι, *ze-u-ke-si* = ζεύγεσσι, the phonetic value of the sign being, as we have seen, probably a palatalized plosive. On *pe-ju-ka* and *e-pi-ju-ko* see p. 367, where it is suggested that these spellings indicate a pronunciation in this position (after περί and ἐπί) still close to the postulated Indo-European (cf. Latin *iugum*).

In combinations of plosive consonants with *j* Mycenaean shows the pan-hellenic assibilation of the voiceless dental in *to-so* < **totjos*, where the spelling may well conceal the double consonant. Below (p. 215) it is suggested that the exceptional spelling *to-so-jo* by the scribe of Er 312 may indicate a palatalized pronunciation of the *s*. Attic by its different treatment of the products of the voiceless dental and the palatal (μέσος, but φυλάττω) in this combination reveals that there was a chronological difference in the two processes of palatalization, the assibilation of the dental being earlier than that of the palatal. The proposed identification of *pa-sa-ro* with πάτταλος and the derivation of this word from **pakjalos* appeared to imply that the Mycenaean treatment of both was identical, at least in so far as the orthography allows us to detect. Further analysis, however, has thrown doubt on the diagnosis of *pa-sa-ro* (see p. 358), and we have a certain example of initial *kja*- in *za-we-te* = κιάϝετες, cf. Attic τῆτες, Doric σᾶτες (see p. 305). It would appear therefore that Mycenaean still preserved the cluster *kj* just as it kept *gj* and *dj*. This poses the

adduced are *wo-ro-ki-jo-ni-jo*, *we-re-ke* (p. 168), and it can hardly be an accident that they are precisely words which begin with *W-R-* and exhibit the isovocalism. An orthographic rule of occasional application is in any case suspect. To use it in attempts to determine the value of unread signs is inadmissible (see on *82 and the proposed equation *pe-re-?sa* = **Πέρσα*).

problem of the derivation of later Greek ϝάνασσα, which, we suggest, occurs in the dual *wa-na-so-i* and in the derivative *wa-na-se-wi-ja* (see p. 253 for discussion). This would appear to rule out the proposed etymological derivation from *ϝανακια (see Frisk, *GEW* sub voc.). It was, in any case, inadvisable to separate the feminine from the corresponding masculine stem *wanakt-*. The facts are best reconciled either by postulating **wanakt-jə* as the ancestral form, in which case the *-ss-* will be the product of the cluster *-ktj*, or by assuming that the feminine suffix *-assa* originated in the attachment of the feminine suffix *-jə* to stems ending in *-ak-* and proliferated thence. The second explanation is the more elaborate and hence the less probable. It should, however, be noted that Attic forms like μέλιττα do not conform to the sound law exemplified in μέσος and are also explained as analogical proliferations of the suffix.

Combinations of *dj* and *gj* represented in the script by the zeta series have already been discussed (see pp. 36 ff.). IE *-sj-* is represented in Mycenaean as *-j-*: e.g. the genitive singulars in *o-jo* < *-osjo-* (see p. 47).

Assimilation

We list a few notable examples: *ko-ru-pi* < *koruth-phi*, *po-pi* < *pod-phi*, *e-ka-ma-pi* < *ekhmat-phi*, *re-wo-pi* < *lewont-phi* (but contrast *po-ni-ki-pi* < *phoinik-phi*). The interpretation of the spellings *e-ra-pe-me-na* (see p. 45) and *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* (see p. 315) in this connexion depends on the diagnosis of the underlying verbal stems.

Dissimilation

We have already discussed the dissimilation of one of two adjacent labio-velars above.

MORPHOLOGY

The noun

The orthographic conventions often conceal the inflexions but the following are clear.

In the feminine *a*-stems we have the dual in *-o* (*ko-to-no*, *i-qi-jo*, *to-pe-zo*). This ending has been connected with the dual form

καλυψαμένω (Hesiod, *Op.* 189); for its significance as a pointer of dialect relationship, see p. 63. A dative dual is, we believe, found in *wa-na-so-i* (see p. 249). The genitive plural ends regularly in *-a-o* and the dative plural in *-a-i* (*a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, etc.). The most attractive suggestion (W. Merlingen) is that the spelling represents *-ai(h)i* with regular loss of *-s-* from earlier **-aisi*. On the instrumental plurals in *-pi* (e.g. *a-ni-ja-pi*) see below.

The masculine *a*-stems have the regular Greek declension with genitive singular in *-a-o*. There are two possible examples of a dual in *-a-e*, where the inflexion is apparently a borrowing from the consonantal class: *e-qe-ta-e* (KN As 821, KN X 1044). The form *mi-to-we-sa-e* is aberrant since it occurs in a context of forms with *-a*: (KN Sd 0404).

The *o*-stems show *-oio* in the genitive singular and *o-i* in the dative plural (*te-o-i*, etc.), and this is plausibly explained as the descendant of **-oisi*. The instrumental plural is distinguished from the dative in that with one exception (see below) it is written *-o*. There are two possible examples of a locative showing the *e*-grade of the thematic vowel: *wo-ke* = ϝοίκει (see p. 330) and *di-da-ka-re* = διδασκάλει (see p. 125). On the allative forms *wo-i-ko-de*, etc., see below.

The consonant stems show the normal Greek inflexion in so far as the orthographic system allows it to be revealed (*po-me*, *po-me-no*, *po-me-ne*). The most important exception to this general rule is the dative in *-e*. This stands for *-ει*, the ancestral dative inflexion still surviving sporadically later as in the Cypriot proper name Διϝείφιλος, cf. *di-we* (PY Tn 316.110) = Διϝεί. What appears to be a minor distinction of dialect in Mycenaean is that the datives in the texts from Mycenae are usually written *-i* (*ka-ke-wi*, *pi-we-ri-di*, etc.), but there are also sporadic examples from Pylos (*ko-re-te-ri* On 300. 3, etc., *me-za-wo-ni* Un 138. 5, *po-se-da-o-ni* Un 718. 1, *o-pa$_2$-wo-ni* Fn 324. 16). E. Risch (ER 10) has argued that there are three examples of the accusative plural in *-es*: *o-pe-ro-te* An 724. 6, *a-ko-so-ne* Vn 10. 3, and *pe-ri-ke* MY Ue 611 (cf. *ka-ra-te-ra*, apparently accusative singular, ibid. 2). All these are dubious and the allative form *pa-ki-ja-na-de* certainly implies the accusative plural *pa-ki-ja-na(s)* (nominative *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*).

Neuter *s*-stems show a preference for the dative in *-i*: e.g. *we-te-i we-te-i* = *ϝέτεϊ ϝέτεϊ*. The dual ends in *-e-e*: *qi-si-pe-e* = *ξίφεε*.

Neuters of the type *ὄνομα* show some hesitancy in the representation of the vowel corresponding to the sonant nasal (see above). Both *pe-mo* and *pe-ma* are found apparently in the meaning 'seed' corresponding to the later *σπέρμα*. It is unlikely that these are two distinct stem forms, and the latter spelling is confined to the text written by a single scribe, who also uses the form *to-so-jo* (see above). The word for 'undercarriage' or 'pair of wheels' (see p. 320) appears as *a-mo-te* (dual) and *a-mo-ta* (plural). Careful autopsy has failed to confirm the reported singular *a-mo*. The text (KN So 7485) reads *a-mo-*[, the tablet being fractured down the vertical line of the sign *mo* (see p. 320).

Apart from *po-ti-pi* = *πόρτιφι* 'with heifers' (see p. 348) there is no evidence for the declension of *i*-stems, with the possible exception of *o-pi* if this can be interpreted as dative *Ὄφι* 'to the Snake Goddess' (see Glossary).

Forms such as *ta-ra-nu-we*, *ka-ru-we*, *ka-ru-pi*, *me-tu-wo*, show the non-ablauting type of *u*-stem. *i-ju* (see above, p. 20) appears to have a dative *i-je-we* in Tn 316 (see p. 264). These forms may be interpreted as *(ὑ)ιύς*, *ὑιέϝει*. *e-ri-nu* appears in the offering texts (see p. 236), where we should expect a dative form, but 'neutral' nominatives also occur.

The diphthongal stems in *-εύς* show the normal type of inflexion *a-mo-te-u*, *a-mo-te-wo*, *ka-na-pe-we*, *ka-ke-wi* (MY), *ka-ke-u-si*, etc.

Of the forms assigned to other diphthong stems *di-we* has been discussed above (see p. 47); cf. KN Fp 1. 2, etc. *ka-ra-we* (KN Ap 694) has been interpreted as *γρᾶϝες*, but it is doubtful whether the word is complete at the beginning, and the context suggests rather that it refers to some kind of textile specialists (see Glossary). For *qo-o* (PY Cn 3. 2) several interpretations are possible: accusative singular or plural, and even genitive plural (see p. 175).

One case suffix requires separate discussion. Case-forms where the context requires interpretation as instrumental plural are

frequently distinguished by the ending *-pi*. The difference between singular and plural is seen clearly in the pairs *e-ka-ma-te* : *e-ka-ma-pi*, *po-ni-ke* : *po-ni-ki-pi*, *a-di-ri-ja-te* : *a-di-ri-ja-pi*. The suffix appears regularly in the instrumental plural of all noun classes except the *o*-declension, where there is a solitary exception *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi o-mo-pi* (KN Se 1042. 1). This corresponds to the ancestral distribution evidenced in the Sanskrit distinction between *-bhis* and the ending *-ais* of the IE *o*-stems. The descriptive formulae of the Ta series (see pp. 338 ff.) show the distinction clearly: e.g. (decorated with) *e-re-pa-te-jo a-di-ri-ja-pi re-wo-pi-qe* Ta 708.[1] The suffix *-φι* is added directly to the stem consonant and there is assimilation of the final consonant to the labial of the suffix with the exception of the dorsal consonants: e.g. *po-ni-ki-pi* = φοίνικφι as against *po-pi* = πόπφι < *ποδ-φι, etc.

The allative suffix *-de* appears frequently: e.g. *po-si-da-i-jo-de*, *a-pu$_2$-de*, *di-ka-ta-de*. In one instance it appears to be added to the *e*-grade stem of a neuter *s*-stem: *e-re-de* interpreted as Ἐλέσ-δε 'to Helos' (p. 247). This fidelity to a usage which still persists in later Greek (Ἀθήναζε as opposed to the locative Ἀθήνησι) is of crucial importance for the interpretation of the Linear B texts (see p. 28).

A suffix *-te*, which may represent either the locative *-θε* or the ablative *-θεν*, appears particularly in certain double place-names (see p. 76). Other examples are dubious: on *a-po-te* see p. 298, and on *a-po-te-ro-te* see Glossary.

Adjectives

In the forms of the comparative Mycenaean remains faithful to the inherited suffix *-jos-* with, of course, intervocalic loss of the *-s-*: e.g. dual *me-zo-e*, *me-wi-jo-e*, plural *me-zo-e*, *me-wi-jo-e*, with corresponding neuter *me-zo-a$_2$*, *me-wi-jo-a$_2$*. The form of the nominative is obscure since the orthography does not reveal the final consonant. It will be methodologically sounder to remain within the frontiers of Greek when seeking comparative evidence to overcome the ambiguity. No Greek dialect has any other nominative form than that in *-ων*, and the Mycenaean evidence for the oblique cases does no more than confirm what had already been

[1] The distribution of the *-pi* case inflexion was first observed by M. Ventris (MV 4); see further, ML *Mém.* 159–184.

deduced from the dialects of Hellenic times. Of great interest are the forms *a-ro*$_2$*-e*, *a-ro*$_2$*-a*, which were interpreted in *Documents* as *ἀρίο(h)ες* 'better'. This has now been strengthened by the new example of *ka-zo-e* (PY Va 1323) = *κακίο(h)ες* 'in poor condition'. We now have a series of terms referring to the condition of things inventoried: *ne-wa* 'new', *a-ro*$_2$*-a* 'in fair condition', *ka-zo-e* 'in poor condition', *pa-ra-ja* 'old', and *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ taken as 'useless' (but see p. 344). There is no trace of the use of the suffix *-tero-* in the comparative system. It still remains within the sphere of 'contrasting pairs' (see E. Benveniste, (1948) 115: '**yes-* serait un intensif; *-tero-* indiquerait des oppositions').

Pronouns

The enclitic *-mi* is found in three examples: *da-mo-de-mi pa-si* = *δᾶμος δέ μίν φασι* (see p. 212) and *ko-to-no-o-ko-de-mi pa-si* (ibid.); and *e-ke-de-mi* = *ἔχει δέ μιν* (see p. 310). *pe-i* stands for a sociative dative in the phrase *me-ta-qe pe-i* = *μετά q*^{w}*ε σφεϊ(ς)* (see p. 152). This is connected with the Arcadian *σφεις*, but it would be a violation of the orthographic rules to identify the two forms: *-οις* is invariably written *-o*. We thus have a dative ending *-(h)i* attached to the pronominal stem *σφε-*.

The alleged demonstratives *to-me*, *to-e*, and *to-jo-(qe)* are below interpreted as verbal forms (pp. 205 ff.). *to-i-qe* (p. 309), however, is plausibly *τοι(h)ι-qε* 'and to them'. On *to-so-ne* see p. 63. Some doubt attaches to the interpretation of *to-to-we-to* as *τοῦτο ϝέτος* (p. 143).

Numerals

1. The dative form *e-me* = *ἑμεί* < **semei* (p. 344). The later stem *ἑν-* is due to generalization of the neuter nominative, where *-m* was final.
2. On the locative *du-wo-u-pi*, see p. 204. For *dwo*$_2$, see Glossary.
3. Only the compositional form is attested in *ti-ri-po-de* (p. 343).
4. The compositional form **q*^{w}*etr* appears in *qe-to-ro-po-pi* (p. 127). The proper name *qe-ta-ra-je-u* conceivably = *Πετραιεύς*, cf. *qe-to-ro-no*, and on this type see F. Bechtel, *Hist. Person.* 521 f.
5. No evidence except for the dubious possibility of the names

pe-qe-ro-jo (gen.) PY Sa 768 and *pe-qo-no* KN B 798. 6, which would thus be parallel to *qe-to-ro-no*.

6. *we-pe-za* attests a form ϝεκ- (cf. Cretan, etc., ϝεξ; ἕκπους *IG* I². 313. 93). The proper name *we-ka-di-jo* KN V 831. 3, etc., may possibly be linked with the Lapith name Ἐξάδιος (*Il.* 1. 265, cf. Bechtel, ibid.)
8. The sole possibility is the name *o-ke-te-u* PY Jn 693. 6, which, if interpreted as Ὀκτεύς, would fit into the 'numerical' proper names.
9. *e-ne-wo-pe-za* shows ἐννεϝο- (cf. Arcadian δυόδεκο, ἑκοτόν).
10. The sole possibility is the name *de-ko-to* PY Cn 600. 2 if = Δέκοτος.

It is advisable to stress the extreme uncertainty of the above evidence from proper names. However, the matter is of slight importance. It is hardly open to doubt, for instance, that the Mycenaean word for 'five' was *penq^{w}e* and would have been spelt *pe-qe*.

Verb

On the primary active ending *-si* see p. 42.

The primary medio-passive third person ends in *-to*, which links up satisfactorily with the later Arcado-Cypriot *-τοι*, and thus confirms its ascription (in any case virtually certain) to the dialect of the Mycenaean Peloponnese. It does not, however, as has been asserted, show that this termination was 'original' in the sense that it must now be attributed to Indo-European (see p. 62). Examples are *e-u-ke-to* = εὔχετοι, *di-do-to* = δίδοντοι, *u-ru-to* = ϝρύντοι, etc.

The athematic verb shows the expected ending and ancestral weak grade of the plural in *ki-ti-je-si* = κτίενσι (see p. 309). On the verb *i-je-si* with aorist forms (*a-p*)*i-e-ke* and *i-je-to* see p. 265.

Future forms attested are *do-se* (PY Un 718), plural *-do-so-si* (PY Jn 829. 1), participle *ze-so-me-no* (see p. 270). On the 'prospective' form *e-ke-qe*, which I formerly interpreted phonetically as a future, see p. 190. For *a-se-so-si* see Glossary.

Aorist forms are *-wi-de* (p. 217), *te-ke* (p. 340), *-ze-to* (p. 369), *pa-ro-ke-ne-*[*to*] (p. 124), *e-re-u-te-ro-se* (p. 306), *e-pi-da-to* (p. 286), *qi-ri-ja-to* (Glossary). On the words interpreted as aorist passives (*i-je-to*, *pe-re*, and *a-ke*) see p. 265.

Of the perfect indicative we have evidence only for the middle: *e-pi-de-da-to* (p. 369) and *qe-qi-no-to* (p. 346).

Numerous suggestions bear on the forms of the verb 'to be'. Certain are *-e-e-si* = ἐενσί (p. 125), the participles *e-o*, *e-o-te*, feminine *a-pe-a-sa* (cf. Arcadian ἐάσσας). The suggested dual *e-to* = ἔστον could equally well be ἦλθον, and the text is extremely obscure (PY Va 15). *e-e-to* is better interpreted as ἔεντοι (p. 128). *a-pe*, diagnosed as the imperfect ἀπῆς (*Docs.*), is shown to be merely the second element of a double place-name (p. 32). *e-so-to*, allegedly = ἔσσοντοι, occurs in an explanatory gloss on a KN MAN tablet (Am 601) which is wholly unintelligible.

For the moods possible examples are the jussive subjunctive *to-e* = θώη and the prescriptive optative *to-jo* = θῷοι (p. 206).

The thematic infinitive ends in *-e-e* (*e-ke-e*, *e-re-e*, etc.). On the alleged infinitives *a-re-sa-ni-e*, *a_2-ri-e* in An 724, see p. 131. For the athematic infinitive we can make one suggestion: *to-me* = θῶμεν (p. 206). Since the infinitive *te-re-ja-e* corresponds to the indicative third person singular *te-re-ja*, the verb is most plausibly interpreted as athematic; and the form of the infinitive with a vowel stem is of importance for dialect relationship (see p. 63). *o-wi-de-ta-i* has been interpreted as an infinitive (*Docs.* p. 283), but the orthography of the final syllable should give pause, and the occurrence of *o-wi-de-ta* on a label suggests rather that the form is dative plural of a noun (see further p. 216).

The participles show the normal forms. Present: *e-o*, *e-o-te*, *a-pe-a-sa* (ἀπεάσσαι), *e-ko-te*, *o-pe-ro-te*, etc. *de-me-o-te* is future (see p. 134), *a-ke-ra$_2$-te* (PY Vn 493) most plausibly an aorist (p. 303). Middle forms in *-me-no*, *-me-na* are frequent: *ke-ka-u-me-no*, *de-de-me-no*, *wo-zo-me-no*, *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, *mu-jo-me-no*, etc. From the *verba contracta* we can cite *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* (see p. 218). The perfect participle active has the ancestral suffix *-wos/us*, and there is no trace of the suffix *-wot*: examples are *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (neuter, p. 336), *a-ra-ru-ja* (feminine, p. 315) with an alternative spelling *a-ra-ru-wo-ja* (Sd 0408). The proper name *wi-dwo-i-jo* suggests that Mycenaean had inherited the ancestral zero grade of the root also in the masculine forms (see LP 21. 131 with references).

It remains to list some ghost-forms, certain of which, being interpreted as verbs, have assumed importance in accounts of the Mycenaean society. First comes the alleged participle *pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-jo-te*. This does not exist: the text reads]-*ɾẹ-wi-jo-te* (see p. 141). *a-pe-e-ke* (An 724) may well be a place-name (p. 131). *e-ke-jo-to* is quite possibly a noun qualified by *a-ko-to-no* in An 218. 9 (p. 145). *a-re-sa-ni-e* and *a*$_2$*-ri-e* (An 724) are wholly obscure, and the form of the thematic infinitive is *-e-e*, as we have seen. That *a*$_2$*-ri-sa* is a place-name and not an aorist participle is argued below (p. 217). KN X 984 with *e-pi-zo-ta* is a fragment, and the word could equally well be a masculine of the first declension with *zo-wa* the preceding word a proper name. *e-ra-se* (PY Cn 4. 10) has been interpreted as a third person singular aorist, but the 'place analysis' suggests rather that this is the name of a herdsman. *o-pi-me-ne* occurs in the fragmentary PY An 7 preceded by proper names in the dative, the text being concerned with issue of provisions. Parallel texts suggest that these persons, in the dative of recipients, are identified by a place-name. *po-re-na* was at first regarded as the athematic infinitive of a *verbum contractum*, *φορῆναι*, and as such assumed importance in the assessment of dialect relationship (see P. Chantraine, *Gram. hom.*[3] 505). The word is, however, a substantive (p. 267). *ra-ke* (PY Eb 159) looks like the aorist of *λαγχάνω*, but the text is difficult to construe with this identification (p. 207). *te-ra-pi-ke*, interpreted as *θεραπίσκει* 'serves as a squire' (*Docs.*), is most probably not a verb at all (p. 205). *wo-ke* (KN L 698, PY Sh 736) in both instances interprets better as a noun in the locative = *ϝοίκει* (p. 330).

For the verbal adjectives in *-tos* we can cite *a-ki-ti-to*, *a-na-mo-to* (p. 318), *a-na-to* (p. 319), *ka-ko-de-ta* (p. 322), *e-na-ri-po-to* (Glossary), *a-ne-ta* (p. 304), *a-pi-qo-to* (p. 343). Both *ki-ri-ta* (p. 136) and *ko-ro-to* present difficulties. *qe-te-a* may well be the gerundival adjective *q*^{w}*ειτέα*, since it seems to be in opposition to the term *o-no* = *?ὤνος*. If this is substantiated, then the current explanation of the Greek forms as from *-tewo-* will have to be modified (see p. 260), for this depends on the assumption of an early Greek form with intervocalic digamma.

Prepositions

The following are attested: *ἀμφί* in the compounds *a-pi-qo-ro*, *a-pi-po-re-we*, *a-pi-qo-to*. That *a-pi to-ni-jo* may also be a compound adjective is argued below (p. 358). *a-pi* in KN G 820 is a dubious reading which makes difficult sense (Glossary).

ἀπύ also by a curious chance occurs as a preposition in KN G 820, which lists barley, and the women of *Ku-ta-to* are stated 'to have it'(?) *a-pu ke-u-po-de-ja*. For the possible meaning of the last word see p. 307. The orthography leaves it uncertain whether the case is genitive or dative singular. In compounds we have: *a-pe-e-si*, etc., *a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no*, *a-pu-do-ke*, etc.

ἕνεκα occurs preceding a genitive in a number of phrases all of which seem to have religious contexts (see pp. 277 f.). The meaning appears to be 'in respect of', 'in the service of' (Glossary).

ἐπί occurs adverbially in the sense in 'addition to' in PY Eb 842 and Ep 617 (p. 206). It is constructed with the dative *wa-na-ka-te* in PY Un 2. 1 (p. 258). In compounds we have *e-pi-ko-ru-si-ja*, *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja*, *e-pi-ko-wo* (p. 151), etc. It is elided in *e-po-mi-jo*.

ku-su (= *ξύν*) occurs once: *i-jo-te ku-su a-ta-o* (KN L 698). In compounds we have *ku-su-pa ξύμπαν*, *ku-su-pa-ta ξύμπαντα*, and *ku-su-to-ro-pa*$_2$ = *ξυνστροφά* (p. 218).

μετά is found with the dative *pe-i* (see p. 151). In compounds: *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*.

ὀπί with dative has the sense '(watching) over' in PY Ae 134 (p. 127). In other instances *o-pi* with a personal name may have the meaning 'in the charge of, in the possession of': e.g. *o-pi po-to-ri-ka-ta* in KN L 1568, *o-pi e-sa-re-we* (name) *to-ro-no-wo-ko* (occupation) in KN As 1517. 12 (p. 307). On a possible homograph *o-pi*, which may be the name of a recipient of offerings, see Glossary.

o-pi survives in later Greek only in the derivatives *ὄπιθεν*, *ὄπωρα*, and the Thessalian *ὀπει*[1] (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii 465). The preposition forms the first component in a large number of compounds: e.g. *o-pa-wo-ta* (p. 329), *o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra* (p. 151), *o-pi-da-mi-jo* (Glossary), *o-pi-ro-qo* (*ὀπίλοιποι*), etc.

pa-ro is constructed with the dative case. Most of the examples

[1] *ὀπει κε . . .* is paralleled by Cypriot *o-pi ke . . .*, Cauer–Schwyzer 679. 29.

are ambiguous in so far as they may be construed locatively, e.g. *pa-ro da-mo* (see the E series *passim*), but in a few the syntactical implication is distinctly 'from' (e.g. Cc 660, where the syntactical framework of *pa-ro ka-ra-su-no* is given by the supra-script heading *a-ke-o a-ke-re*, see p. 172). Cf. further PY Vn 130. 1 (p. 370). This tilts the balance in favour of taking *pa-ro da-mo* as 'from the damos', and this can be paralleled from an Arcadian inscription SIG 559. 9. The final vowel is presumably to be classed with other reflections of the sonants or *shwa* (see p. 41). In compounds note *pa-ro-ke-ne-*[*to*]. *pa-wo-ke*, if rightly interpreted as *πάρϝοργες*, shows the apocopized form of the preposition.

πεδά. One example can be quoted: *pe-da wa-tu* in the fragmentary KN X 114.

Compounds provide the evidence for other Greek prepositions. *ἀν(ά)* occurs certainly in *a-ne-ta* 'remitted' (p. 304), and possibly in *a-na-ke-e* (p. 142). No example is attested before a consonant, and this may be an indication that the preposition was apocopized in this dialect so that the final consonant would not appear in the orthography. A very dubious example is *a-*34-to* if this = *ἀλλύτω*, cf. *ἀλλύεσκεν Od.* 2. 105 (see p. 23). *ἐν* is found in *e-ne-e-si* (*ἐν-έενσι*) and *e-to-ki-ja* (*ἐντοίχια*) (p. 367).

περί occurs in *pe-ri-ro-qo* (*περίλοιποι*) and in the proper names *pe-ri-me-de*, *pe-ri-qo-ta*, etc. On *pe-ju-ka* see p. 367.

ποσί occurs independently in the sentence *o-u-qe a-ni-ja po-si* (KN Sd 0402, etc., cf. *po-si e-e-si* Sd 0422). An elided example is found in the proper name *po-so-pe-re-i Ποσωφέλεϊ* (PY Cn 40).[1] *πρό* has been detected in *po-ro-e-ke*, but see p. 347. A more plausible example is *po-ro-ko-wa* (Glossary). *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* are certainly inferior in status to the *ko-re-te-re*, and so here the prefix would appear to have a function like the Latin *pro-* or, more probably, to remain within the frontier of Greek, like *πρό* in the Spartan age-group terminology, e.g. *πρόπαις* (see p. 88).

Particles

The negative is *οὐ* and it is regularly written as a proclitic: e.g. *o-u-wo-ze* (Ep 704. 7, cf. *o-wo-ze* Eb 338); *o-u-di-do-si* (Ma 123, etc.).

[1] *po-si-ke-te-re* (An 610) possibly = *ποσικτῆρες*, but it may be a place-name.

The fuller form *o-u-qe* presents some problems. *ka-do-wo mo-ro-pa*$_2$ *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se* (PY Sn 64. 3) is a plain statement not conjoined with or contrasted with a previous sentence. The *-qe* here may not be the enclitic 'and', but may have affinities with the similar particle in the verbal form *e-ke-qe* (see p. 189).

In *o-pe-ro du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e o-u-qe wo-ze* (Ep 617. 4) the meaning appears to be 'is not (*or* will not be) occupying either'. At any rate there appears to be some distinction between *o-u-wo-ze* and *o-u-qe wo-ze* (p. 204). Cf. *o-u-qe te-re-ja* (p. 203).

δέ is used much as in later Greek in a mildly contrastive function: *do-qe-ja do-e-ra ma-te pa-te-de ka-ke-u* 'the mother a slave of D., but the father a bronze-smith'; *da-mo-de-mi pa-si* 'but the *damos* says that she . . . ' (p. 212); *a-ki-ti-to e-ke-de-mi a*$_2$*-ku-mi-jo* 'it is unreclaimed, but A. holds it' (p. 310).

-qe, the enclitic 'and', is extremely frequent. In a series of co-ordinated words it is added to all the members except the first. Note, however, the three co-ordinated sentences in the recurrent formula of Tn 316 (p. 264).

On the different particle *-qe*, which when added to the verb appears to give it prospective force, see p. 189.

o-, *jo-*. A peculiarity of the Linear B texts is that the introductory explanatory sentence often begins with a prefixed *o-* or *jo-*, the latter form being regarded as an attempt to render the aspirate of the proclitic word which may be interpreted as ὅ or ὡς. Examples are: *jo-i-je-si* in Cn 3. 1 (p. 173), *jo-a-se-so-si* in Cn 608. 1 (Glossary), *jo-do-so-si* in PY Jn 829. 1 (p. 281). With *o-*: *o-u-ru-to* in PY An 657. 1 (p. 151); *o-wi-de* in PY Eq 213. 1 (p. 217); *o-o-pe-ro-si* in PY Nn 228. 1 (p. 310); *o-do-ke* in PY Un 267. 1 (p. 270); *o-di-do-si* in PY Vn 10. 1 (p. 367); *o-wi-de* in PY Ta 711. 1 (p. 339); *o-ze-to* in PY Vn 130. 1 (p. 369). At Pylos, therefore, the introductory particle is attached to the verb, which comes to the head of the sentence. The examples from Knossos are less numerous. The clearest is Og 0467 *jo-a-mi-ni-so-de di-do-si*, where the particle is attached to the destination in the allative form. Fp 14. 1 is an offering text with datives of recipients and again *a-mi-ni-so-de* as a destination. The text begins, after a date heading, with the words *jo-te-re-pa-to e-ke-se-si*, which is

readily analysed as particle + verb + dative of recipient, but neither word has been identified 'etymologically' (Glossary). In KN L 641 *o-a-po-te* likewise resists interpretation (p. 298). For the possibility that MY Ue 611 r. 1 is to be read *o-pi-ro-qe-mo a-ke-*[, see p. 365. A certain example from Mycenae is *jo-o-po-ro* in Ge 602. 1 (p. 273), where the first word is again a verb = ὤφλον.

In PY On 300. 8 the second paragraph of this text begins with *o-de*, where the particle is attached to the adversative *-de*. If the word-division is correct, then the next word pa_2-a_2 is likely to be a verb (see pp. 374 f.).

o-a_2 appears to be another variant of the particle introducing PY Vn 20 (p. 369).

A still more complex introductory word is *o-da-*a_2. Its function is to introduce paragraphs other than the first. This can be seen most clearly in the layout of the land-register En 609, etc. (pp. 196 ff.), and again in Eq 213, where all items after the first (ibid. 2) begin with *o-da-*a_2. There would appear at first sight to be decisive exceptions to this rule. Thus Eb 317, Eb 847, Eb 901 all begin with *o-da-*a_2. But in fact, as will be shown below (pp. 212 ff.), these totalling tablets form a series, and one (Eb 236) lacks this introductory word, and so this is likely to be the first of the series. Again, An 218 begins with *o-da-*a_2, but this tablet, too, is one of a set which includes Sn 64, the second paragraph of which begins with *o-da-*a_2. The first paragraph is mutilated, but if it also began with this same word, then we should conclude that the text as we have it is incomplete. Eq 146 begins with *o-da-*a_2, but content and layout show that it is a page of a register resembling the En set. Our rule will thus have no exceptions, and the usage of the word is 'paragraphing-itemizing'. This was in fact its first diagnosis = αὐτάρ '*item*'. Any explanation in etymological terms must account for the regular use of *-*a_2. VC propose ὥδα ἄρ, but the exclusive use of this particular sign suggests the presence of an aspirate.

SYNTAX

From texts so simple in formulation little can be reported under this heading.

Accusative of respect: *a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no ke-re-a*$_2$ 'with its legs burnt off', Ta 641. 1 (p. 344); *to-no a-ja-me-no o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja e-re-pa-te* 'chair with its *o.* inlaid (veneered?) with ivory', Ta 708. 1 (p. 350).

Temporal genitives are common in the offering tablets (pp. 235 ff.) in the form of names of months and festivals. The 'neutral' nominative also occurs (p. 235).

Genitive of material: PY Ta 715 *to-pe-zo mi-ra*$_2$ 'two tables (made) of yew'; cf. *pte-re-wa, e-ri-ka* in the KN Se series (p. 323).

The dative is used to express purpose: in Jn 829. 1 ff. *jo-do-so-si . . . ka-ko . . . pa-ta-jo-i-qe e-ke-si-qe ai-ka-sa-ma* 'they are to give bronze in the form of points for arrows and spears' (p. 283). The dative is thus adnominal, qualifying *ai-ka-sa-ma.*

A temporal dative has been proposed for the festival names *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* and *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, but these we prefer to take as genitive plurals (pp. 250 ff.). Note, however, *we-te-i we-te-i* (p. 221), cf. αἰεί.

An instrumental dative of description is evident in formulae such as *to-no . . . e-re-pa-te-ja-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi* 'a chair with ivory *o.*', PY Ta 707. 2 (p. 348). A peculiar construction is seen in Ta 707. 1: *to-no . . . ku-ru-sa-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi o-ni-ti-ja-pi* 'chair with golden birds on the *o.*', where *o.* is apparently locatival, but the added *-pi* may be a scribal aberration induced by the endings of the words which bracket *o.* Another such descriptive instrumental is *ti-ri-po e-me po-de* 'tripod with one foot' (p. 343).

The locative use of the dative is to be found *passim.* Interpretations involving an allative use of the dative with places must be rejected (see p. 264).

Verb

As regards the use of the tenses we may note the present tense with future reference in PY Ma 365 . . . *ka-ke-we a*$_2$*-te-ro we-to di-do-si* 'the bronze-smiths are giving next year'. This may be connected with the fact that the future seems to have prescriptive force: *jo-do-so-si* 'how they are to give . . .', etc.

The aorist alternates with the perfect in the expressions *to-so-de e-pi-da-to pa-si* (PY Jn 389. 7), *o-a*$_2$ *e-pi-de-da-to* (PY Vn 20. 1).

For the moods we have the possibility that *to-e* is jussive subjunctive in PY Eb 842. 2 and that *to-jo-(qe)* is a prescriptive optative, PY Eb 156. 2 (p. 206). *to-me* is interpreted as an imperatival infinitive, Ep 617. 8 (p. 207). There are no certain examples of the imperative forms of the verb in the introductory formulae (see pp. 155 and 265).

The accusative with infinitive construction was already a part of Greek, as can be seen from the sentences already quoted (p. 212).

On the unacceptable suggestion that *o-wi-de-ta-i* can be a restrictive infinitive 'as far as can be seen', see p. 216.

The perfect participle has its archaic intransitive function in *pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a de-so-mo* in KN Ra 1548 (p. 377), cf. *te-tu-ko-wo-a* KN Ld 871.

The only complex sentence in these texts is Ta 711, where the main clause is followed by a temporal clause introduced by *o-te* (p. 353). On *o-qe e-ra-se* (PY Cn 4. 10) see p. 53.

A few points of word order deserve mention. The order *e-ke-qe o-na-to* as opposed to *o-na-to e-ke* is explained below (p. 190): the emphasis on the verb in the 'prospective' form *e-ke-qe* brings it to the head of its phrase, as is normal in Greek word order. There is no evidence from Greek of a special 'phrase-initial' form of the verb, and in any case this proposal does not explain the facts of the distribution (see pp. 189 f. with references).

A number of instrumentals constructed with a participle tend to bracket the participle: e.g. *se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi qe-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe* in PY Ta 708. 2 (see p. 350).

Successive sentences may be linked by the continuative-adversative particle *-de* (see p. 212). Asyndeton also occurs: *qe-qi-no-to* . . . 'it is carved . . . ' (PY Ta 642. 2); contrast *qe-qi-no-to-qe* in the following line. Asyndeton rather than lack of congruence may account for the clumsiness of *qe-qi-no-me-na* referring to *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi* in Ta 707. 2 and Ta 708. 2 (p. 349).

WORD FORMATION

Some noteworthy points are:

1. The great frequency of the *-εύς* termination. It is used

largely to characterize proper names both in their full and shortened forms (e.g. *ta-ti-qo-we-u* = *Στατιγ^{w}οεύς* and *pa-ra-ke-se-u* = *Πραξεύς*). New is the function in providing descriptives: *ai-ke-u* = *αἰγεύς* 'with goat decoration'. The suffix seems to have the general function 'connected with': e.g. *ka-ke-u* *χαλκεύς* 'he who has to do with bronze'. The corresponding feminine in this function is *-e-wi-ja*: e.g. *wa-na-se-wi-ja* *ϝανασσηϝία* 'decorated with Wanassa'; *a-mo-te-wi-ja* 'decorated with charioteers'. *-e-wi-ja* is also used to form festival names: *wa-na-se-wi-ja*, *di-pi-si-je-wi-ja* (see p. 250).

The feminine agent noun corresponding to the *ἱερεύς* type is, however, *i-je-re-ja*, and this argues a suffix *-eia* distinct from *-εύς*. It cannot therefore be derived from *-ηρια*.

Another strange suffix is *-we-jo* as in *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (e.g. of smiths belonging apparently to the establishment of the goddess Potnia, see p. 279).

3. The Indo-European suffix *-went* with the function 'possessing X' is attached directly to the noun-stem without any thematic vowel: *ko-ma-we* = *κομάϝενς*, *i-to-we-sa* = *ἱστόϝεσσα*, *pe-de-we-sa* = *πέδϝεσσα*, *to-qi-de-we-sa* = *τορq^{w}ίδϝεσσα*, etc.

A compound suffix *-we-te-ja* appears in *ko-ma-we-te-ja*, which below (p. 267) is interpreted as a description of a gold cup 'with leaf-plant decoration'.

Adjectives of material end variously in *-i-jo*, *-e-jo*, or *-e-o*: e.g. *wi-ri-ni-jo*, *wi-ri-ne-jo*, *wi-ri-ne-o*.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF MYCENAEAN TO THE OTHER GREEK DIALECTS

The Mycenaean dialect shows most of the particular characteristics of the dialect postulated as the ancestor of Arcadian and Cypriot. Notable are:

1. The medio-passive endings in *-τοι*.

2. The construction of 'from' prepositions with the dative (see p. 54).

In addition it has some of those features of Arcado-Cypriot

which link this dialect group with other non-Attic-Ionic dialects, notably the Aeolic group:

3. *ἀπύ* for *ἀπό*; *πέδα* (KN), cf. Lesbian, Boeotian, Arcadian, Argolic, Cretan, and Theran.
4. *ὀρ/ρο* for *αρ/ρα* as in *τόρπεζα*; *qe-to-ro-*, cf. Thess. *πετρο-*.
5. *ο* for *ῳ*: *e-ne-wo-*, cf. Arc., Lesb. *δέκοτος*.

As C. D. Buck (*GD*³ 20) observes, 'the preference for *o* appears to be an Aeolic–Achaean characteristic'. In particular the order of the sounds in *τόρπεζα*, paralleled by *to-no* = *θόρνος* and *wo-do-we* = *ϝορδόϝεν*, is found in the Cypriot *θόρναξ* and *κόρζα* = *καρδία*.

This evidence strengthens the old view that Arcado-Cypriot has notable points of agreement with the Aeolic group. This conclusion has recently been impugned, but before discussing this it must be made clear that 'Arcado-Cypriot' is merely the name given to a group of linguistic features which philologists assign to the dialects of the Mycenaean Peloponnese. It does not imply a completely uniform 'Mycenaean' language. The documents of later Cyprus and Arcadia themselves show dialectal differentiation, and we may expect to find in the Linear B tablets forms which differ from Arcado-Cypriot not simply because they are more archaic but because they mirror a variety of 'Mycenaean' in some respects different from the direct ancestors of Arcadian and Cypriot. Thus both Arcadian and Cypriot show a nominative of the type *ἱερῆς*, and this is too peculiar to be attributed to independent development after their separation. Yet the tablets have numerous examples of *-εύς*.

Recent studies (W. Porzig, 1954; ER 1; JC 5) have denied the connexion with Aeolic and brought Arcado-Cypriot into connexion with Attic-Ionic. These dialects, it is suggested, formed a South Greek unity separate from proto-Aeolic, and it was from this ancestral South Greek that Arcado-Cypriot evolved. This new hypothesis runs foul of certain facts. We first consider innovations of Arcado-Cypriot. Noteworthy is the ablatival function of the dative case, common to Arcadian, Cypriot, and Mycenaean. Attic-Ionic does not share in this outstandingly peculiar innovation of syntax. Moreover, the form *ἀπύ*, now seen

to be a separate word from *ἀπό*,[1] and not due to a phonetic development *-o* > *-u*, sets the two dialects apart. We may add the form *po-si* = *ποσί*, which links up with Arcadian-Cypriot *πός*. The basis of this is *po-*, a stem quite different from the *πρό-ς* of Attic-Ionic. To this group of facts *πέδα* also belongs: and of this too there is no trace in Attic-Ionic.

Important is the development of the sonants. The script, as we have seen, shows a distinct preference for the *o*-vowel, of which there is no trace in Attic-Ionic. Recourse is had to the *ad hoc* hypothesis that the final syllable of *e-ne-wo-* is somehow different from that of *ko-wo-* (*κόρϝος*) or of the first syllable of *wo-do-we* (*ϝορδόϝεν*), and that it stands for *-wn̥*. For this supposition there is not the slightest warrant. If we add the order of the sounds in *τόρπεζα*,[2] etc., and that the same sign is used as in *to-no* = *θόρνος*, then we must conclude that Mycenaean differs *in two respects* from Attic-Ionic in the treatment of the sonants, and this alone indicates that the two dialects had already diverged in Mycenaean times.

The verbal ending *-τοι* is important. All Greek dialects except Arcado-Cypriot show *-ται*. Two explanations are possible: either that Arcado-Cypriot alone preserved an archaism or that it alone innovated. If the first be accepted (so Ruipérez), then we have to explain the common front which the other dialects present. This is explained by assuming that the innovation *-τοι* > *-ται* took place early in West Greek and was imposed on proto-Aeolians and proto-Ionians before their early colonizations. The only dialect

[1] P. Chantraine writes (*Gram. hom.* 506): 'les deux formes *ἀπό* et *ἀπύ* doivent remonter a l'indo-européen.'

[2] The value of the syllable transliterated *to* was established by equating the words **5-*12* and **5-*31*, which appear in the totalling formulae, with *τοσ(σ)ο-* and *τοσ(σ)α-*. We cannot safely do otherwise than attribute the same value to the sign in the word *to-pe-za*. This means that the scribe in seeking to render his pronunciation of the first syllable of this word chose the same sign as that in the initial syllable of *to-so*. To claim, in the interests of an hypothesis concerning dialect relationships, that the sign may have had a different vowel is to strike at the roots of the decipherment itself. The same applies to the final vowel of *e-ne-wo-*. The value of this sign was established by the words *ko-wo* and *ko-wa* in tablets believed to list women and children. Our picture of the phonology of Mycenaean rests on such determinations. The plain evidence of the orthography is that the scribes heard the vowel *o* and not *a* in these words. This means that Mycenaean in the treatment of the sonants concerned had already taken a different path from that of Attic-Ionic, where there is no evidence for this representation.

which remained immune to this West Greek influence was Arcadian, which the West Greeks completely surrounded. In such delicate matters of interpretation we must be guided by the principle of economy of hypotheses. The second explanation involves a second complex hypothesis. The first merely requires us to believe that -τοι is of 'structural' origin: it was formed simply by the adding -ι, the mark of the primary endings, to the secondary -το, just as the active primary -ει is in 'structural opposition' to secondary -ε. But Mycenaean already exhibits this innovation of Arcado-Cypriot. In this respect the linguistic division between Arcado-Cypriot and the rest of the Greek world was already in existence by 1200 B.C.

We must add a point of chronology. That Cypriot and Arcadian both show -τοι is rightly taken as an indication that this was a feature of the Peloponnesian dialect at the time when the Mycenaeans occupied the island in force. This the inference relates to the fourteenth century B.C. The Linear B evidence is merely consistent with this. It does not prove that -τοι was 'original', in other words that the ending is to be ascribed to Indo-European of the third millennium B.C.

We may now add some further possible links with Aeolic. The dual of *a*-stems in -ω finds its equivalent only in Hesiod's καλυψαμένω, i.e. in a Boeotian poet. *to-so-ne* (My Oe 118) can be interpreted as a demonstrative which is quotable from Thessalian and Cypriot (*Minos* 6. 1958. 43). *te-re-ja-e* (see above) is interpreted as the infinitive of an athematic vowel stem. The only echo comes from the Lesbian type κέρναν (see C. D. Buck, *GD*³ 155. 3). Of the greatest importance is the determination of the form *to-me*. Here method must be strict and explicit. The facts present themselves thus (see p. 206): *e-ke-qe*:*e-ke*::*to-e*:*to-me*. Taken with the phrase *e-ke-qe to-jo-qe*, this suggests the conclusion that *to-* is a verb and that the time relationships are parallel with *e-ke-qe* (prospective) and *e-ke* (present). I have suggested that *to-e* is a jussive subjunctive and *to-me*(*n*) an imperatival infinitive. The resulting athematic infinitive θῶμεν links Mycenaean with Boeotian and Thessalian. We emphasize in this connexion that *po-re-na*, taken by VC as φορῆναι, is now seen to be a noun (LP 5. 10). Finally,

e-re-[*e*] *qe-ro-me-no* is more easily interpreted as ἔρεεν *g*^{w}ελόμενοι rather than ἐρέται *q*^{w}ελόμενοι (see p. 124). This form of the verb βούλομαι again points to Boeotian βείλομαι and Thessalian βέλλομαι rather than to the βούλομαι with the *o*-vocalism which is also found in AC βόλομαι. This would be yet another point on which Mycenaean diverges from the reconstructed 'Arcado-Cypriot'. *su-za* or rather *su-kja* = συκίαι 'fig-trees', again, finds an echo in Aeolic, i.e. the Lesbian συκία, whereas Attic-Ionic shows συκέη, συκῆ. Finally, there is evidence both for πτόλεμος and πτόλις in Mycenaean: this is echoed by Cypriot (and possibly Arcadian) and Thessalian.

Thus Mycenaean, while sharing in the main innovations of Arcado-Cypriot, has even stronger links than it with the Aeolic group. These 'Achaean' dialects, we conclude, were already distinct from the ancestor of Attic-Ionic. The innovations of the last group have been given far too low a date by the proponents of the new thesis. Ionian *Μῆδοι* is no very certain evidence for the date of the change of $\bar{a} > \eta$, since if the Ionians spoke a fronted $\bar{æ}$ and had no pure long $\bar{a}$, then they would have substituted their sound for the foreign $\bar{a}$. Such 'sound substitution' is a commonplace phenomenon of 'languages in contact'.

The form of the genitive of the masculine *a*-stems is more decisive: the changes in Attic-Ionic are -ᾱο > -ηο > -εω. The last, characterized by the peculiarly Attic-Ionic quantitative metathesis, which must be dated before the Ionian colonization, presupposes the change of $\bar{a} > \eta$. Moreover, the Homeric poems exhibit the last stage of the development with synizesis. Further, Attic has substituted already in the earliest texts its own peculiar innovation exemplified in πολίτου. Thus there are strong reasons for an early dating of the change of $\bar{a} > \eta$. The fact that ναϝός > νεώς presupposes loss of intervocalic digamma shows how early the latter was.

The evidence of the Linear B tablets thus supports the earlier conclusions about the affinity of Thessaly and Boeotia with the Mycenaean Peloponnese, and the picture of the dialect interrelations in Buck, *GD*^{3} 9 ff., needs no modification.[1]

[1] The difficulties inherent in the Porzig–Risch hypothesis were pointed out by

V. THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

For Crete the matter is relatively simple. The tablets, besides Knossos itself, mention Amnisos, Aptara, Dikte, Inatos, Kydonia, Lato, Lyktos, Phaistos, Setaia (?), Tylissos, and possibly Itanos (= ? *u-ta-no*). VC would add *pa*$_2$*-ra-i-so* and Sybrita (*su-ki-ri-ta*). They conclude that Knossos probably dominated the whole island, and this harmonizes with the restriction of Linear B to Knossos. *a-ka-wi-ja-de*, it should be noted, is probably the name of a herdsman, not the lative form of *Ἀχαιϝία* (see p. 184).

In Pylos the facts are more complex. In the determination of the location of place-names the defects of the purely etymological identification of the syllabic groups with Greek place-names known from later sources are most apparent. The difficulties have been clearly stated by VC (*Docs.* pp. 139 ff.). Thus *re-u-ko-to-ro* is in all probability to be interpreted as *Λεῦκτρον*, but 'there are three such places known in the Peloponnese, two of them within reasonable distance of Pylos. And who is to say that there were not others, of which we have no record in our ancient sources?' It is the uncertainty inherent in operating with isolated place-names which makes it important to determine first the relative position of the Pylian place-names. Once this is done, each tentative 'etymological' determination is open to a number of consequential tests. Thus if we identify *me-ta-pa* with the *Μέταπα* of Cauer–Schwyzer 414, which has been sited 'somewhere in Elis or in the vicinity' (see LP 9. 133), then since *me-ta-pa* is the second of the 'Nine' (see below), this identification implies that *pi-*82* (*pi-jai*), its neighbour to the north, must be in the vicinity. The equation of this latter place with *Phe*(*i*)*a*(*i*) and its location at the base of Ichthys is consistent with the previous determination. Many such tests can be applied. The argument establishing the interrelationships and devising the verificatory tests is complex

E. Benveniste (*Et. Myc.* 263): six centuries or more elapsed between the Linear B texts and our later evidence for the Greek dialects. The new hypothesis implies a remarkable conservatism in the Arcado-Cypriot branch of the Common Mycenaean and a no less profound evolution in the Attic-Ionic branch. He concludes 'N'est-il pas plus plausible de supposer qu'à l'époque de nos tablettes, l'ionien (qui n'y est pas représenté) était plus ou moins largement différencié?' This is the conclusion we have reached above. Similar results have been published by F. R. Adrados (FA 1), A. Tovar (AT 2), and C. Gallavotti (CG 11).

and necessarily scattered over the whole book as each group of texts containing geographical indications is discussed. The following is a summary of the successive steps:

1. The tributary places are listed in two groups, one of the 'Nine' and the other of the 'Seven', and the 'Nine' in particular are listed in a constant order.
2. The words *de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* occur in two summation tablets (Ng 316 and 332) which refer to the deliveries listed place by place in the Na series (p. 310). *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* occurs in the heading to the second paragraph of On 300, which lists a commodity against the 'Seven' places. The first paragraph is mutilated, but it is clear that it deals with corresponding entries for the 'Nine'.
3. *de-we-ro-* and *pe-ra-*, which are 'in opposition', are interpreted as δευρο- and περα- (P. B. S. Andrews) with meanings like the Latin *cis* and *trans*.
4. *pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* is found on a sealing with the WOMAN ideogram, and it is considered likely (J. Chadwick) that this was the sealing on the box which held the A series. These tablets list women and children in localities which again are disposed in two groups (p. 113). What is of interest is that rations are recorded for only one of the two groups, and this concerns women located in the area of the 'Nine', which, we have concluded, constituted the tributary towns of the Hither Province. This implies that the women in the Further Province got their supplies from elsewhere, i.e. *re-u-ko-to-ro*.
5. *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja* occurs on Ae 398, which is one of a set concerning places apparently belonging to the 'Seven'.

   This first stage of the analysis leads to the preliminary conclusion that the tributary places are grouped in two provinces one of which is *cis* and the other *trans* some geographical feature from the point of view of the palace at Ano Englianos.
6. The etymological method is now applied to the syllabic groups and this leads to the location of the two extreme points of the Hither Province at *Phiai* and *Rhion*

respectively. Taking the constant order as a geographical one, this sites Pylos effectively roughly in the centre of its Hither Province with the holy place *pa-ki-ja-ne* close by, a result which has prima facie plausibility.

7. All the available texts are now examined to see whether there is consistency in the north–south listing which is a consequence of step 6. There is such consistency (see LP 9 and pp. 68 f.).
8. The north–south orientation is now applied to the 'coast-defence' tablets (pp. 156 ff.). Among the many 'clicks' we may mention the primacy of the region of Kyparissia and Aulon, on the strategic importance of which for Messenia see p. 159.
9. The consequences of step 6 are pursued further. The extreme southern point of the Hither Province being fixed at Rhion,[1] we must face the conclusion that here must be some important geographical feature which serves as a demarcation point between the two provinces. Cape Akritas suggests itself. *From this we are forced to the further conclusion that the 'Seven' must lie within the Messenian gulf.*
10. The tablets afford opportunities of verification. The coast-defence document (p. 157) jumps from *ka-ra-do-ro*, the last but one of the 'Nine', to *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*, the first of the

[1] Cf. *Docs.* p. 142: 'Only one of the places can be fixed with much probability: *Ri-jo* must be Rhion, a name associated with the promontory on which stands the modern Koróni (the ancient Asine); even this is not certain, for it is a name applicable to any promontory.' We stress that this probable 'fix' commits us to a complex system of interrelationships, the verification of which increases its probability.

We do not, however, identify *ri-jo* as the name of the promontory itself. We wrote (LP 9. 143): 'Valmin, *op. cit.* p. 169, rejects the identification of Rhion with Corone-Asine and suggests that "Rhion aurait été le nom d'une plus grande partie de la côte de l'Akritas ou de celui-ci même". I too believe that Rhion meant "Cape Province" and that the Mycenaean scribes when listing the *de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* counted from Pheai down to and including the "Cape Province".' If our deductions are correct, then the Mycenaean name for the cape itself lies concealed in the derivative *ai-ko-ra-i-ja* (see p. 310).

It has been suggested by an anonymous commentator (*MLS* 11 xi 59) 'that investigation showed no Mycenaean remains and no probability of them on Cape Akritas'. The question is rather whether the Mycenaean king of Pylos, who was also in control of the eastern coast of Messenia, did not occupy the tip of the peninsula as well. See further below on the degrees of probability of equating *ri-jo* (1) as in *Documents* and my own works, (2) with Achaean Rhion, (3) with some unknown cape or place.

'Seven'. The troops stationed there are apparently to proceed 'to (the) Nedon' (p. 157). This would place the 'Seven' effectively within the Messenian gulf (cf. 9).

11. The long gap between the last of the 'Nine' and the first of the 'Seven' suggests that the places are listed from the extreme points to the demarcation point. This means that Rhion, the last of the 'Nine', and Helos, the last of the 'Seven', must be adjacent. The only information we have about the Messenian Helos sites it near Akritas.
12. That it is natural for a Greek to proceed in this way when describing this region is shown by the practice of Strabo, who travels down the west coast as far as Akritas, then jumps across to Taenarum and then works his way back round the Gulf to Akritas.

We stress again that the above picture is tentative. No more is claimed than that the ambiguities inherent in the script and the recurrence of place-names can be diminished by thus operating with complex groups whose relative position has been determined by textual analysis rather than with single items etymologically identified. For instance, if it is established that the 'Seven' lie within the Messenian gulf and that *re-u-ko-to-ro* stands to this province in the same relation as *pu-ro* does to the 'Nine', so that we conclude that it was the 'capital' of the Further Province, this will influence our choice among the various places of this name mentioned in the later sources and may lead to the rejection of them all.

The method of first establishing the interrelationships so as to impose a discipline on all 'etymological' identifications is the analogue of Ventris's own cryptographic method of finding the interrelationship between the signs by observation of inflectional phenomena. A suggestion made by VC (*Docs.* p. 145) provides an instructive illustration of the method and of testing our arrangement of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven' on both sides of Cape Akritas. They write: '*E-wi-ri-po* offers hope of identification, for Euripos implies the existence of a strait with an appreciable current.' By elimination on the basis of information from the *Admiralty Mediterranean Pilot Book* (iii 61) they find that the

indications are strongly in favour of a location near the Methoni Strait formed by the island of Sapientsa.

Now *e-wi-ri-po* occurs (An 610. 6) in conjunction with *a-ke-re-wa*, *wo-qe-we*, and *ri-jo*, and the last two places are mentioned adjacently in An 724. 13. 14, a text of a similar character dealing with *e-re-ta* 'rowers' (p. 130). *ri-jo* we have identified with the 'Cape Province' near Akritas, so that *wo-qe-we* on our analysis should lie somewhat to the north of it with *e-wi-ri-po* not too far away. Since we have found reason to place *pa-ki-ja-si* in the vicinity of Pylos, *a-ke-re-wa* must be two stages south of this in the direction of *ri-jo*. This is consistent with VC's proposed location of *e-wi-ri-po*.

We now apply rigidly the principle of geographical order which was imposed on us by a 'chain reaction' by the first 'fix' of *pi-*82* as the northernmost point in the chain of the 'Nine'. In particular we emphasize that this involved placing the 'Seven' to the east of Cape Akritas within the Messenian gulf. Since the order in An 610 is *e-wi-ri-po* — *po-si-ke-te-re* (it is doubtful whether this is place-name) — *a-ke-re-wa* — *wo-qe-we* — *ri-jo* — *wi-nu-ri-jo* (possibly a double place-name with *ri-jo* as second component) — *te-ta-ra-ne* — *a-po-ne-we* — *ma-ra-ne-nu-we* — *po-ti-ja-ke-e* — [.]-*ku-si-jo* — *za-e-to-ro*, we are forced to the conclusion that all the places listed after *ri-jo* are to the east of Cape Akritas in the Further Province within the Messenian gulf and that they are listed in the reverse order of the 'Seven'. We are in the fortunate position of being able to make a number of verifications.

te-ta-ra-ne and *a-po-ne-we* occur in the same order after *ri-jo* also in An 1. 5. *ma-ra-ne-nu-we* is echoed in Ma 393 (p. 304), where the *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* appear as 'non-givers' in the assessment of the place *za-ma-e-wi-ja*. This is next to *e-re-i* (Helos), the last and nearest of the 'Seven' and so, on our analysis, at no great distance within the Gulf of Messenia. *po-ti-ja-ke-e* appears in An 298 after *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja*, and this is yet another indication which shows that we are now within the province of the 'Seven'. On our principle, *po-ti-ja-ke-e* will lie to the south of *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*, thus confirming our hypothesis of the reverse order. Its general location is also consistent with the analysis of the place-name as

po-ti-ja + *ke-e*; for *ke-e* is known as the station of women within the Further Province (see pp. 113 ff.). We shall also have occasion to point to the importance of *a-pe-ke-e* in these complex arrangements, and this place-name also admits of analysis as *a-pe* + *ke-e*; there is a variant form *a-pe-ke-i-jo* = '*Ke-i-jan A-pe*'.

za-e-to-ro, again, in the *o-ka* tablet An 661 (p. 157) is listed between *ka-ra-do-ro*, north of *ri-jo*, and *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*, the first (and farthest) of the 'Seven'. While it is not possible to determine its precise geographical position, it fits into the general pattern of relationships, which thus show an astonishing measure of consistency. If we admit the 'fix' of *e-wi-ri-po*, to which such importance is attached in *Documents*, the chain of geographical relationships we have established enables us to locate this concentration of *e-re-ta* in southern Messenia on both sides of *ri-jo*. It should be noted that in the tablet listing rowers 'to go to Pleuron' (An 1) the scribe first lists the main ports *ro-o-wa* and *ri-jo* in the usual north–south arrangement and then the minor ones: *po-ra-pi* (in the neighbourhood of *a-ke-re-wa*, see p. 160) followed by *te-ta-ra-ne* and *a-po-ne-we* on the far side of *ri-jo*. Apropos of the last we may add that the only two mentions of *e-re-ta* in the Ad set (p. 121) are echoed in An 610, and this gives great weight to the identification of *a-pu-ne-we* and *a-po-ne-we*.

It is further encouragement for the validity of our methods that recent exploration of the area mapped out by us as the Further Province has revealed two important Mycenaean sites near Longa and Rizomylo and traces of an ancient road leading from Pylos to the latter place (see provisionally *MLS* 11 xi 59). It seems inescapable that the palace at Ano Englianos controlled the western shore of the Gulf of Messenia.

By way of contrast it will be instructive to subject another set of proposals to a methodological analysis: J. Kerschensteiner ('Pylostafeln und homerischer Schiffskatalog', *Münchener Studien zu Sprachwissenschaft*, Heft 9. 1956. 35 ff.).

An 1 is examined first but 'little can be said about localization' of the place-names. *ri-jo* could be either the Achaean or the Messenian Rhion or indeed some other cape. The related An 610 with its 'rowers' represents perhaps the preparations for sending out a colony (p. 40). There are no

clues to the destination, but the tablet offers 'in a certain sense' a parallel to the Catalogue of Ships.

An 519 is next examined. The author is disposed to follow H. Mühlestein in connecting *ki-ri-ja-i-jo* with a place Krios near Pellene in Achaea: 'Die Leute von Krios' (it is actually the name of one of the 'officers', see p. 148). The identification of *mu-to-na* (another 'officer'!) with Mothone is 'erwägenswert' (p. 43). *o-ka-ra*$_3$ could be Oichalia (this is now generally abandoned and the word is taken as an ethnic, see p. 153), while *a*$_2$*-ra-tu-wa* is brought (following Mühlestein) into connexion with *Ἀραιθυρέα*, the old name for the region of Phlius in the north-east Peloponnese. *i-wa-so* (ethnic *i-wa-si-jo-ta*) may be either the Achaean Iasos or the Arcadian place of this name. The general conclusion is (p. 45) that the places mentioned are to be located in the northern and western Peloponnese, the later Elis and Achaea.

The author next proceeds to examine the relationship of the tablets to the place-names in the Pylian part of the Catalogue. *ku-pa-ri-si-ja* (*sic*; the word is actually *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* Sa 488, where it is a description of the wood of which the WHEELS are made!) and *a-pi-ke-ne-a* (without context on the small fragment Xa 1044) are brought into relationship with *Κυπαρισσήεντα* and *Ἀμφιγένεια* (B 593), while *a-pu*$_2$ and *e-re-e* (following me) are identified with Aipy and Helos. Yet *a-pu*$_2$ can hardly be the Triphylian town but is possibly (*etwa*) identical with Aipeia, the later Thouria or Korone. This would favour identifying *ri-jo* with Asine. All these identifications point to south Messenia.

e-ko-me-no points to Erchomenos in Arcadia, and it is presumably no accident that the place occurs in connexion with herds of sheep and that Homer calls Orchomenos *πολύμηλος* (that *e-ko-me-no* is merely one of a series of cattle stations in the general area of *pi-*82* and *me-ta-pa* is shown below, p. 164). *ro-u-so* also may be connected with the Arcadian Lousoi and *ko-tu-we* with the Arcadian Gortys (although it occurs in connexion with *a-ke-re-wa*, Eb 213, which is on the coast, see p. 160, and the author would connect with Cape Akritas). *re-u-ko-to-ro* again is to be sought in Arcadia (p. 51). The general conclusion is that the evidence for Arcadian places in the Pylos tablets shows that the pasture grounds of the Pylian princes were located there.

The author is thus unaware of the grouping of the Pylian dependencies into a 'Hither' and a 'Further' group. Nor again has she understood the relationship of *re-u-ko-to-ro* to the Further group, and so has left unexploited the fact that there are no ration documents for the women associated with it. She has not realized that the CATTLE tablets are to be grouped into sets, so that the cattle stations are to be located in the general area of the place mentioned in the top tablet bearing the word *we-re-ke*. Finally, the significance of the consistent order has not been exploited, and she knows of only one *o-ka* tablet. As a consequence the only way of interpretation left is the uncontrolled application of the etymological method without regard for internal consistency.

The paper has been singled out for examination because it has recently received the approbation of Professor D. L. Page (1958), p. 214, where he assesses my own analytical procedures as 'highly speculative' and those just examined as 'much less speculative'.

Perhaps the strangest aspect of Professor Page's qualified approbation of the above paper is that, whereas Dr. Kerschensteiner scatters her locations over the greater part of the Peloponnese and has detected signs of an incipient colonial enterprise, Professor Page himself believes that 'it is perfectly possible that all nine of them lay close to Pylos' (p. 201). That this is true of *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* has long been clear (see above). We have already taken this as one of the confirmations that the order of the 'Nine' is a geographical one and that Pylos lay roughly in the centre of its own 'Hither Province'. But it is in the basic question of methodology that a contradiction is most apparent. We have insisted from the beginning that the determination of the relative positions of the places by internal analysis must precede attempts at 'etymological' identification with later place-names. Professor Page is perfectly aware of this sound principle. He writes (p. 104): 'I take to heart the words of Albrecht Goetze . . . : the correct method of defining locations lies in "the determination of relationships between various countries. A system of such relationships must be established, and only then can an attempt be made to establish their absolute position on the actual map." ' Yet when he turns from *Asia* (identified in this way with *Assuwa*) to Greece, he singles out for approval a study which wholly neglects this principle and indeed is unaware of the evidence[1] from which it is possible to extract the system of interrelationships, which, he agrees, must be the first step.

The doubts which Professor Page attempts to cast on the 'importance' of the 'Nine' (he betrays no awareness of the existence of the 'Seven') are, of course, irrelevant to the geographical problem. Their significance in our texts is that of 'palace-tributary' places, and we shall argue below that they appear rather as 'royal vills' in areas where there are other economic units, not least 'the commune' (p. 218). From the geographical point of view what is significant is the regular order. It is here that a geographical arrangement offers itself as an hypothesis open to many and complex possibilities of verification (see especially pp. 60 ff.).

Our case is simply that the data, culled from texts of widely different class and context, exhibit a satisfactory consistency of interrelationships; that the area of the Pylian kingdom revealed by the individual identifications, which fix their absolute positions on the map, corresponds largely with the traditional picture; and that archaeological explorations conducted after the publication of our analysis seemed to confirm our extension of the Pylian domains at least to the western shore of the Messenian gulf.

As for the northward extension of the kingdom towards the Alpheus,

[1] Our assessment of Miss Kerschensteiner's paper agrees with that of E. Risch (= ER 14. 41): 'Malheureusement, elle ne tient pas compte des quatre autres tablettes publiées au début de cette année, bien qu'elle doive les connaître. C'est-à-dire que cette étude était vieillie dès son apparition.' This verdict, though severe, is just. A similar judgement must be passed by all who are familiar with the facts.

we must free ourselves of preconceptions. The Pylian kingdom should not *a priori* be confined within the limits of historical Messenia. The Homeric picture shows the Pylian frontier near or on the Alpheus. The discovery of Mycenaean remains on the site of Phea does not, of course, constitute a proof that it was tributary to Pylos. Yet the over-all consistency of the postulated geographical order encourages the belief that *pi-jai* and *me-ta-pa* were the two northernmost of the tributary 'Nine' places of the Hither Province. Rejection of the identification with the two later places carries with it the implication that there were two other homonymous places in much the same geographical relationship to the north of Pylos in Mycenaean times. The comment in *Docs.* p. 143 'but this is to stretch rather far the northern limits of the kingdom' is merely the statement of a preconception.

The tangle of relationships revealed by our analysis is so complex that it is possible to start at a different point from our own and yet reach the same results. Suppose, for instance, that we begin with the evidently close connexion between *pu-ro* and the holy place *pa-ki-ja-si*, which occupy the two sides of a single tablet (pp. 261 ff.). It would be reasonable to suppose that *pa-ki-ja-si* lies close to Pylos. Now it is the fourth of the 'Nine' places and so lies roughly in the centre. We deduce that on one extreme we should expect to find places corresponding to *pi-jai* and *me-ta-pa*[1] and at the other extreme point a place corresponding to *ri-jo*, such that the absolute positions fixed by the identifications would leave Pylos in the centre of its own Hither Province. Phea, Metapa, and Rhion fulfil this condition.

In conclusion it should be said that even if our picture of the Pylian kingdom should require modification, all attempts must start with the analysis of the same texts as have been examined above. It will not do, for instance, to state 'there is not a single place name on the tablets reliably identified north of Kyparissia' (J. Chadwick, *MLS* 11 xi 59). The identification of *ku-pa-ri-so* with any particular place of this name is, in the first place, open to the objection enunciated in *Docs.* p. 140, since there must have been scores of places in Greece designated after this particular tree. Only if analysis of the interrelationships had established that *ku-pa-ri-so* was north of Pylos, could we hazard the equation. Alternatively, if we treat the equation as a tentative hypothesis, then we are committed to the complex series of relationships

[1] Add the connexion of *me-ta-pa* and *ku-te-re-u-pi* (see p. 128).

evidenced in the *o-ka* tablets and especially to the close connexion with *a_2-ru-wo-te*. For a detailed analysis see p. 159.

The only full-scale attempt to exploit all the topographical data in the texts since the publication of my own study has been that of G. P. Carratelli (GC 19). He has adduced certain facts which, he believes, conflict with the above geographical locations of the Pylian place-names. In PY Cn 4 (p. 172) *e-ri-no-wo-te* is apparently included in the cattle stations of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, the fourth of the 'Seven'. Yet this same place in An 427 (p. 137) is listed between *a-pu$_2$* and *a-ke-re-wa*, the fifth and six of the 'Nine'. Again, in Cn 595 *me-ta-pa* seems to figure among the cattle stations of *e-ra-te-re-wa*, which itself is the fifth of the 'Seven'. Carratelli (1958) has seized upon these apparent discrepancies, and he prefers to site the Further Province in the Corinthian gulf. He argues that at the end of the Mycenaean period the kingdom of Pylos had extended its dominion and its hegemony to western Arcadia and to Achaea rather than to the southern Peloponnese. As we have seen, this conflicts with both the tradition and the archaeological evidence. What has been overlooked is the fact that the two CATTLE tablets where the apparently discrepant facts occur differ from the cattle inventories (pp. 164 ff.) in that they list not stocks but 'deficits'. The same formula heads both these texts, and it contains the word *o-pe-ro* 'deficit'. Consequently, what we must conclude is that these animals and their herds men are *not* in *a-si-ja-ti-ja* and *e-ra-te-re-wa*. We are fortunate in having a text which records the same facts from the angle of the personnel rather than of the beasts. An 5 puts the men's names first and then the place of their location, and we can see that An 5. 6–7 = Cn 4. 2–3. The fallacy in the objections raised on the basis of these data can be made clear by a simple example. If we record that a person absent from London is in Princeton, this will not impugn our previous conclusion that Princeton is in the 'Further Province'. A similar apparent discrepancy is quoted from PY Ma 225, which lists the assessment of *pi-*82*. The second line records 'last year's deficit', and this carries a suprascript gloss *re-u-ko-to-ro*. The deficit itself is trivial: *RI* LB 2. It would, of course, be possible to argue that this place-name is so common that a minor place of

this name could easily figure among the subsidiary villages of *pi-*82*. However, it can hardly be an accident that the third of the allegedly discordant facts likewise figures in an *o-pe-ro* entry, and the same explanation will hold good. The entry presumably relates to the debt of a person who has moved from one place to another since the previous year. The trivial nature of the debt suggests in any case that it is due to individual default, and we have in Nn 831 (p. 310) an example of the breakdown of the assessment of a place into its individual obligations. Mn 456, again, records trivial amounts of *146 against place-names, one of which appears to be *re-u-ko-to-ro* and another *si-re-wa*. For the last place we have a similar record of 'last year's deficit' in Ma 126, and it is explained as *do-si-mi-ja i-na-ma-ta*, which again may refer to the individual concerned.

Thus the difficulties which these facts occasion do not seem sufficient to disturb the generally consistent picture which has emerged from our analysis or to justify the far-reaching geographical and historical conclusions of Carratelli's thesis. It seems hardly likely that the Seven places of the Further Province were to send from so remote a region as Achaea the bronze for arrow-heads and spear-tips which is recorded in Jn 829. Again, in the above 'rower' text it is hardly likely that the scribe jumped from *e-wi-ri-po*, &c., to places on the Corinthian gulf.

The two sets of dependencies may be arranged schematically as in the following table, which will serve as a framework of reference.

Hither Province	*Further Province*
PYLOS	*RE-U-KO-TO-RO*
'The Nine'	'The Seven'
*pi-*82*	*ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*
me-ta-pa	(*pu-ro*) *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*
pe-to-no	*sa-ma-ra*
pa-ki-ja-ne	*a-si-ja-ti-ja*
a-pu$_2$	*e-ra-te-re-wa*
a-ke-re-wa	*za-ma-e-wi-ja*
e-ra-to	*e-re-i*
ka-ra-do-ro	
ri-jo	

Notes

The above 'canonical' order is based on PY Jn 829, which for the 'Nine' is faithfully reflected in Cn 608 and Vn 20. In the Ma series *e-ra-te-i* is absent and we find *ro-u-so* instead. The same is true of the bronze series (Jn 832 refers to *ro-u-so*). For the location of *ro-u-so* see p. 161.

The above order of the 'Seven' is nowhere repeated. On 300 appears to list *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*, *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, *e-ra-te-re-wa*, *te-mi-ti-ja*, *sa-ma-ra*, and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* in that order. The much mutilated Vn 493 lists *ti-mi-ti-ja* first, while in the subsequent entries some places are paired: e.g. *e-sa-re-wi-ja za-ma-e-wi-ja-qe*. The order is again different from that of Jn 829. The analysis of the CATTLE tablets shows that the inconsistency in the listing of the 'Seven' may be due to the fact that they do not lie in a simple linear order along the coast. Pausanias' journey first from Pharae into the interior of Messenia (iv 30–33), then back to the mouth of the Pamisus and thence to Akritas (iv 34), is a suggestive parallel. After Akritas Pausanias' stages are simply Mothone–Coryphasium–Cyparissiae–Aulon.

Noteworthy are the numerous double place-names which I have interpreted (LP 4 and 9) as analogous to 'Newcastle upon Tyne', the second word giving the district, &c. The word divider is often omitted since the name is regarded as a single entity. Examples are *da-i-ja-ke-re-u*,[1] *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, *a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo*, *a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo*, *ta-to a-ka-re-u-te*, *ma-ta a-ka-re-u-te*, *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja*, *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u*, *ru-ko-a_2-ke-re-u-te*, *pu_2-ra_2-a-ki-ri-jo*, *pu_2-ra_2-a-ke-re-u*, *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*, *pa-ka-a-ka-ri*, *ma-to-ro-pu-ro*. Many of the second components end in *-e-u*, sometimes with the addition of a suffix *-te* (= *-θε*?) These formations may be district names. Sometimes they appear to correspond to village names in *-wa*: e.g. *wo-no-qe-we* (Un 1193. 2), *wo-no-qe-wa* (Na 396), *a-ke-re-we* (Un 1193. 3), *a-ke-re-wa*, *passim*. The village names in *-e-wi-ja* may be further derivatives: *te-re-ne-wi-ja* (cf. *te-re-ne-we*), *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, *a-te-re-wi-ja*, &c., although these may be based on personal names in *-e-u*.

[1] Note that the priest of *ne-wo-ki-to*, to the north of *a-ke-re-wa*, is stationed at *da-i-a-ke-re-u*, i.e. *da-i* in the territory of *a-ke-re-wa* (see pp. 152 and 154).

Below it is argued that *te-ko-to-(n)-a-pe* is also a double place-name. We note that some of the above components occur separately. To these we might add *a-pe-ke-e*, also *a-pe-ke-i-jo*, *ka-ro-ke-e*, *po-ti-ja-ke-e* (cf. *ke-e*, Aa 93, Ad 295), *ke-i-jo* (Na 577). *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* (Nn 228) will presumably be another *ke-i* (in Ἀχαρνά?). If *a-pe* may similarly be regarded as an element of the toponymy, then *a-pe-i-ja* (Ub 1318. 5) could be a corresponding ethnic used as a proper name.

A number of toponyms appear to contain a (? personal) name in the genitive: *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo*, *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*, *wa-no-jo wo-wo*, *ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo*, *o-re-e-wo wo-wo*, *re-pa$_2$-se-wo wo-wo*, *u-po-di-jo-no wo-wo*, *me-ka-o wo-wo*, *ru-ke-wo wo-wi-ja*.

In KN As 1519. 11 we have a record of MEN: with the final entry *di-ri-ne-wo wo-i-ko-de* 'to the οἶκος (οἶκοι?) of *Di-ri-neus*'. This opens up the possibility that some of the Pylian place-names ending in *-wo-ko* may be similarly interpreted. Thus *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* could be the '*woikoi* of Ampux'. That it is a place-name and not an occupational word 'headband-makers' has already been argued (see further p. 114).

VI. PERSONAL NAMES

Docs. pp. 92 ff.; LP 6b; AH 1, AH 3; OL 1; DHG 1

With personal names the sole method of identification is the etymological one, that is, by the application of the spelling rules to the known corpus of Greek proper names. It is evident that the greatest reserve must be shown towards such identifications and that little value attaches to a name invented *ad hoc* to account for the syllabic group. Even so there are a number of identifications which can be regarded as beyond reasonable doubt. *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* can hardly be anything but Ἀλεκτρυὼν Ἐτεϝοκλεέϊος, more particularly when the first name also has the inflected forms *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no*, *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-ne*.

The inventory of securely identified names shows that Mycenaean possessed the categories familiar from later times, especially from the Homeric epic. We have the full names consisting of a compound with two components which are also familiar from other Indo-European peoples (Solmsen–Fraenkel, *Indogermanische*

Eigennamen). *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra, te-o-do-ra, pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* = *Ἀλεξάνδρα, Θεοδώρα, Φιλοπάτρα* are of the same order of self-evidence for women's names.

A point of relevance to interpretation is the habit of giving a son half his father's name. This is particularly frequent in Cyprus: thus *Onasilos* is the son of *Onasikupros* (Cauer–Schwyzer 679). This phenomenon is also found in Germanic, and it has the consequence of sometimes producing nonsense combinations of elements (Solmsen–Fraenkel 116–18). We may recall further that the onomatology often preserves linguistic elements which become obsolete in the ordinary vocabulary of the language. Thus *Λαέρτης* preserves in its second component the verb *ἐρ-*, which is attested by *ἔρετο· ὥρμήθη, ἔρσεο· διεγείρου, ἔρση· ὁρμήση* Hesych., but which was replaced by the extended forms *ἐρέθω, ἐρεθίζω* (see Frisk, *GEW* sub voc.). Thus *Laertes* simply means 'he who urges on the folk'. There is, however, another type of compound in which the verbal element comes first. Here three sub-groups are distinguished (see E. Risch (1937) 172 ff.), according to the form of the first component. We have the type *Ἐχέδαμος*, the type *βωτιάνειρα, φαεσίμβροτος*, and the type *φιλοπτόλεμος*. Examples of all three are to be found in our texts: (*a*) *e-ke-da-mo*; (*b*) *e-ti-ra-wo* = *Ἐρτίλαϝος* (meaning the same as *Λαϝ-ήρ-τας*), *o-ti-na-wo* = *Ὀρτίναϝος*; (*c*) *pi-ro-we-ko* = *Φιλόϝεργος*. Certain characterizing suffixes can be attached to the full names; among these the most notable are *-εύς* and *-ών*. For the former we can cite *ta-ti-qo-we-u Στατιϝοϝεύς*, in which the suffix is added to our type (*b*). This is of morphological interest since according to Risch (op. cit. 144) the suffix is added only to simple nouns, and he regards *πατροφονῆα* and *ἡνιοχῆα* as poetical creations.

The suffix *-εύς* is especially characteristic of shortened names (Risch 145): e.g. *Μενεσθεύς, Εὐρυσθεύς* (for *-σθένης*), *Μελανεύς* (cf. *Μελάνιππος*), *Ἰφεύς*, cf. *Ἴφικλος*, itself a shortened form of *Ἰφικλέϝης*; cf. *Δάμοκλος, Πάτροκλος*, &c.

Particularly frequent in our texts are the shortened forms of names with a sigmatic verbal form of the type *Πραξιτέλης*. Examples are *pa-ra-ke-se-we* = *Πραξήϝει* (dative), *o-na-se-u* = *Ὀνασεύς, a-we-ke-se-u* = *Ἀϝεξεύς, a-re-ke-se-u* = *Ἀλεξεύς*, &c.

The new insights reopen the question of a long-standing puzzle of Greek proto-history: why are so many names of the earlier generation of heroes allegedly non-Greek and non-Indo-European? Examples quoted are *Πηλεύς* and even his son *Ἀχιλλεύς*. Before offering our own solution we insist that current opinion is not based on any positive evidence. No one has produced from Aegean or Asianic sources names of this appearance or suffix. Scholars are merely saying that with the above elements and procedures of morphological analysis they have been unable to fit these names into established Greek and Indo-European patterns. The conclusion is simply a confession of failure.

However, there is no difficulty about *Πηλεύς* since this contains merely the Aeolic form of the first component corresponding to Attic *τηλε-*, so that it can be classified within the given morphological framework as the shortened form characterized by *-εύς* of a compound name such as *Q^{w}ηλέμαχος*. *Τηλεύς* is attested from Eretria, while yet another form *Τηλέ(ϝ)ας* (F. Bechtel, *Hist. Person.* 425) will account for the name *qe-re-wa-o* (genit. PY Cn 655. 1), *qe-re-wa* (KN X 122, X 296).

Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς fits just as easily into the accepted morphological scheme. Many of the short forms simply add the thematic vowel to the truncated stem (Solmsen–Fraenkel 120): *Τήλεμος*, *Τήλεκλος*, *Ἔχελος*. *Πένθιλος* is similarly a shortened form of *Πενθίλαϝος*, where the first component presents the 'Caland-form' of a neuter *s*-stem (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 447 f.): cf. *Καλλι-άνασσα* (*κάλλος*), *Οἰδι-πόδης* (*οἶδος*), *Κυδι-άνειρα* (*κῦδος*), *Θερσί-λοχος* (*θέρσος*) &c. Now the optional doubling of the consonant[1] ('gemination expressive') is particularly characteristic of shortened forms: *Χαρίλα(ϝ)ος*, *Χάριλλος*, *Χαρίλλης*, *Πραξίλλεις*, *Πέριλλος*, *Κύριλλος*, &c. Thus *Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς* resolves without difficulty as a shortened form of *Ἀχί-λαϝος* characterized by 'gemination expressive' and suffix *-εύς*, the noun of the first component being *ἄχος*, cf. *πένθος*.

Scholars have naturally sought for the name of the Pylian dynasty, and *Νέστωρ* in particular, in the Linear B texts from Pylos. *Νέστωρ* is characterized by the agent suffix, and we may

[1] E. Fraenkel, *RE* xvi. 2. 1640.

compare *Μέντωρ*, *Κάστωρ*, *Ἕκτωρ*, *Ἄκτωρ*, &c. Now the parallels *Μέντωρ* : *Μενέλαϝος* : : *Ἕκτωρ* : *Ἐχέλαϝος* : : *Ἄκτωρ* : *Ἀγέλαϝος* suggest the possibility of a †*Νεσέλαϝος*, corresponding to *Νέστωρ*. This name would, of course, lose its intervocalic *-s-*. In fact a name *ne-e-ra-wo* occurs in PY Fn 79. 5 in the company of *a-ki-re-we* = *Ἀχιλ(λ)ήϝει*, and *du-ni-jo*, whom we encounter on the land of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*[1] (p. 220).

Now our type (*b*) above will allow us to expect a form *Νεστι-* as a first component. The name *ne-ti-ja-no* (Cn 599. 1), dative *ne-ti-ja-no-re* (Cn 40. 1), is evidence for *Νεστιάνωρ*. We may compare *Κάστωρ* : *Καστιάνειρα*. The same root *kas* ('excel') may be detected in the name *Ναυσικάᾱ*, where again the intervocalic *-s-* of *-κασᾱ* has disappeared. 'Excelling in ships' is an appropriate name for a girl whose brother is called *Κλυτόνηος* and for whose *ναυσίκλυτοι* 'compatriots' Homer offers names such as *Ἀκρόνεως*, *Ἐλατρεύς*, *Ναυτεύς*, *Πρυμνεύς*, *Ἐρετμεύς*, &c.

Yet another example where loss of intervocalic *-s-* has obscured the verbal root is *Οἰνομάος*. The verb is evident in the agent form *Μάστωρ* and *μαίομαι* (*masj-*), future *μάσσομαι*, aorist *μάσσαι* 'long for, seek'. Thus *Οἰνόμαος* means 'he who longs for wine'.

Thus while the name *Νέστωρ* has not occurred, we have two names containing the verbal root *nes*, for which I have suggested the meaning 'save, rescue' (LP 6*b*).

Above we noted the practice of giving to the son part of his father's name: e.g. *Εὐρυσθένης* son of *Σθένελος* (LP 6*b*. 10 with literature). Thus *Νηλεύς*, father of *Νέστωρ*, may be explained as the shortened form of *Νε(h)έλαϝος* with contraction of the two vowels and addition of the characterizing *-εύς*. The full name *Νε-(h)έλαϝος*, attested for Mycenaean Pylos, would regularly become by Attic sound-laws *Νείλεως*, and this is the name of the son of the legendary *Κόδρος*, the Pylian who helped to repel the attack of the Heracleidae on Attica.[2]

The possible interpretations of the syllabic words diagnosed as proper names have been thoroughly examined by Landau. Attention may be drawn to some points of linguistic interest.

[1] Note, too, that he has 'ration-status 5'; see below on the interpretation of the BARLEY texts.

[2] See O. Broneer, *AJA* 52. 1948. 111–14.

There are a number of compounds ending in *-me-de* = *-μήδης*: *a-pi-me-de*, *e-u-me-de*, *pe-ri-me-de*, *e-ke-me-de*. The question arises what the first element of *a-no-me-de* (PY Jn 706. 5) is. Mühlestein (*2° Colloquio* 67 ff.) has made the interesting suggestion that this is *ἀνορ-*, the compound having been earlier of the form *ἀνῆρ-μήδης*, where the first component is the weak grade of *ἀνήρ*. The form with thematic vowel as in *Ἀνδρομήδης* he believes to be later. Another instance proposed is *a-no-qo-ta*, one of the cattle 'owners' of Knossos (see p. 177). However, it is imprudent to base so far-reaching a linguistic conclusion on identifications of proper names. Since we have *a-pi-me-de* and *pe-ri-me-de*, it is perhaps wiser to class the first component *a-no* in the group of adverbial prefixes. Additional weight accrues to this analysis from a fact which Mühlestein himself has observed. Some of the 'cattle owners' of Knossos are listed in KN B 798, where varying numbers of MAN^{B} (='craftsmen', see pp. 137 f.) are entered against their names. Mühlestein has not grasped this fact, and so believes that a name is in the plural when it has a plural entry against it. Now in this list, instead of *a-no-qo-ta*, we have the spelling *a-na-qo-ta*. This suggests that the first element is the preposition *ἀνά*, and so it falls into the word-class 'diagnosed' for it by the fact that it alternates in this series of names with *pe-ri-* and *a-pi-*. The conclusion is that the Mycenaean form of *ἀνά* was *ἀνό*, and this is paralleled by *pa-ro* for *παρά*.

Two items of interest for the dialect depend on the interpretation of proper names. The form *πτολι-* is found in *po-to-ri-ka-ta* (KN Uf 983), which is interpreted *Πτολικάστας*. *πτολεμο-* is detected in *po-to-re-ma-ta* (PY Jn 601), interpreted as *Πτολεμάτας*.

On the prepositions in proper names, see pp. 54 f.

Finally we make another attempt to 'etymologize' the name of the prominent Pylian personage *A-ko-so-ta*. The solutions proposed hitherto (†*Ἀξότας*, †*Ἀρξότας*, see OL 1. 20) are all invented and are unsatisfactory as regards morphology. Now we have a name *A-ka-sa-no*, and this can be equated with *Ἀλξάνωρ* (cf. *Ἀλξήνωρ*, Bechtel, op. cit. 38). Another version of the same name with non-sigmatic first element is also attested: *Ἀλκάνωρ* (Bechtel 36, cf. Pape–Benseler, sub voc. *Ἀλκήνωρ*). The root *αλκ-*

is widely used in the formation of proper names (Bechtel 35 ff.) and in the dossier we find *Ἀλκοίτας Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Κιερίου* (Bechtel 36). In listing the names containing the element *-οιτης, -οιτος*, Bechtel comments: '*Ἀλκοίτας* und *Μενοίτας* werden am besten zusammengefaßt, da Homer *μένεος ἀλκῆς τε* (X 282) verbindet; die Namen bezeichnen Leute, die Stärke und Mut bringen.' In view of the pair *Ἀλκάνωρ* : *Ἀλξάνωρ* we may postulate a twin *Ἀλξοίτας* for *Ἀλκοίτας*. This name would be rendered with strict adherence to the spelling rules *A-ko-so-ta*.

Thanks to the greater accuracy at Knossos in rendering the *i*-diphthong, we have another reasonably certain example of a name in *-οιτας*. This is *pi-ro-i-ta* (KN V 1523. 5). By a curious chance the only example quotable by Bechtel is *Φιλοίτης Μεσσήνιος*, and we recall also the patronymic form *Φιλοίτιος* from the *Odyssey*.

It is in the onomatology that we might expect to find pointers to the pre-Greek population, especially among the names of the subject-classes. E. Peruzzi (*Word* 15. 1959. 313 f.) has listed some resemblances between the names occurring in the Linear A tablets from Hagia Triada and the Linear B tablets from Knossos.

a-ra-na-re	HT 1*a*. 4	*a-ra-na-ro*	As 1516. 11
pa-ja-re	HT 8*b*. 4, 88.4	*pa-ja-ro*	As 1519. 6
qa-qa-ru	HT 93*a*. 4–5	*qa-qa-ro*	As 604. 3
di-de-ru	HT 86*a*. 3, &c.	*di-de-ro*	X 1504

More are listed by Landau (268 ff.), and he goes on to suggest possible identifications with names known from Asianic sources. Here the warning of the dangers involved must be still more emphatically sounded. It is to be expected that the more dictionaries consulted, the greater will be the number of 'clicks'. One example may serve to point the moral. Below we shall diagnose *sa-ra-pe-da*, dual *sa-ra-pe-do*, as orchard land (p. 217). The latter form, against the spelling rules, has been identified as *Σαρπηδών*, and Landau goes on to quote this as the name of a mountain in Cilicia and he also refers to *Zrppädoni* on the Xanthos stele.

VII. THE STRUCTURE OF MYCENAEAN SOCIETY

The current picture of Mycenaean society (see *Docs.* pp. 119 ff.) has emerged from close analysis of the texts as a whole. The detailed arguments are thus again necessarily scattered throughout the book as the different texts come up for examination. Here we shall merely summarize the argument with special attention to the methodology involved, since this is fundamental to any assessment of the results and it has been widely misunderstood.

From the Pylos E texts relating to land tenure the following order of holders and their respective holdings may be set up (see pp. 213 ff.):

wanax : *temenos*
lawagetas : *temenos*
te-re-ta : *ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na*
damos : *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*

In examining all the words concerned our procedure will consist of the following steps in the given order:

(*a*) diagnosis by means of contextual analysis;
(*b*) attempt to identify the word within the vocabulary of later Greek;
(*c*) assessment of the evidence as given in the meaning of the identified word;
(*d*) comparative study of the social structure which emerges.

Little difficulty attaches to the first item in the above structure. *Wanax* can hardly be anything else than the king. The great land register represented in the E series (pp. 186 ff.) in all probability concerns the estate of the *wanax* at the holy place of *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*, and it is there that we find the shrine of *po-ti-ni-ja*; in fact the whole place seems to be devoted to her (p. 263). We may recall that Alcinoos had his *temenos* near the grove of Athena (*Od.* 6. 291). A further point is that *wanax* and *po-ti-ni-ja* are listed adjacently in PY Un 219. 7 (p. 259), and that *wanax* is also likely to be the title of a god whom we have identified as the Young God (p. 249). This encourages the view that the Mycenaean *wanax* was a sacral

king. His connexion with Potnia and the great prominence of cult officials as land-holders at *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* are consistent with this diagnosis.

For the *ra-wa-ke-ta* it is significant that whereas so many of the tenants at *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* are described, as *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, this word does not appear in the Ea series (pp. 218 ff.), where we find instead *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*. In particular we may note the presence of the *a-mo-te-u ra-wa-ke-si-jo* 'the Charioteer of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*'. Another prominent military character is *a-pi-a$_2$-ro* (see p. 372). There are indications that the land recorded in the Ea series was at *ti-no* and that the size of the estate bore a relationship of 137 units of seed corn to the 170+ recorded for the estate at *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*. Further, there is evidence for the connexion of a divinity *I-qo* (Hippos) with this land. In An 724 the *ra-wa-ke-ta* figures along with other notabilities in 'rower' context, and this links up with those discussed above which we found reflected a concentration of rowers probably in southern Messenia. Thus there can be little doubt of the importance of this personality or his military connexions.

We now identify the word easily as λαϝαγέτας, and this means evidently 'Leader of the λαϝός'; and if we give λαός the meaning which it has predominantly in Homer and which is supported by the etymology (LP 3. 35), the title 'Leader of the War-host' is consistent with the pure diagnosis.

Now the *wanax* and the *lawagetas*, in that order, are the only Pylian personalities who are credited with a *temenos*. Not even the grandee *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* has this type of holding (see pp. 216 f.). Moreover, that these two are *sui generis* is indicated by the paragraphing in Er 312, where the scribe has carefully left a blank line after these two entries before going on to the *te-re-ta*. It would be imprudent to ignore such an indication. If we now turn to later Greek evidence, we shall find that in Homer the persons who have a *temenos* are precisely king and war-leader. Odysseus has one, and we may add the evidence of Herodotus (iv 161), who refers significantly to the fact that Battus, king of Cyrene, was allowed to retain his τεμένεα and ἱερωσύνας. As for the *temenos* of the war-leader, it is hardly necessary to remind scholars of Meleager and

Bellerophon. Sarpedon (*Il.* 12. 310 ff.) expressly links his *temenos* with his obligation to fight at the head of the Lycians.

The terms *te-re-ta* and *da-mo* cannot be studied apart from the tenurial terms with which they are linked in our texts. *ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na* are held always *pa-ro X*, where *X* is a named individual. Diagnosis must precede etymological identification. Thus on the available evidence *ki-ti-me-na* land is in the first place that held by individuals called *te-re-ta*. Pure analysis, without attempt at etymological identification of the word, further shows that *te-re-ta* is a generic term which includes occupations such as shepherd, potter, and fuller. Moreover, when the same men are recorded as holding *ke-ke-me-na* land from the *damos*, their designation changes to *ko-to-no-o-ko* (p. 191). We deduce that *te-re-ta* is a tenure-bound term and that it is inseparable from status as *ki-ti-me-na* holders. Moreover, the term *wa-na-ka-te-ro* designates a number of tenants in this land. It would appear that the *te-re-ta* have this status in virtue of their relation to the *wanax*. There is not a shred of evidence that the *te-re-ta* had religious functions (see p. 193). An important indication is their place in the land register and the fact that in the totalling tablets they are not grouped with personages of known religious function. In Knossos, too, they are grouped with 'carpenters', which accords with the company they keep in the Pylos tablets. The word is now generally identified with τελεστάς, which means literally 'man of the burden (of service)'. The word did not acquire a religious meaning until the second century A.D. On the available evidence, therefore, the title designated men in royal service.[1] The translation 'service-men' commends itself. On the misleading suggestion 'barons', see below.

That *da-mo* stands for *damos*, and that this is a corporate body with a will and an organ of its own appears clearly from the texts (see pp. 211 f. especially on the case of disputed tenure). In view of the constant association with the phrase *pa-ro da-mo, ke-ke-me-na* is generally agreed to denote 'common land' under the control of the *damos*. This was the first step: one of pure diagnosis before

[1] Note that the term *te-re-ta* does not recur in the Ea series, where *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* also appears instead of *wa-na-ka-te-ro*.

attempting any etymological identification of the word. This put *ke-ke-me-na* into possible morphological relationship with κοινός, so that the nucleus presented itself as a root *kei*. Further exploration of the Greek vocabulary detected other scattered members of the same family in *κέαμι, κεάζω 'split', κώμη (originally 'shareland', hence its equivalence to δᾶμος, which is also a noun from a verb meaning 'distribute'), and κῶμος a band of men'. However, the Mycenaean picture emerges from the pure diagnosis apart from any possible etymological identification. No difference of opinion on the latter question affects the identification of *ke-ke-me-na* land as *damos* land.

The picture which thus emerges from the pure analysis of the texts is this. A sacral king stood at the head of Pylian society closely linked with a goddess Potnia. Next comes a personage whose title means 'Leader of the War-host'. After the τεμένεα allocated to these two the major dichotomy of the land is into land held by individuals owing service of various kinds to the *wanax*, and that of the *damos*, which has its own land. Some of this it leases to palace folk of various kinds, but the idiom (see pp. 189 ff. on *e-ke-qe*) suggests that it was the final instance in its disposal. Only at this stage of the analysis is confirmation sought by comparing institutions in other societies, first and foremost the contemporary Hittites with their non-Asiatic 'Indo-European' kingship and full assembly of the nobility (see especially LP 2 and LP 3). There we find a similar dichotomy, with palace land in the hands of Men of the Service, and land under the control of the village. In particular, eminent specialists in the field of Anatolian studies had already established the existence of a class of 'bourgeois' specialists, who were compared to the Greek δημιουργοί. Since they held land from the village, it became possible to suggest an explanation of the puzzling term δημιοϝεργοί which was not open to the charge of an anachronistic rendering of δημιο- as 'public' (see LP 2. 12 f., LP 3. 42 ff., LP 17 with literature).

It was, however, the Germanic world which provided the most striking parallels. The word *haims* in Gothic is actually used to translate κώμη, with which it is etymologically related, and in

Germanic the word has the meanings 'collective village' and the land (*ἀγροί*) belonging to it. The Greek word covers much the same semantic field as its Germanic relative; for we recall Aristotle's statement that *κώμη* was used in the Peloponnese as equivalent to the Attic *δῆμος* (*Pol.* iii 1448ª36), which denotes both a social class or group and the territory belonging to it. Now the family of *haim-* is widespread throughout the Indo-European world, and the words denote various aspects of the settlement and 'familia'. That the concept of the 'shareland' continued to live is shown by the word *gedalland* in Old English and above all in the Celtic (Welsh) *rhandir* 'shareland', which continued to be the technical term for the village 'openfield' down to recent times (see p. 189).[1]

It is also Germanic society that offers us the most exact equivalents for the technical terms which analysis has revealed in the Pylian documents. There, too, we have a king (= Man of the Kin), a war-host leader (LP 3. 36 with references), and above all a most curious equivalent for the 'Man of the *Telos*': this is *baro* 'Man of the Burden'. In view of the misleading modern connotations of 'baron' it will be well to draw attention once again to R. Much's analysis (LP 3. 40), where he states that 'barons' were originally 'zinspflichtige Leute', and that the term owes its rise in social status to the use of the term with reference to the king's servants. We stress again, however, that all this followed the analysis of the Mycenaean texts, which stands in its own right. To avoid possible misunderstanding (see below) we draw attention to the pagination in our original analysis: the reference to the German *baro* was made in LP 3. 40[2] after the discussion of the Hittite Man of the Service, who 'lifts' and 'casts off' his burden of service. It was the last step in the examination of the *te-re-ta*.

The same strictness of methodology applies to the diagnosis of the *e-qe-ta*. In the first place it was noted that these were the only personages who were dignified with the full style of name and patronymic in the grand Epic manner (LP 2. 20 f.; LP 3. 53). They appear at the end of the paragraphs in the *o-ka* series as accompanying contingents of the men on coast-watching duties.

[1] See G. R. J. Jones (1953) and E. E. Evans (1958).

They were thus singled out as persons of exceptional dignity and importance (cf. *Il.* 10. 69 quoted below p. 152). Etymological identification now properly followed after diagnosis according to the methodological principles laid down. The grandees were revealed as 'Companions'. Parallels were first sought in the Homeric world, then the Macedonian; finally, the Germanic world provided yet another exact parallel in its various terms for the 'Counts' of the king. Here, too, the analogy of other societies merely provided a background for the further interpretation of a term which analysis had already circumscribed. The dossiers of the various *e-qe-ta* are traced in detail below. However, it may be noted that the method of analysing the literal meaning of a term and then seeking for analogues elsewhere to illuminate the picture thus tentatively revealed is a common practice among historians. For instance, M. Finley, by etymological analysis, suggested that the Homeric δημιοεργοί were 'public workers' and then quoted the Kabyle of North Africa in support (see LP 17 for a criticism of the method).

The lower hierarchy of officials have designations strange to post-Mycenaean Greek. The heading of Jn 829 (see p. 281) groups the most important. Each of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven' dependencies appears to have a *ko-re-te*(*r*) and a *po-ro-ko-re-te*(*r*). On the 'bronze standard' of Jn 829 (see p. 281) their relative importance is of the order 8:3, or in four places 11:3. On the 'gold standard' of Jo 438 (see p. 287) the relationship appears roughly as 6 or 5:3. We note further that *ke-ke-me-no* land is dubbed *ko-re-te-ri-jo* in An 830. 6. The KN evidence likewise shows a *ko-re-te* in connexion with place-names, and V 865 (see Glossary) inserts an *a-ke-re-mo*(*n*) between the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* of *pa*$_2$*-ra*. Hesychius credits Aeschylus with the word ἀγρεμών in the sense of ἐπιμήνιος, that is a priest who offers the monthly offerings (see *LSJ* for refs.). This religious association may be added to those of *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* and to the *ka-ko na-wi-jo* in the heading of Jn 829. Thus there is no contextual evidence for the contention that the office of *ko-re-te*(*r*) and *po-ro-ko-re-te*(*r*) was of a military character. The identification †κοιρητήρ (Ruipérez) is again a purely 'etymological' connexion with a non-existent

Greek word. Ventris's own early suggestion *χωρητήρ* would be preferable. It would be made from *χωρέω* in the basic sense 'divide' (especially land) which underlies *χῶρος*, *χωρίς*, *χωρίζω*, &c. This, however, is purely speculative. What is firm is that one *ko-re-te(r)* appears in each dependency; he has a junior official, the *po-ro-ko-re-te(r)*, and is in a position to deliver 'temple bronze'.

Jn 829 also lists *du-ma-te* after the *ko-re-te-re-(qe)*. In On 300, as restored by us (see pp. 374 f.), a *du-ma* appears as the penultimate entry in each paragraph after the *ko-re-te-re* of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven' respectively, the paragraph concluding with the name of a prominent personage. The hierarchy of the 'provincial' administration reflected in the set-out of this tablet appears thus:

'NINE'	'SEVEN'
da-mo-ko-ro (= **85-ke-wa*)[1]	*te-po-se-u*
du]*-ni-jo du-ma*	[ ] *du-ma*
9 *ko-re-te-re*	7 *ko-re-te-re*

We may note further that in An 192 *du-ni-jo du-ma* and **85-ke-wa* are adjacent entries. Jo 438 contains several broken entries ending in]*-ma*, which the context suggests should be completed as *du-*]*ma*. The amounts of gold are in the *ko-re-te* range or higher. Noteworthy is that both *te-po-se-u* and **85-ke-wa* (= *da-mo-ko-ro*) on the 'gold standard' stand to most *ko-re-te-re* in the ratio 12:6 or 13:5. Their status will therefore be higher.

Next we have the *damos* controlling its own land and even lodging protests recorded in the palace land-register apropos of a disputed tenure on behalf of *ko-to-no-o-ko* on its land (pp. 211 f.). Below we shall suggest that we hear about this land only in so far as palace folk have an interest in it. In this connexion Eq 213 (p. 217) is of interest. If our interpretation is right, then this text refers to a geographical area (*a_2-ri-sa*), the 'ploughland' of which is recorded under five places: three of these we know as tributary places (*a-ke-re-wa*, *e-ri-no-wo*, and *ko-tu*); the fourth is *o-te-pe-o*, designated as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*; and the fifth, which is by far the largest, is *ko-no*, which we have interpreted *κοινόν*. This

[1] On the identity of *da-mo-ko-ro* and **85-ke-wa*, see p. 354.

suggests that the geographical unit *a_2-ri-sa* contained three palace-tributary places, another belonging to Potnia, and a much larger 'commune'.

The numerous types of craftsmen are discussed below (pp. 129 f.). Attention may be called to the analysis of the rations (pp. 225 f.), which reveals grades of 'ration-status'. What is significant is that the men, women, and children apparently have exactly the same monthly allocation of grain in both Knossos and Pylos (see p. 119).

We may perhaps detect other social classes in those tablets which we believe reflect the state of emergency in the last months of Pylos (see below). In the 'rower' texts we find entries relating to *ki-ti-ta* and *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* (An 610). These are formations from the verb *ktei*, which we know referred to 'reclaiming' operations (see *a-ki-ti-to*, *ki-ti-je-si*). *me-ta-*[*ki-ti-ta* are recorded after the entries relating to 'rowers' at *te-ta-ra-ne*, *a-po-ne-we*, and elsewhere (see pp. 130 f.). We conclude therefore that crews could be made up at these places from men designated *μετακτί(σ)ται*; that they are linked in the same function with men belonging to the class *κτί(σ)ται*; and that they both are distinguished from those rowers who are mentioned first and are described simply as men of the place concerned without further designation. The transparent meaning of the name suggests that they were 'wasteland' men, while the *me-ta-* suggests the notion of 'transference'. Now in LP 3. 28 I drew attention to Achilles' words (*Il.* 9. 644 ff., cf. 16. 59): . . . *ὥς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν Ἀτρεΐδης, ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην*, and I suggested that the word referred to 'transported population'. What I had in mind as a possible parallel was the Hittite NAM. RA class. In view of our analysis and the link of the terms with the 'land-clearance' verb, it is of interest to read A. Goetze's comments on this Hittite social class (*Kleinasien*[2] 106): 'Auch die soziale Klasse, die die Texte mit dem sumerischen Terminus NAM. RA bezeichnen, ermangelt der vollen Freiheit. . . . . Sie bilden einen guten Teil der Kriegsbeute und werden als solche von einem Lande ins andere verpflanzt, um neugegründete Dörfer zu besiedeln oder wüstliegende Landstriche wieder unter Kultur zu nehmen.' Once again Hittite

institutions evoke remarkably precise echoes from Mycenaean terminology. We would go no farther than this; but that the world of Mycenae knew only too well of the NAM. RA and their importance to the Hittite kings is clear from the Tawagalawas letter (iii 9), where the king of *Aḫḫijawa* is reproached for taking 7,000 NAM. RA.[1]

Finally, attention may be drawn to the terms *o-pi-ro-qo* with its sub-categories *e-ke-ro-qo-no* 'wage-earners', and *pa-wo-ke* 'ancillaries'. *e-ni-ja-u-si-jo* (An 39. r. 7, see pp. 134 f.) occurs in a text listing groups of craftsmen. The word could indicate men engaged for the year (cf. *Il.* 21. 443–4, ὅτ' ἀγήνορι Λαομέδοντι πὰρ Διὸς ἐλθόντες θητεύσαμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν μισθῷ ἔπι ῥητῷ). The adjacent entries are proper names (e.g. *pa$_2$-ra$_2$-te* r. 3), but this does not preclude the above interpretation, since in An 7 we find *pa$_2$-ra$_2$-te* in parallel with *pi-ri-je-te-si* and *to-ko-do-mo*.

The method by which the above results have been reached has been misunderstood by some critics. The most systematic exposition and vigorous expression of this misunderstanding has been that of Professor D. L. Page in *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959), chapter V, 'The Documents from Pylos and Cnossos', pp. 178–217. The basis of the error is the belief that 'the whole system is a hypothesis, a pattern not revealed by the Tablets but imposed on them from outside' (p. 184, and the note 29, p. 205, where the same statement is repeated in a different form). In view of the importance of the matter the criticisms must be reviewed in detail.

Professor Page does not question the identification of *wa-na-ka* with *wanax*, but for him it is merely an opinion that there was only one in each place (p. 189); and while he has a *temenos*, his connexion with *pa-ki-ja-ne* is merely 'obscure'. 'This is a small sum of knowledge and the rest is guesswork.' However, if there were more than one *wanax*, then the simple designation by this word in a number of texts would be ambiguous; the scribes in writing this word must mean '*the* wanax' and not '*a* wanax'. If the great land register referring to land at *pa-ki-ja-ne* with its shrine of *po-ti-ni-ja* (Tn 316, see pp. 261 ff.) and the men referred to as *wa-na-ka-te-ro* did not refer to the estate of the *wanax*, then we should face the remarkable fact that the palace archivists had devoted this amount of effort to recording the lands of some other person than the *wanax* and that the only reference we have to his land is the modest amount in Er 312. This unknown person is the one so closely associated with Potnia, and it is merely a coincidence that *Wanax* and *Potnia* are mentioned adjacently in Un 219. Finally, Professor Page knows nothing of the occurrence of *wanax* in the OIL tablets, where the name appears in divine company; and

[1] A recent discussion by D. L. Page (1958) 30 = note 35. Goetze (loc. cit.) warns against rendering NAM. RA as 'prisoners'.

it is of little importance whether the word refers to the king or the Young God whom he would have represented in cult. At any rate there can be little doubt about the religious connexions of the title in the Linear B texts. This gives significance to the link with a *temenos*, on which see above. The evidence of the tablets when combined with later usage of the word leaves little room for doubt that the *wanax* was the king of Pylos or that this was the Mycenaean word for the king. If it were not, then we should have no reference in these texts to the occupant of the palace in which the texts were found. Professor Page's summary, however, is 'let us leave him, uneasy on his doubtful throne'.

As for the *lawagetas*, Professor Page believes (p. 205) that the case rests solely on Er 312, and this 'is a frail foundation for the inference that the *lawagetas* ranked next to the king'. He is unaware of the analysis of the LAND tablets in the Ea set; he dismisses the fact that the *temenos* on the available evidence is the attribute only of the *wanax* and the *lawagetas*. The fact that this relationship is also true of Homer is not evaluated. On the contrary, he urges, it may well be that other people had such holdings (p. 206).

Again Professor Page does not consider the possibility that these notabilities may have possessed land, minor holdings, elsewhere than at the place of their main estates which we have located respectively at *pa-ki-ja-ne* and *ti-no* (see especially p. 220). This is doubtless the reason for the seeming inferiority of the *lawagetas* to the great personage *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* in the contributions to Poseidon and the mention of only three *te-re-ta* in Er 312. As for the military significance of the *lawagetas*, it should be noted that he occurs in parallel with *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*, *ta-ti-qo-we-u* in An 724 which, as we shall see, must be taken with the other 'rowers' texts. Finally, we have the important evidence of the Ea set recording *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* personnel and above all the divinity *I-qo*. To this we must add, as Professor Page fails to do, the transparent meaning of the word *lawagetas* itself. Thus we get a complex structure of 'oppositions' between these two top personages of the Linear B texts.

wanax–temenos—estate at *pa-ki-ja-ne*—with *wa-na-ka-te-ro* holders—god *Potnia*.
lawagetas–temenos—estate at *ti-no*—with *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* holders—god *Hippos*.

However, to assess the probabilities involved we accept the criticism and invite the critic to carry intransigence still farther. Let us assert that all we really know (accepting the decipherment as Professor Page does) is that a word *wa-na-ka-te-ro* is linked with *te-me-no* in the first line of the above text and that it is followed on the next line by *ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no*, which is itself followed by a blank line. But our identification of the words is purely etymological, and this is no guarantee that we have here references to a *temenos* of the *wanax* and *lawagetas* respectively. It may well be that the purely chance play of the multivalent syllables has resulted in a picture with an accidental resemblance to the facts presented in the Homeric epic and later Greek usage. It may be an accident that the sole equivalent of the first word is an adjective meaning 'of the king' which is brought into association with another word whose sole representative happens to be *temenos*. Similarly, the entry in the second line conjures up a spurious 'etymological' picture of a *temenos* belonging to a personage whose name, if we take the identification

seriously, means 'Leader of the War-host'. It is an accident that the scribe has made these entries in this particular order and has separated them from the subsequent entries by a blank line, thus creating the impression that they constitute a separate paragraph. In any case we have no guarantee that there were no other persons with a *temenos*, even if the grandee *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* is known only as the holder of a pair of *ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na* (p. 217). Thus even if we grudgingly accept the identifications of the words, it is merely the random selectivity of a fragmentary record which has created the perfect parallelism between the Mycenaean facts, as thus incautiously interpreted, and the picture of Homeric society. Thus the choice facing scholars is merely a commonsense assessment of probabilities. If they reject the remote possibility of such accident, then they may add the evidence which further analysis of the texts has elicited and which for us was the starting-point of the investigation.

It is in his account of the discussions relating to *ki-ti-me-na pa-ro* X (= *te-re-ta*) and *ke-ke-me-na pa-ro da-mo* that Professor Page is most inaccurate. He was misled doubtless by a rapid reading of an unpublished paper shown to him in manuscript (see p. 211, note 63), which attempted to show that the *te-re-ta* had religious functions and were 'initiation priests'. That there is no evidence in the texts for this is shown in detail below (p. 193). But Professor Page gives guarded assent also to the interpretation of *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* as 'beetroot gatherer' (see pp. 193 f.). However, the resulting description of a land-holder *Ru-*83* in Eo 276 as 'initiation priest and beetroot-gatherer' should have counselled caution, more particularly as this incongruous combination of specialized functions is achieved only by taking a noun in the nominative in apposition with another in the genitive.

It is apropos of *ke-ke-me-na* and *ki-ti-me-na* that misunderstanding and consequent misrepresentation are most serious, for these are fundamental matters. Professor Page writes (p. 206): 'we actually have to guess what the verb *ke-ke-me-na* comes from—then we have to guess what it means and then we have to guess its relationship to *ktimena*.' This precisely reverses the order of the pages in my first study of these terms (LP 3): *ki-ti-me-na* is first *diagnosed* by textual analysis and then explained morphologically and etymologically, pride of place being given to Greek relatives (pp. 24–26); next *ke-ke-me-na* is first diagnosed (always *pa-ro da-mo*), the methodology being made explicit with a special warning against the premature resort to etymology (pp. 27–28); then comes the connexion with other Greek words (pp. 28–29), followed finally by Indo-European congeners (pp. 29 ff.). The whole procedure is made so explicit that it is difficult to understand how any careful critic could arrive at the above summary of the argument. It is perhaps to be explained by his following the simplified, less technical summary of the finding in my inaugural lecture (LP 2) rather than the original article on which this was based.

The matter is of importance because the Mycenaean picture is in fact entirely independent of the proposed etymological identifications of the syllabic words *ki-ti-me-na* and *ke-ke-me-na*. The pursuit of these terms beyond the frontiers of Greece is no part of this book, but the picture which emerged of the Indo-European world was wholly different from any previously

adumbrated. The matter will be discussed elsewhere, but it is incorrect to say: 'Guesses at the interrèlationships of these terms have to be founded on guesses at their meanings, and these in turn have often to be founded on guesses at the very roots from which these words have sprung' (p. 206). On the contrary, the road of inquiry led from analysis of the texts to post-Mycenaean Greek, and thence by the bilingual gate of Gothic, which guarantees the semantic equivalence of the words equated, into the Germanic world and beyond. So far from being founded on 'exuberant speculation', the current picture of Mycenaean society (as adopted in *Documents*) merely reflects the orderly habits of the Mycenaean scribes which it would be imprudent to ignore. We call attention once again to the logical arrangement of the entries in the land-register, for which we have been able to restore the correct order of the 'pages' (pp. 198 f.). The succession *te-re-ta–ko-to-no-o-ko* (the same individuals on *ke-ke-me-na* land)—*ka-ma-e-we–te-o-jo do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra*—cult officials—is a fact which meticulous interpretation cannot afford to ignore, all the more so when it is reflected also in the totalling tablets.

Finally, a word must be said about the relationship of the account in *Documents* to my own work, for Professor Page has called this into question. The matter must be straightened out because the picture of Mycenaean society which is now largely accepted by specialists in this field is of importance to the historian not merely of Greece but also, I believe, of early European society, though that is a theme which must be pursued elsewhere. Professor Page writes (p. 205), in pursuance of his contention that the whole picture has been foisted on the tablets from outside, that the connexions with the Germanic world were 'rightly treated with the utmost reserve by the editors of *D[ocuments in] M[ycenaean] G[reek]*'. The actual relationship will best be clarified by quotation. On 25 January 1955 Michael Ventris wrote to me: 'I have just embarked on the chapter which comments on the E tablets. . . . Are your forthcoming publications advanced enough for spare proofs . . . ?' These were sent to him, and he wrote on 29 January 1955: 'Thank you very much for the copy of "Achaeans and Indo-Europeans", which has helped very much to get the draft of our chapter on "Land tenure tablets" into shape. The comparisons which you suggest do more than anything else to conjure up a credible background to the set-up of the tablets, and we've quoted you with full agreement in principle—except for one of those hum-and-ha escape-clauses which you've come to expect from us. This merely points out the difficulty of ensuring that at a particular moment the set-up in fact functions in the way that the etymology of the terms used would suggest.'

My sole comment is that the picture rests on the texts themselves. We have first distinguished what can be learned by pure analysis of the tablets themselves. 'To conjure up a credible background' for this set-up requires the use of the comparative method. Exactly the same is true of the picture of Mycenaean religion which has emerged again from pure analysis (see the methodological discussion, pp. 252 ff., and W. K. C. Guthrie's comments on the use of the comparative method). It would be possible, of course, merely to rest content with a statement of the facts and their structural

interrelationships which can be culled from the tablets without attempt at integration into a coherent system or comparison with facts known from elsewhere. But Professor Page himself (p. 187) speaks of 'the whole elaborate structure of government, the whole complex system of society' depicted in the tablets. This result requires a demonstration of the procedures by which it was arrived at no less than the system which he rejects.

VIII. THE MYCENAEAN ECONOMY

The archives of Knossos and Pylos reveal a highly centralized 'palace' economy closely linked with the service of religion. We have already discussed the estates of the *wanax* and the *lawagetas*. The CATTLE tablets likewise reveal the *wanax* along with the chief religious personages as owners of extensive herds scattered over the two provinces of the kingdom (see pp. 164 ff.). The BRONZE tablets show industrial establishments in full activity, the smiths being divided into *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* and secular, the latter presumably 'royal smiths' since the palace records the allocations. *ka-ko na-wi-jo* is requisitioned for armaments, and we shall see reason to interpret the adjective as 'temple' rather than 'ship's'. We have documents also reflecting the activities of the palace workshop (pp. 226 ff.). The picture which emerges is quite unlike Homer's Mycenae: it resembles rather the temple economy of oriental kingdoms with god-kings acting as stewards and vicars of the goddess (see p. 221).

There are also indications of tenurial arrangements involving annual levies for Poseidon and a group of cult officials (pp. 221 ff.). One is reminded of Maron, son of Euanthes, who gave Odysseus the wine which sent the Cyclops to sleep. He was priest of Apollo and lived in the wooded grove of Phoebus Apollo: *ὅ δέ μοι πόρεν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα. χρυσοῦ μέν μοι δῶκ' ἐϋεργέος ἑπτὰ τάλαντα. δῶκε δέ μοι κρητῆρα πανάργυρον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα οἶνον* (*Od.* 9. 201 ff.). Evidently a very rich man. But the Pylian notabilities of this type show their military side too. In An 610 both *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* and *we-da-ne-u* provide forty 'rowers' apiece.

A curious light is thrown on the 'family life' of the temple organization by PY An 607 (see pp. 127 ff.), which records the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* of the divinity *Do-qe-ja* at *Me-ta-pa*. These religious women are listed according to their parentage, the determining

factor apparently being the connexion of one of the parents with *Do-qe-ja*. The 'bronze-smiths' who are recorded as fathers are presumably the temple-smiths of *Do-qe-ja* at *Me-ta-pa*. At any rate an anonymous reference to 'a smith' is considered sufficient.

Closer study of the long Ma and Na series indicates that the deliveries recorded here relate to the ingredients (aromatics and honey, see pp. 300 ff.) for the manufacture of unguents and perfumed oil. Much the same conclusion is suggested by the study of the Mycenae 'spice' tablets. This supports S. Marinatos's thesis of their importance in Mycenaean economy (pp. 276 f.).

Finally, the Ta series (pp. 338 ff.) has provided us with a wealth of information about Mycenaean artefacts, and furniture in particular, of a magnificence hardly to be suspected from the archaeological finds.

The tablets provide other information of interest to the economic historian. Surprisingly little is known about the *per capita* grain consumption for ancient Greece. For a man there is evidence that the daily basic minimum was one choenix of wheat *per diem* (A. Jardé, 1925, 129) and that twice as much barley was allowed as wheat in view of its smaller nutritional value. Thus the armistice terms stipulated two choenices of barley per day for the Spartans trapped on Sphacteria (Thuc. iv 16). Nothing certain is known about the relative allowances for a woman, a slave, or a child, and scholars, when calculating the grain consumption for ancient Greece in their attempts to arrive at an approximate population figure, resort to guesswork. Thus Jardé (pp. 132–3) assumes that the woman's allowance is three-quarters and a child's one-half of the minimum consumption of a man, whereas Beloch bases his calculations on the hypothetical figure of five-eights for an adult woman.

We now have precise figures from Pylos which show that the ratio of man : woman : child was 5 : 2 : 1 (see pp. 117 f.), and there is evidence that these figures also apply to Knossos. Here a text of a monthly ration statement (pp. 119) gives a remarkably precise figure $97\frac{1}{2}$ instead of the expected 98. In other words one-half of the total monthly ration for a boy is missing, and such precision demands an explanation. We have indicated that this is perhaps

to be found in the careful distinction made in the Knossian documents between 'larger' and 'smaller' children. This would suggest that the monthly allowance for a small child was half that for a 'larger' child.

There is also one Pylian text which shows clearly enough that the ratio 2:1 for barley and wheat also held good in Mycenaean times. An 128 lists men and rations both of wheat and barley. The figure for wheat is again of great precision. Reduced to the third lowest unit it is 161½, whereas the corresponding figure for barley (rev.) is 322 (plus some fraction). It will be seen that this is precisely double the figure for wheat. Further confirmation for this barley: wheat ratio is given by the Knossos Fs series (pp. 235 ff.), where the barley: fig ratio is mostly 2:1, whereas in the Pylos Ab series (pp. 116 ff.) the wheat: fig ratio is 1:1.

Above we drew attention to the fact that the basic monthly ration of 5 units was equivalent to 30 of the next smaller unit, and we based our calculations of the dry measures on the identification of one of these smaller units with the basic daily ration of grain (wheat) for a man. This is a convenient point of the argument to give further plausibility to this cardinal factor in our calculations.

H. Lewy (1949), in discussing the origin and development of the sexagesimal system of numeration, focuses attention on 'a number of economic texts which reveal the importance of the quantity of 30 *qû* of grain for the inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria'. These texts show repeated instances of men receiving a monthly allowance of grain at 30 *qû* per head. 'This amount recurs so persistently . . . that we cannot fail in taking 30 *qû* of grain for the monthly supply of food considered adequate by the Nuzians for an average working man.'

From the study of certain Old Akkadian texts we learn further that '1 *ṣimdu* or 30 *qû* of grain per month was considered the ration for slaves, while persons of higher social standing received twice that amount'; and further, 'that this discrimination was not an exception but the general rule'. Of those defined as 'slaves' those who had sons were given an additional amount of 10 *qû* for each son. 'The young son of a free worker was given the same quantity of grain as a slave-boy, namely 10 *qû* per month.' From the

importance of this basic figure, 30 *qû* per month, Lewy draws the conclusion 'that those ancient Assyrian and Babylonian farmers who first created and used the *qû* as a measure of capacity consumed their grain in such a way that 1 *qû* a day, or 30 *qû* a month, provided an adequate amount of energy for a working man. If this is so, it becomes further manifest that the *qû* was chosen as the basic unit of capacity because it equalled the amount of grain eaten by an average man in a day.' The same reasoning holds good of the Mycenaean measure, and it reinforces the above diagnosis of its value.

We now turn to another aspect of Lewy's analysis. The men who received 60 *qû* per month belonged 'to the class of able-bodied workers referred to as *guruš*, i.e. literally "strong man" '. 'In other groups of texts the monthly rations vary in accordance with the social standing of the persons to whom they were allotted' (p. 6). For this phenomenon, too, the Linear B texts provide us with some instructive parallels. The A series and others record, as we have seen, monthly issues of wheat to men, women, and children.[1] Another set of texts records allocations of barley. These are the PY Fn tablets, all written by 'hand 45', who also wrote An 39, which is a list of men with various craft designations (see pp. 134f.). The figures have some interesting implications since, as will be shown in detail below, the entries are multiples of 1, 2, 3, and 5, and these relate to different rates, which can hardly be 'rations' in the sense of allocations for consumption. Thus in Fn 50 the *do-e-ro* receive 1 unit apiece while the entries of the preceding paragraph relating to skilled craftsmen and officials are 2 and 3 respectively. The figures for the *pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja* entries at the head of the text are broken, but it is clear that they will have been 6+. Fn 324 shows a similar pattern. The paragraph ll. 15–18 is evidently concerned with allocations on the *do-e-ro* level, for there are four entries of one. What is of particular interest is that this paragraph contains one entry 2½. [See Addendum.]

[1] The Mycenaean ratios freeman:slave:woman:child as 30:15:12:6 surprise the modern reader. The evidence adduced by Lewy (1944, 1949) shows 60:30:20:20 (14, 10) as corresponding ratios at Nuzi. The children's ration varied according to age: either 20, 14, or 10. Again at Nuzi 'royal princesses and others of like rank received 30 *qû* [the slave's ration!] whereas the usual ration was 20 *qû*'.

The facts recall especially documents from Egypt relating to the payment of labourers, craftsmen, and supervisors on ascending rates (see p. 230). J. Černý has written (1954, p. 916) that 'the basis of the workman's food and wages was evidently corn.... As a rule the payments are made monthly.' His figures indicate that the wage ration of foreman and members of the 'crew' was 3:2. This is precisely what emerges from the figures relating to the *me-ri-du-ma-te*, the *po-ro-du-ma-te*, and *po-ku-ta*, on the one hand, and the craftsmen on the other in Fn 50. The *pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja* figures are parallel with those of the supervisors in the document relating to the Theban necropolis (see p. 230). That our figures are daily and not monthly rates emerges from the amounts recorded. We have seen that 30 of the third lowest unit (corresponding to 5 of the next highest) was the monthly wheat allowance for a male supervisor of women slaves, and that the female supervisor received the same allocation as the women themselves. We have already utilized the implication that the man's allocation of wheat represents in all probability the standard basic minimum and that, allowing thirty days to the month, this amount works out at 1 unit per day of the 'choenix' unit. In considering the amounts recorded in Fn 50 we must not overlook that they refer to barley and that the conversion factor is 2 to 1, so that the *do-e-ro* in the last paragraph who receive 1 'choenix' apiece are in fact in receipt of precisely half the amount of the Ab men and their Knossian equivalents. The relation, then, is precisely that between the 'strong men' and the slaves discussed above. Still more remarkable is that the free-man–boy ratio is 6:1 in the Orient, and 5:1 in Crete and Greece, and that the woman in both sets of texts was allowed only twice as much as a boy.

To return to the Fn series and to Fn 50 in particular, what appears to emerge is that the work of slaves, craftsmen, supervisors, and '*pa*$_2$*-si-re-we*' was remunerated according to different scales, and that payments were calculated on a barley standard. We know again from Nuzi that 'barley and cereals were used for a great variety of purposes. It was the main form of currency' (*Nuzi* i 533 with footnote 57). Similar observations have been

made apropos of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Černý states (1954) that articles of smaller value were priced on a barley standard. Where payments greatly exceed the estimated daily consumption we must assume that the surplus, if actually paid out in barley, must have been used in exchange for other necessities. But we cannot exclude the possibility that these Fn entries are in the nature of book credits, which might be drawn in articles other than grain. At all events it is perhaps significant that the actual ration allocations of Pylos and Knossos take the form of wheat and figs, whereas the disbursements recorded in the Fn series relate to barley. This is an additional reason for believing that the amounts recorded are wages for work performed. Thus the figure of 20 'kotylae' referred to above will have been payment for $2\frac{1}{2}$ day's work. On the whole subject see the article 'Sitos' in *RE* Suppl. vi 819 ff. (Heichelheim).

In conclusion it will be convenient to discuss here another aspect of grain measurement. The E series at Pylos record land-holdings of various types, and the numerical entries are in terms of wheat described as *pe-mo*. Hittite land documents likewise indicate the amount of seed (*AO* 27. 1959. 5 ff.). That such measures were indirect indications of area is again suggested by oriental analogues, where Lewy argues (1949. 8) that the basic unit of surface, the *ikû*, can be defined as the area of land sown with 1 *ṣimdu* of grain, much as the Nuzian *imêru* is determined as the area sown with 1 *imêru* of grain. Below (p. 207) we shall see that a particular land unit, the *ka-ma*, approximates to a standard measured by 60 'choenices' of seed-corn. The figure is of some interest. In the development of the sexagesimal system Lewy (p. 9) points out that at a later stage the monthly figure of 30 *qû* was superseded by a monthly ration of 60 *qû*. In other words the new basis was not the slave ration but that of the higher class of workman. Significant is the statement about the use of the new figure in the rate of seeding. 'The substitution of this new unit for the older *ṣimdu* is evidenced not only by the appearance in the later Sumero-Babylonian sources of the *maššiktu* (Sumerian *bariga*) of 60 *qû*, which has no analogy in the archaic set of measures of capacity, but also by the temporary introduction of

a rate of seeding of 60 *qû* per *ikû* (instead of the archaic and subsequent rate of 30 *qû* per *ikû*) which is attested in the old Akkadian texts from Gasur-Nuzi.' It can hardly be an accident that the major Mycenaean unit of dry capacity should contain 60 of the units diagnosed as equal to the basic daily ration for a man. If we are right in our analysis of the entries relating to the *ka-ma* as the land unit corresponding to 60 'choenices' of seed-corn, then it will have been roughly equivalent to the *ikû* sown at 60 *qû*.[1] That this latter was merely a temporary break in the traditional standard of 30 per *ikû* is a fact which must be taken into account in tracing the historical connexions of the Mycenaean system. Lewy ascribes the change to a rise in the standard of diet. From another point of view we might equally well say that the 'temporary' change was based on the free-worker's allowance and not on that of the slave. We recall again that the *do-e-ro* received allocations exactly half of those of the skilled craftsmen in Fn 50.

Note: The value of the *qa* is estimated by Lewy (1944, 72) as 1·34 litres, but in the same volume (*JAOS* 64. 1944. 75) A. Segrè argues 'we think we may assume safely that the *qa* has always been a measure of liters 1·0044.' This is closer to the *choenix* than Lewy's figure. If we take it as the figure for our Mycenaean 'choenix' (see above, p. 12), our major unit will be just over 60 litres.

The affinities of the Mycenaean system of weights and measures merit the attention of the experts in metrology. That the Mycenaean Greeks did not take their system over from their Linear A predecessors in Crete was made clear in 1950 by Bennett's researches (see also *Docs.* pp. 54f.), for as we have seen above, the Linear A scribe had no signs expressing the lower units of measurement but proceeded by indicating successively smaller fractions of the single major unit. Bennett wrote (1950, 221): 'We must rather imagine that there was introduced to Knossos at the time when the Linear B was first used, a new system of weights and measures fashioned rather after the Mesopotamian system than after the Egyptian.' In this Bennett was endorsing the similar

[1] Cf. *OCD* 547: 'Another unit, the *μέδιμνος*, found in Sicily and in Cyrenaica, represented the amount of land that could be sown by a *medimnus* of wheat.'

conclusions of Sundwall (1932*b*, 8) relating to the Near-Eastern origins of the Linear B system of weights and measures. Our own analyses have strengthened the links with Mesopotamia.

It remains to consider the possible channels of borrowing. One is that the Greeks took the system over from the 'indigenous' inhabitants of the Mainland, who in their turn owed it distantly to the Orient. A second possibility is that envisaged in *Documents* (loc. cit.), namely, that the Mycenaeans learned it in the eastern Mediterranean from their trading dependencies. This raises serious difficulties. As we have seen, we have to do not merely with a system of measurements but a social organization reflected in a system of graded ration allocations and possibly even the measurement of a standard holding of land. Moreover, the system was already in use in Knossos at the end of Late Minoan II, where, as we have seen, exactly the same principles of rationing were practised as in Pylos some 200 years later. But the great Mycenaean expansion and settlement in the eastern Aegean and the Levant took place during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries after the destruction of Knossos. If this latter way of borrowing should seem the more probable, then we again encounter the chronological difficulties repeatedly raised by the ascription of the Linear B tablets of Knossos to Late Minoan II. Should this, however, be upheld, then the system must have been taken over on the Mainland before the intensive contacts with the Orient, and we must fall back on the first explanation. At all events the study of the system of weights and measures reinforces the impression which we get from the emerging picture of society (pp. 83 ff.) and religion (p. 103) that the world of Mycenae had closer affinities with the civilizations of the Near East than had been suspected.

A final point of a philological order arises: the word μέδιμνος apparently contains the Indo-European root **med* 'measure', and the suffix *-mno-* also offers no difficulties to identification as an Indo-European morpheme. The vowel *-i-*, however, has so far defied satisfactory explanation (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 352). The question arises, therefore, whether this is not a Greek loanword from another Indo-European language.

IX. MYCENAEAN RELIGION

Zeus and Hera occupy a minor position in the divine world of Pylos. The god of the *wastu* is Poseidon, who is prominent in these texts. Of great importance is Potnia (see p. 267, especially on her link with the *wanax*). Apart from this the new Pylos (1955) Fr series have revealed the worship of the 'Two Queens' and the 'Lord' with an associated group of festivals which point to the oriental vegetation cult, traceable ultimately to Sumeria (see pp. 240 ff.). We have mention further of Artemis, Hermes, and apparently Dionysus (unfortunately an isolated word).

Peleia (the Dove) depends on the reading of sign *82 (see p. 20). Hippos (*i-qo*) is also likely to be the name of a divinity (see p. 220), and this opens up the possibility that *o-pi* in a number of KN Od tablets may be *Ὄφις* 'the Serpent' (see Glossary).

In Crete, besides Dictaean Zeus and Poseidon, we may single out the 'Lady of Labyrinthos' (see p. 239), and the 'Lady of Athana' (on this interpretation see p. 239).

X. THE FINAL CATASTROPHE

Above it was pointed out that the surviving tablets date from the last months of Mycenaean Pylos. From an analysis of the interrelationships of the different series of the E tablets we concluded (LP 2, cf. LP 3. 53 ff.): 'In Pylos there is evidence that shortly before the end came the scribes had been busy in the archives room at the routine task of making consolidated records from earlier provisional jottings.' This received confirmation later from an observation made by Bennett apropos of a tablet which, we conclude, was the final 'page' of the register (p. 199). Bennett writes (*AJA* 60. 1956. 10): 'Before Ep 709 was put aside, a blank piece of clay was cut off the bottom . . . such pieces were either inscribed without reshaping or else lumped . . . and fashioned into new tablets. But the blank piece cut from Ep 704 is still preserved uninscribed as number 619. Thus it seems likely that Ep 704, and by inference, the rest of the En and Ep texts were copied very shortly before the palace's destruction.' A number of texts show awareness of an emergency. On the records relating to the delivery of 'temple' bronze for weapons, see pp. 281 ff.

Of particular interest in this connexion are the arrangements for gathering women and children from different localities into two major concentration areas and supplying their rations (pp. 113 ff.). There are two links between this set of texts and those recording the assemblage of rowers in southern Messenia. The *da-mi-ni-ja* are assigned to the parties of women centred on *re-u-ko-to-ro* in the Further Province, and the same text has a note referring to their *ko-wo* in connexion with rowing. In An 610. 13 40 *da-mi-ni-jo* are listed after the men at *za-e-to-ro*. On the relationship of Ad 684 (*a-pu-ne-we*) to An 610. 10 (*a-po-ne-we*) see p. 121. This is indicative that the arrangements recorded in the A series and the concentration of the rowers already discussed are two facets of the same situation.

No less apposite are the tablets recording, as is generally agreed, the dispositions of 'watchers guarding the coastal areas' (pp. 147 ff.). A fact of great significance is that the string of 'rower' locations fills in the great gap noted in the coast-watcher stations. As will be shown in detail (pp. 154 ff.), the *o-ka* dispositions leap from *ka-ra-do-ro* to *za-e-to-ro*. The 'rower' stations proceed from *e-wi-ri-po* to *za-e-to-ro*. This complementarity of the two sets of texts should not be overlooked. The convergence of all these separate indications suggests that they are all preparations for an attack expected to come from the sea.

Professor Page (1959, 195 f.) has argued that there is 'nothing whatsoever to indicate that these 'Oarsmen' Tablets have any connexion with the events which culminated in the final destruction of Pylos'. He is unaware of the links with the A tablets and of the general picture of concentration which these reflect. Apropos of the *o-ka* tablets, he remarks that the historian 'must not fail to notice that all the entries record or imply the *movement* of troops from one place to another'. This interpretation could be accepted if *Ἀθήνησι* in Greek means 'to Athens' (see below, p. 154). Professor Page goes on: 'there is no possible means of determining whether the implied danger from the sea was a great or small element in the troubles of the time' (pp. 196 f.). We hope by our analysis to have discovered such a means. The bronze smiths are busy making requisitioned bronze into arrow-

heads and spear-tips.[1] Hundreds of women and children from different localities are brought together into two main concentration areas. The *ko-wo* appear as rowers. A highly elaborate system of coast-watching is organized and meticulously recorded, and there are provisions for their supply. Some of the contingents bear names which suggest that they came from far afield. It is difficult to see what was the point of organizing this elaborate watch on the coastal areas if the attack was not expected from the sea. At any rate, that an attack was successful is implicit in the destruction of the palace, the site of which was never occupied again.

Professor Page finds 'nothing convincing in his [Mühlestein's] attempt to show that these tablets record something more than routine movements' (1959, 211). They do not record movements but stations (see below). But the interpretation of any document requires a context, and the *o-ka* tablets must be set within the general context of awareness of emergency which the tablets reflect in so many ways. If the *o-ka* tablets are merely records of normal routine, then it is also normal to requisition temple bronze for making armaments; it is normal routine to gather the women and children from their villages into two main concentration areas; it is normal to enlist their *ko-wo* and assemble them as 'rowers'. It is the accumulation of these manifold indications which has resulted in the agreement among Mycenologists, despite differences over points of detail, that Pylos was in a state of emergency and that an attack was expected to come from the sea. Few scholars would, I imagine, carry intransigence so far as to doubt whether it was an attack *from the sea* that the coastal watchers were to look out for. Yet Professor Page writes: 'Mühlestein rightly speaks only of *conjecture* ("lassen also vermuten, daß die Invasion von der See erfolgt ist").'

There is a further corollary to the contrary supposition that the Pylians had no inkling of an attack. This is that the attack which obliterated Mycenaean Pylos came like a bolt from the blue. It would seem, however, historically more plausible that this danger from the (to us) unknown enemy gradually built up over the course of a long period and that the attack when it came was merely the culmination. That the final years of the Mycenaean age were times of peril and uncertainty has long been maintained by archaeologists. It may be that the posting of guards at the onset of the time of navigation was a routine matter but only because of the chronic expectancy. Men do not uproot their women and children without deep cause for fear. To interpret all this as 'routine' is hypercriticism. It is in any case speculative since 'routine' can only be established by a series of texts covering a long period of time.

[1] It is worth noting that two independent inquiries locate bronze-smiths and other craftsmen in the same general area as the 'rowers' and that one group in particular is connected with *a-pe-e-ke* (see p. 139).

It will be convenient to list here all the texts which we believe reflect the state of emergency and military preparations.

(1) Aa, Ab, Ad, An 292 (pp. 113 ff.).
(2) An 1, An 610, An 724 ('rowers', pp. 129 ff.).
(3) The *o-ka* tablets (pp. 147 ff.).
(4) An 218 and Sn 64 (pp. 140 ff.).
(5) Texts of the Ma and Na series with echoes in the *o-ka* (pp. 300 ff.).
(6) Cn 3 (concern of *o-ka* contingents with bulls, pp. 172 ff.).
(7) Jn 829 (bronze for arms, pp. 281 ff.).
(8) An 261, An 340, An 129 (postings of bronze-smiths in the same area as that indicated in the 'rower' tablets; see p. 139).

The last group would have slight evidential value without the clear testimony of the others. All we can say is that the pursuit of every clue which this group offers leads to the same set of localities as the 'rower' tablets.

The dates assigned by archaeologists to the destructions of Mycenaean palaces are (1) Knossos, *c.* 1400 B.C., (2) Mycenae, the end of Late Helladic III C, *c.* 1100 B.C., (3) Pylos, end of Late Helladic III B, *c.* 1200 B.C. Thus there is allegedly a gap of some 200 years between the Knossos tablets and those of Pylos. Blegen (1958), however, has questioned the dating of the Knossos archive on archaeological grounds and pointed out that we possess very little accurate information about the find circumstances of the tablets. In conclusion he suggests that the Throne Room belongs to LM III and that 'it was the burning of the reconstructed palace in this later phase Late Helladic III B that brought the preservation of the Linear B tablets at Knossos. And in these documents I would see the records of a dynast from the Mycenaean mainland, that is to say, a king approximately contemporary with the rulers in the thirteenth century at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos.'

Philological analysis supports this general archaeological diagnosis. In 1956 I had already voiced the suggestion that the archives of Knossos and Pylos were contemporary and that the destruction of both palaces was the work of the Dorians (LP 9.

127). The following is a summary of the main heads of the argument as submitted to a meeting of the Minoan Linear B Seminar of the Institute of Classical Studies on 1 June 1960.

1. The striking fixity of the Linear B script and the documentary habits over a period of 200 years is with difficulty accounted for by scribal conservatism and the limited literacy of a closed corporation of palace scribes.

2. The virtual identity of the dialect in all the Linear B archives is also indicative, but this could perhaps be explained by the general conservatism of Greek, especially in the form of a chancellery language.

3. Analysis of the complex rationing system (pp. 96 f.) and the mode of organizing and supervising slaves (pp. 116 f.) shows a high degree of uniformity between the administrations of Knossos and Pylos, which makes it difficult to believe in the 200-year gap.

4. The Pylian tripods 'of Cretan workmanship' suggest imports of metalwork from Crete, and this hardly squares with the current picture of LM III Crete as isolated and broken, and offering 'no attractions to the Mainlander' (Pendlebury, *AoC* 239).

5. The fact that the great majority of the inscribed stirrup jars of the Mainland bear place-names which recur only in the Knossos tablets again argues an export relationship of Crete to the Mainland at the end of LH III B (pp. 275 f.).

6. This impression is reinforced by the mention of 'Cretan sword-craftsmen' in PY An 128. 3 (p. 336).

7. Pylian *za-we-te* (= *kjāwetes*) 'this year' exhibits a linguistic form at an earlier stage than the Knossos **85-u-te* (= *sjāwetes*, see p. 240) in KN Od 666. The same tablet has the verb *a-pe-i-si* with a more advanced orthography (the rendering of the *i*-diphthong, see p. 26) than that of Pylos. Finally, the tablet was found in the VIII Magazine, which was used in the Re-occupation Period at Knossos (Pendlebury, *AoC* 239). [See Addendum.]

8. Artefacts depicted on the Knossos tablets have affinities with LH III Greece.

(*a*) The chariot is of Sir Arthur Evans's 'dual type', which is the standard form in LH III. H. L. Lorimer observes that this 'strange form' had a considerable vogue, though

strictly within the Creto-Mycenaean world (Lorimer (1950) 316). The terrain of Crete would hardly have prompted the development of a military vehicle of this kind, and it is unlikely that the type appeared earlier in Crete than on the Mainland.

(*b*) Analysis of the Pylian corslet inventories (pp. 329 ff.) shows a type of corslet with five bands of bronze plates, which corresponds to those depicted on the Knossos ideograms. It is improbable that the design of the corslet would show no development in the course of the eventful and warlike fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

(*c*) The type of sword depicted on the Knossos tablets is admitted by Evans and Pendlebury (*AoC* 253, with the footnote: 'This shape seems to go back to L.M. II, as it appears on the Sword Tablets from Knossos') to be late.

9. Many of the find places suggest that the tablets belong to LM III.

(*a*) The ADZE tablets, still in their original order, were found in the south-east corner on the floor of the Eighth Magazine in a 'very imperfectly baked 'condition (*Scripta Minoa* i 43 f. with fig. 21). Seeing that this magazine was used during the Re-occupation Period, it is unlikely that the tablets could have survived from the previous administration.

(*b*) A 'Great Deposit of Tablets' was found in the Northern Entrance Passage closely conjoined with couple-amphoras of LM III date (*PoM* iii 171, fig. 114). This is a clear ceramic context for one of the largest deposits of tablets.

(*c*) The whole of the Domestic Quarter was used during the Re-occupation Period (Pendlebury, *AoC* 239). In the East–West Corridor, within a space of some 10 metres, no fewer than 450 tablets were found, many perfect, with associated sealings. It is again unlikely that they could have survived from the LM II archives to deposit themselves some years later along the main corridor of access in the re-occupied building. In particular, a large hoard of seal-impressions was found in the upper flight of the 'wooden

stairs'. Eighty centimetres below the lowest level of this hoard the excavators found a clayey floor 'on which were found 3 plain amphorae and a Bügelkanne with conventionalized octopus pattern, all of rather a late Mycenaean style' (D. Mackenzie, 'Day Book of the Excavations at Knossos', entry for Thursday, 1 May 1902).

(*d*) The SWORD tablets were found in a corridor giving access to the Shrine of the Double Axes, which was associated with pottery of the extreme Re-occupation Period. Thus pictures of LM III B swords are found in an appropriate ceramic context.

(*e*) Tablets from the Room of the Vase Tablets were found scattered as far as the opening of the Eighth Magazine. Seeing that the magazine had been in use during the Re-occupation Period (see above) and that the cists of the long gallery giving access to the magazines had been reconstructed late in the same period, it is evident that the tablets had found their way into the positions where they were found at the end of LM III.

10. A tablet found in the Domestic Quarter (on an upper level overlooking the Hall of the Colonnades, see *PoM* iv 704) contains the name *SE-TO-I-JA su-ke-re-o* (As 1516. 20). The same person is listed in As 40. 6, a tablet found in the south-west part of the palace. Such cross-references indicate that the hoards found in the different parts of the palace are contemporary.

11. Sir Arthur Evans attached great importance to the stratigraphy of the Room of the Stirrup Jar to the west of the Northern Entrance Passage. In this room a stirrup jar and amphorae of late Re-occupation type were found on a clay floor. The Day Book entry for Tuesday, 8 May 1900, reads: '. . . large quantities of inscription tablets in a very soft and crumbling condition appear all over the floor near the W wall of the room. Near the NW corner of the same room was found on the floor a large false-necked amphora with bands in brown-black varnish on an ochre ground. In the S part of the room as many fine vases whole or in fragments of the amphora type but almost entirely plain were found lying on the floor which is covered with a tough

deposit of clay above the real floor which seems to be of cement. The tough damp clay must have had a good deal to do with the bad preservation of the inscriptions many fragments of which continue to appear all day.'

Evans, in his final words on this room (*PoM* iv 733 ff., earlier *BSA* 1903. 26), reported that the Re-occupation vessels were on the higher floor separated by some 20 cm. of deposit from the tablets which rested on the lower floor. The entry of the Day Book allows of a different interpretation. Evans also states that these tablets carried pictures of stirrup jars of the same type as the actual specimens in the overlying stratum. By way of example he reproduces KN Gg 700, but this tablet was not found in the room in question but 'near the South-West Entrance' (*Scripta Minoa* ii, confirmed by a drawing in Evans's own Handlist with his own indication 'Nr. South-West Entrance'). Moreover, the stirrup jars reproduced by way of illustration (*PoM* iv 735, fig. 720) do not correspond to Mackenzie's description (cited above). Little reliance, therefore, can be placed on the statements relating to the Room of the Stirrup Jar, and the data cannot be regarded as 'decisive evidence' for the chronology of the latest deposits of tablets of the Linear B class. In all only a few fragments from the room in question are included in *Scripta Minoa* ii, and the evidence and the arguments based on it are best disregarded. It is difficult to understand the importance Evans attached to this room when only a few yards to the east he had found the Great Deposit of Tablets with its unmistakable LM III ceramic context.

12. The dating of the Knossos tablets to the end of LM III harmonizes the testimony of the *Iliad* with regard to Crete with that relating to Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos. Idomeneus is listed as the leader of the Cretans who held Knossos, Gortys, Lyctos, Miletos, Lycastos, Phaestos, and Rhytios (*Il.* 2. 645 ff.).

TEXTS

CONVENTIONS OF TRANSLITERATION

Phonetic signs

For the values, see p. 10. Asterisked inventory numbers have been retained for signs the value of which is still doubtful.

Ideographic signs

We follow the system of numeration devised by Bennett and Ventris as printed in *Minos* 4. 1955 and incorporated in Tables I to III of that fascicule. The ideograms were divided into functional groups corresponding to the breakdown in Bennett's *Index*, pp. 107–17; and these groups were numbered beginning 100, 110, 120, etc. The phonetic signs used as ideograms were not given separate numbers but are referred to by the numbers assigned to these characters in our Fig. 1.

The transcription MA+RU has been used for the WOOL ideogram where the context suggests that an aromatic is meant (p. 270).

o. (an aromatic) is thus distinguished from o (zero). $mi \times pu_2$ transcribes the CLOTH adjunct *161.

For the quantities preference is given to transcriptions of the type 12/3/4 to indicate the sub-divisions of the series for weight, dry and liquid measures. It will usually be clear from the commodity which series is involved. In a few cases WT, DM, or LM is inserted where the transcription is not self-explanatory.

Lines are numbered in the longer tablets for convenience of reference, and, as in *KT* ii and iii, numeration follows the division of the original tablet by guidelines.

Reverses are indicated by *rev.* and edges by *edge.*

.A and *.B* subdivide layouts where only one end of a tablet or line is divided into two by a guideline.

.a and *.b* indicate two lines of writing not separated by a guideline, and in such cases the lower entry *.b* is often, but not invariably, to be read first.

Occasionally we find a suprascript gloss or annotation. Where this presents typographical difficulties it may be indicated thus: '*me-ri*', and such an entry is to be placed above the word which it follows in the transcription.

/ denotes a change from medium-sized to minuscule writing, while capitals are used to indicate majuscule characters of the original.

XB denotes an unknown number of lines missing at the beginning of a tablet, the numeration beginning with the first line actually visible on the tablet.

XE denotes an unknown number of lines missing at the end of a tablet.

Erased entries are enclosed in double square brackets.

I

PERSONNEL

THE PYLOS Aa, Ab, Ad SERIES

Docs. pp. 155–62; EB 3; FT 1 and 2; LP 21)

THE Aa set records, in two groupings (see below), WOMEN, GIRLS, BOYS, DA and TA. The Ab texts list one group only of the same personnel with additional entries relating to WHEAT and FIGS. The Ad tablets list MEN and BOYS both referred to as *ko-wo* of the women entered in the other two series.

The syllabic words fall into two categories: (1) place-names, (2) descriptions of the women. From Bennett's study of the hands, it emerges that two scribes drew up the Aa series. Scribe (1) wrote Aa 60–98, which record women at *re-u-ko-to-ro* together with *pu-ro ra-u-ra-ti-jo*, *ke-e*, *ko-ri-to*, *po-to-ro-wa-pi*, *e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja* (spelt *e-pi-jo-ta-na* in Aa 95), *da-mi-ni-ja*, and possibly *no-ri-wo-ko*. Scribe (2), 'the hand of Aa 240', wrote all the rest of Aa; he recorded women at *pu-ro*, *e-u-de-we-ro*, *me-ta-pa*, *ne-wo-pe-o*, *o-wi-to-no*, *pi-we-re*, and *ro-u-so*. He omits to note *pu-ro*, but duly records the subsidiary places. The one exception is *pu-ro*, added as a superscript over *mi-ra-ti-ja* in Aa 1180, presumably because there is another group of these at *ro-u-so*.

One scribe wrote all the Ab series. His business was the calculation of the rations of the second of the above groups. No record survives of the rations for the first group. This is no accident, for their centre of concentration is not Pylos but *re-u-ko-to-ro*, which belongs to the 'Further Province' (see pp. 65 ff.). Presumably they drew their rations from their own centre, and that is possibly where the records were kept. This points to the existence of another Mycenaean palace at *re-u-ko-to-ro*.

This ration scribe records explicitly all the places, including *pu-ro*. The exceptions *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* and *pa-ke-te-ja* are merely apparent (see below).

One scribe wrote all the Ad tablets, except for Ad 142, which is concerned with a different subject.

The women are described mainly by words having characteristically feminine endings; the genitive plurals in *-a-o* appear in the corresponding Ad texts. Some are clearly toponymic adjectives: *e-wi-ri-pi-ja*, *ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$* (*Ζεφυρίαι* or *Γεφυρίαι*), *ku-te-ra$_3$*, *ti-nwa-si-ja*, *ki-ni-di-ja*, *mi-ra-ti-ja*, *ra-mi-ni-ja*, *ki-si-wi-ja*. To these we may add others which have been (or could be) interpreted 'etymologically' as occupational names: *ki-ma-ra* (cf. *Χίμαρα*), *a-da-ra-te-ja*, *te-pe-ja*, *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (also an ethnic at Knossos, cf. *Ἠλακαταῖον* in Thessaly), *to-sa-me-ja*, *ra-wi-ja-ja* (cf. *Λήϊον*; not 'captives', so *Docs.*), *pa-ke-te-ja*, *ne-we-wi-ja* (cf. *ne-wo* An 656. 15, see p. 153), *ka-pa-ra$_2$-de*, *ko-ro-ki-ja*, *ka-ru-ti-je-ja* (cf. *Κάρυστος*), *a-*64-ja*[1] (cf. *Ἄλος*, *Ἅλος*).

There remain a number of doubtful interpretations. We consider first those descriptions which are added by the scribe of the Ad series: e.g. *pa-ke-te-ja-o-qe ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o-qe* Ad 671, as compared with Ab 210. In both texts *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, as we shall argue below, is the place-name (e.g. *Ἀμπυκόροικος vel sim.*; *Docs.* 'headband-makers'). The added specifications are ethnics: for the latter, cf. *Κάρυστος*, *Καρυστία*. Other examples of additions in the Ad series are: *to-sa-me-ja-o* (Ad 685), *a-so-qi-ki-ja* (Ad 689; cf. Aa1 180, Ab 573), *a-ra-te-ja-o* (Ad 380). These last two are additional specifications of *mi-ra-ti-ja*, who are also found at *ro-u-so. i-te-ja-o* (Ad 684) is added to *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o* (cf. Aa 699, Ab 190). Another such double specification is *ri-ne-ja-o a-*64-ja-o* (Ad 326). *ri-ne-ja-o* is added in Ad 697, 687, 672, 295, 678, and 664, the last being placed after *ze-pu$_2$-ra-o*. All these *ri-ne-ja* are situated in *re-u-ko-to-ro* and its subsidiaries. The only other station recorded for *ri-ne-ja* is *e-u-de-we-ro*, added in Ad 670. The word has been interpreted 'flax-workers', but we wonder at this local concentration so far from Pylos. Moreover, why would the scribe listing the *ko-wo* of the women be more interested in the technical capacities of these women than the scribes who listed the women themselves? There appears to be no reason why this word, too, should not be an ethnic giving a closer specification (for a possible toponymic base cf. *Λίνος*, *Λίνον*).

Another group of designations is marked by the suffix *-ti-ri-ja*,

[1] The value *ri$_2$* for *64 is uncertain (see p. 22).

-ti-ra$_2$: *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, *me-re-ti-ra*$_2$, *o-ti-ri-ja*, *pe-ki-ti-ra*$_2$, *ra-pi-ti-ra*$_2$, and *ra-qi-ti-ra*$_2$, the last two being possibly, but not certainly, orthographic alternatives.

a-ke-ti-ri-ja occurs predominantly in WOOL and CLOTH contexts (see Glossary). *pe-ki-ti-*[is also read in a CLOTH tablet (KN L 656.1). *pe-ki-ti-ri-ja* and *ra-pi-ti-ra*$_2$ 'etymologize' readily as *πέκτριαι*, *ῥάπτριαι*. To this harmonious semantic group one could add *o-nu-ke-ja*, a description of *ki-si-wi-ja* in Ab 194, for *o-nu-ke-ja* likewise occurs in CLOTH tablets (e.g. in KN L 1568 *e*. adjacent to *a-ze-ti-ri*$_2$*-ja*, see p. 296). To these echoes we must add *te-pe-ja-o*, the designation of women at *ko-ri-to* in the Further Province (Ad 921), and *we-we-si-je-ja* (Aa 762, Ab 217, Ad 318) for at Knossos *we-we-si-jo* occurs in KN L 654 and *te-pe-ja* in KN L 641, both in a CLOTH context. Such an accumulation of designations with CLOTH associations can hardly be accidental, and this may tilt the balance of interpretation in the dubious case of *ri-ne-ja*, but this word does not occur in the KN CLOTH tablets or anywhere else (see below). The evidence from Knossos suggests a way of harmonizing these two groups of designations, ethnics made from place-names, and occupational names largely connected with textiles. The KN tablets record deliveries of cloth, etc., from groups of women designated by ethnics made from well-known Cretan place-names. The picture which emerges is the organization of skilled slaves in dependent townships. We may compare the similar picture of bronze-working reflected in the Jn tablets (see pp. 279 ff.) with their groups of bronze-smiths under the supervision of a *pa*$_2$*-si-re-u*. That the mysterious TA and DA are supervisory personnel will emerge from a study of the rations (see below).

Next we have the famous 'bath-pourers', *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* (Aa 783, Ab 553, Ad 676). The last text suggests that the noun is plural. As such it falls into the pattern of *ne-wo-pe-o* (Ad 688). Since the last is a plural place-name (like *ne-wo-ki-to*), there is no reason why *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* should not also be a place-name, although *Λεϝοτροχόϝοι* may be the correct 'interpretation' and the place-name will belong to the widespread category of names of the type *Aix*, *Bath*, etc.

Finally, we have *o-pi-ro-qo*, which in Ad 691 is glossed *e-ke-ro-qo-no-qe pa-wo-ko-qe*. The group is striking in that they all lack the characteristic feminine ending. This is natural in compound nouns. Our interpretation is purely 'etymological', but the conditions of 'compatibility' are severe. The two 'glosses' must be subcategories of *o-pi-ro-qo*. This last is evidently ὀπίλοιϙʷοι 'surplus' or 'miscellaneous'. *e-ke-ro-qo-no* can be accounted for as ἐγχερόϙʷοινοι 'wage-earners' (cf. the Cypriot ὔχερα 'wages, gratuity'). The nominative of *pa-wo-ko* is *pa-wo-ke* (Aa 795), and this word again recurs in a CLOTH context (PY La 632). The word is of the consonantal declension. It may stand for πάρϝοργες (<**par-wṛg-*), this being a compound of the ancient type συζυγ-. The meanings elicited, 'surplus', with subcategories 'wage-earners' and 'ancillaries', provide satisfactory semantic 'compatibility' among these purely 'etymological' interpretations.

The nature of the entities indicated by the ideograms TA and DA is revealed by an analysis of the rations. Each woman is allotted 2 units of wheat and figs, and each child one unit. A tabulation of the rations actually recorded shows that TA and DA commonly correlate with a surplus of 7 units over the expected ration. This suggests that they are consuming entities, and this is further strengthened by the fact that when they are absent the surplus is nil. TA alone accounts for a surplus of 2 units, that is to say, the allowance is on the scale of a woman. DA alone correlates with a surplus of 5 units, that is, a DA is allowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as a woman. Moreover, in Aa 785 a lone woman is accompanied only by a TA. The question poses itself whether a TA is some kind of woman and a DA some kind of man accompanying these groups of women and children who have been concentrated from different localities into centres in the Hither and Further provinces respectively. In a small number of texts the ration surplus is 9 units, but all these texts list exceptionally large numbers of women and children. The extra ration on the woman's scale is accounted for by the necessity to provide an extra female supervisor (i.e. a TA) for these large contingents.[1] Ab 555, with an apparent surplus of 45 units, is a 'sport'. The group is large, so that with the

[1] N.B.—TA 2 are entered in KN Ak 611, 614, 617, 620, 5604.

expected surplus of 9, the expected ration is 124 units which would be written 12/4, that is, with one horizontal stroke and six vertical strokes. The amount actually entered is 16 whole units, written, of course, with the expected one horizontal stroke and six vertical strokes but with the omission of the ideogram for the minor unit. What the scribe has done is to make his addition by tallying,

Analysis of the rations in the Pylos Ab series

	TEXT	RS	ER	AR	S	TA	DA
(i)	Ab 186	8½	17	24	7	TA	DA
	189	30	60	67	7	TA	DA
	194	11½	23	30	7	TA	DA
	217	22	44	51	7	TA	[ ]
	277	11½	23	30	7	DA	TA
	372	10	20	27	7	TA	DA
	379	10½	21	28	7	TA	DA
	515	46½	93	100	7	DA	TA
	558	5½	11	18	7	TA	DA
	586	35	70	77	7	DA	TA
(ii)	745	2½	5	5	0	nil	
	746	2½	5	5	0	nil	
	789	10½	21	21	0	nil	
	899	11	22	22	0	nil	
(iii*a*)	578	11	22	24	2	TA	
(iii*b*)	356	8½	17	22	5	DA	
	210	15½	31	36	5	[?]	
(iv)	382	79½	159	168	9	DA	TA
	573	21	42	51	9	DA	TA
	553	51	102	111	9	DA	TA
(v)	555	57½	115	160+	45+	[?]	[?]

RS = ration-strength each child being counted as half. *ER* = expected ration with an allocation of 2 DM per adult and 1 DM per child. *AR* = actual ration. *S* = surplus.

presumably without using the ideograms. The mistake arose when he transferred his result to the tablet. Thus this text belongs to the fourth group showing a surplus of 9 units, which correlates with large numbers on the ration strength.

The concentration of these women and children, described by ethnics, with a small group of occupational names, in two groups of places, one in the Hither Province and one in the Further

Province, provides its own explanation if these records are set in the context of the general state of emergency, suggested in any case by the destruction of the palace, which is reflected in a number of ways in the tablets. A plausible explanation is that the A series give some details of a 'concentration' measure in the final months of Mycenaean Pylos. Many of the place-names, as we know from other tablets, were in Pylian territory. In view of the recurrence of place-names in different parts of the Greek world (e.g. Milatos, Gortys, etc.), there is now no need to assume that some of these groups came from so far afield as the eastern Aegean (e.g. Lemnians and Cnidians). Still less need we suppose that some of these groups were refugees of free status, despite analogies from Ugarit (so F. J. Tritsch). The description of the men as the *ko-wo* of the women in question (but see p. 120) and the presence of DA and TA also in the corresponding Knossos tablets, which shows that these 'supervisors' were a normal feature of Mycenaean organization, support the view that these women were slaves. Some indication of the services they could render in an emergency is given in An 292, which lists three of the above groups together with their children entered as a single group without differentiation of sex. This tablet has a heading *si-to-ko-wo* = σιτοχόϝοι. Tritsch has quoted aptly the preparations for the siege of Plataea, as described in Thuc. ii 78. 3, when the force which was left to face the siege included 110 women as σιτοποιοί. The reference to groups of men acting as rowers (see below) likewise fits into the picture, and we particularly note two connexions (*a-po-ne-we*, *da-mi-ni-jo*) with An 610 (see pp. 130 ff. and Addendum).

Finally, we call attention to the discrepancy between the figures entered in the Aa and the Ab sets, for nearly all the matching pairs show major or minor discrepancies.[1] It was the task of the two Aa scribes to list the numbers of personnel with their escort. The Ab set was compiled later for calculation of the rations. In the meantime the situation had changed. In general we may conclude that the discrepancies reflect a fluid situation, which would tally with our overall hypothesis of an emergency.

[1] Aa 764 with 8 girls 1 boy as against Ab 789 with 6 girls and 3 boys: the total tallies but the sex distribution is different.

A Knossos tablet Am 819 gives us the opportunity of testing whether our deduction that DA is a man with an allocation of DM 5 is correct. The text lists 18 men and 8 boys. On our deduced scale for DA and the assumption that this is a man, the expected ration would be $5\times 18 + 1\times 8 = 98$. The lower entry of the tablet in question is *si-to* MOON 1 BARLEY 9/7/3, or reduced to the scale of the middle unit, $97\frac{1}{2}$. Our calculation is therefore correct within half a unit. The precision of the Knossos figure is significant. The explanation of the missing half unit may lie in the careful distinction made in Knossos between larger and smaller boys, and we may well suppose that the latter received a smaller ration allocation. Our deduced scale will therefore be: men DM 5, women DM 2, children DM 1, small children DM $\frac{1}{2}$. MOON 1, as VC suggest, is likely to stand for 'Month 1', and this supports J. Chadwick's suggestion (*MLS* 13 xi 57) that the word *me-ni-jo* on the sealing PY Wa 114 stands for 'monthly ration'. The similarity between the administrations of Mycenaean Knossos and Pylos extending to such minutiae is striking.

1. Aa 61

   pu-ro ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$ WOMAN 26 *ko-wa* 15 *ko-wo* 10 DA 1 TA 1

2. Ad 664

   PU-RO-RA-U-RA-TI-JO ze-pu$_2$-ra-o ko-wo ri-ne-ja-o MAN 4 *ko-wo* 3

ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$: Gephyriai (?), Zephyriai? Note the change to *ra* in the genitive plural.

ri-ne-ja-o: on this added specification '? flax-workers', but more probably another ethnic, see above.

For the scribe of Aa 60, etc. *pu-ro* = *pu-ro-ra-u-ra-ti-jo* in the Further Province. This is made explicit by the scribe of Ad.

3. Aa 783 (for revised text see *AJA* 63. 1959. 130)

   re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo WOMAN 38 *ko-wa* 13 *ko-wo* 15 DA 1 TA 1

4. Ab 553 (*Docs.* 9)

   pu-ro re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo WOMAN 37 *ko-wa* 13 *ko-wo* 15 WHEAT 11/1 FIGS 11/1 DA TA

5. Ad 676

pu-ro re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo ko-wo MAN 22 *ko-wo* 11

6. Aa 786

ne-wo-pe-o WOMAN 8 *ko-wa* 3 *ko-wo* 2 TA 1

7. Ab 554

ne-wo-pe-o WOMAN 7 *ko-wa* 5 *ko-wo* 5 WHEAT 2/? FIGS [ ] DA TA

8. Ad 688

ne-wo-pe-o ko-wo MAN 4 *ko-wo* 2

These two sets of texts illustrate the complete parallelism of *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* and *ne-wo-pe-o*. The latter is certainly a place-name, and this makes suspect the etymological interpretation of the former as 'bath-pourers', and also the interpretation 'children' for the *ko-wo* following the place-name.

9. Aa 777

e-ke-ro-qo-no

o-pi-ro-qo WOMAN 7 *ko-wa* 3 *ko-wo* 4 DA 1 TA 1

10. Aa 795

pa-wo-ke WOMAN 4 *ko-wa* 2 *ko-wo* 1 TA 1

11. Ab 899

pu-ro o-pi-ro-qo WOMAN 8 *ko-wa* 3 *ko-wo* 3 WHEAT 2/2 FIGS 2/2

12. Ad 691 (*Docs.* 13)

e-ke-ro-qo-no-qe pa-wo-ko-qe

pu-ro o-pi-ro-qo ko-wo MAN 9

The scribe of Aa divides the *o-pi-ro-qo*, glossing the first *e-ke-ro-qo-no* (*ἐγχ̄ερο-q^{w}οίνοι*) and listing the *pa-wo-ke* by themselves. The ration docket of the Ab set survives only for the first group, but the scribe of Ad lumps them together and adds a superscript gloss describing the two sets. (See Addendum).

13. Aa 699

ti-nwa-si-ja WOMAN 9 *ko-wa* 4 *ko-wo* 3 DA 1 TA [1

14. Ab 190

pu-ro ti-nwa-si-ja WOMAN 9 *ko-*[*wa*]4 *ko-wo* 1 WHEAT 3/0 FIGS 3/0 DA TA

15. Ad 684 (*Docs.* 15)

Edge: *a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o* [*ko*]*-wo*

pu-ro ti-nwa-ti-ja-o i-te-ja-o ko-wo MAN 5 *ko-wo* 2

ti-nwa-si-ja: ethnic. *ti-nwa-si-jo* appears to be in the Further Province (see Glossary).

The women, however, are in the Hither Province. They are further described as *i-te-ja-o*, which may be again an occupational designation 'loom women'. The edge contains a gloss which is disputed. VC (*Docs.*) identify *a-pu-ne-we* with the place-name *a-po-ne-we* (An 1. 6, a tablet listing 'rowers going to Pleuron'), and they translate 'sons of rowers at *A-pu-ne-we*'. A parallel for the recording of parentage on both sides is to be found in An 607 (see p. 128). But the identification assumes an interchange of *a-pu* and *a-po*, and other explanatory glosses appear to be concerned with absence. Tritsch takes *a-pu-ne-we* as a verb. The word-division and restoration of the rest is uncertain but *e-re-ta o-*[*to*]*-wo* (*vel sim.*) would make excellent sense. However, Ad 697, with its mention of 'rowers' or 'rowing' (see below), connects with An 610, and it can hardly be a coincidence that *a-po-ne-we* also occurs here. The balance of probability is thus with VC's interpretation.

16. Aa 807

ke-re-za ra-wi-ja-ja WOMAN 26 *ko-wa* 7 *ko-wo* 7 DA 1 TA 1

17. Ab 586

pu-ro ke-re-za ra-wi-ja-ja WOMAN 28 *ko-wa* 9 *ko-wo* 5 [[9]] WHEAT 7/7 FIGS 7/7 DA TA

18. Ad 686

o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-[*to*] *ka-wo-ta-ra* [.]*-po-ro*

pu-ro ke-re-za ra-wi-ja-ja-o ko-wo MAN 15

ke-re-za: a subsidiary place of Pylos; *Κρηθέα*? *vel sim.*

ra-wi-ja-ja: presumably an ethnic (see above); not 'captives' (as *Docs.*)

Place	Description	Women	Girls	Boys	Men	Boys
PYLOS	*a-da-ra-te-ja*	1	0	0	..	..
	a-ke-ti-ri-ja	38	33	16	20	7
	a-pi-qo-ro	32	26	15	10	4
	a-ra-ka-te-ja	21	25	4	30	9
	*a-*64-ja*	35	11	14	?	?
			(12)†	(11)		
	ka-pa-ra$_2$-de	24	8	2	8	0
	ki-ni-di-ja	21	12	10	5	4
		(20)	(10)	10		
	ki-si-wi-ja	6	4	6	..	..
		(7)	(3)	(6)		
	k. (*o-nu-ke-ja*)	..	..	..	3	5
	ko-ro-ki-ja	8	4	1	5	0
		(9)	(2)	(0)		
	ku-te-ra$_3$	28	(*nn*)	(*nn*)	22	0
	me-re-ti-ri-ja	6	6	3	..	..
	mi-ra-ti-ja	16	3	7	..	..
	m. (*a-so-qi-ki-ja*)	..	..	..	2	0
	m. (*a-ra-te-ja*)	..	..	..	3	..
	ne-we-wi-ja	21	10	6	6(*o.*3)‡	..
	o-pi-ro-qo (*e-ke-ro-qo-no*)	7	3	4	..	..
		(8)	3	3	..	..
	pa-wo-ke	4	2	1	..	..
	o-pi-ro-qo- (*e-ke-ro-qo-no* +*pa-wo-ke*)	..	..	..	9	0
	o-ti-ri-ja	21	12	8	?	?
	pa-ke-te-ja	9	5	11	..	..
	p. (*ri-ne-ja*)	2	0	1		
			(1)	(0)	..	..
	pe-ki-ti-ri-ja	7	4	4	4	3
	ra-mi-ni-ja	7	1	2	..	..
	ra-pi-ti-ra$_2$	38	20	19	..	..
	ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$	6	3	2	2	0
	ti-nwa-si-ja	9	4	3	..	..
			+(2)	(1)		
	t. (*i-te-ja*)	..	..	..	5	2
(PYLOS) *A-PU-KO-WO-KO*		8	7	8	..	..
	(*pa-ke-te-ja*+*ka-ru-ti-je-ja*)	..	..	..	6 (*o.*5)	6
(PYLOS) *KE-RE-ZA*	*ra-wi-ja-ja*	26	7	7	15	0
		(28)	(9)	(3)	..	..
(PYLOS) *KE-RE-ZA*	*we-we-si-je-ja*	22	6	11	7	7
		(16)	(5)	(7)	..	..
E-U-DE-WE-RO		6	0	4	..	..
		(8)	(2)	(3)		

Place	*Description*	*Women*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Men*	*Boys*
E-U-DE-WE-RO	*ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	4	0
(PYLOS) *ME-KI-TO-KI-RI-TA*		1	0	(*nn*)	..	..
ME-TA-PA		7	3	3	..	..
		(5)	(*nn*)	(*nn*)	..	..
ME-TA-PA	*a-te-re-wi-ja*	3	0	1	..	..
NE-WO-PE-O		8	3	2	4	2
		(7)	(5)	(5)	..	..
O-WI-TO-NO		(+)3	2	10	..	..
		(8)	(5)	(2)		
O-WI-TO-NO	*to-sa-me-ja*	..	..	..	3	0
PI-WE-RE		7	0	2	..	..
(PYLOS) *RE-WO-TO-RO-KO-WO*		38	13	15	22	11
		(37)				
RO-U-SO	*a-ke-ti-ri-ja*	32	18	8	..	..
RO-U-SO	*mi-ra-ti-ja*	54	35	22	..	..
			(31)	(20)		
RE-U-KO-TO-RO	*a-ke-ti-ri-ja*	12	16	8	2	1
	a-ra-ke-te-ja	37	26	16	..	..
	ri-ne-ja-o / *a-*64-ja-o*	..	..	..	3	9
	ki-ma-ra	3	5	4	4	0
	me-re-ti-ri-ja	7	10	6	?	?
	no-ri-wo-ko	8	10	5	5	0
DA-MI-NI-JA		(+)1	13	10	..	..
DA-MI-NI-JA	*ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	?	?
E-PI-JO-TA-NA		8	8	7	..	..
E-PI-JA-TA-NI-JA	*ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	(*nn*)	(*nn*)
E-PI-KO-O		14	5	8	..	..
E-PI-KO-E	*ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	4	3
E-WI-RI-PI-JA		16	11	7	..	..
KE-E		6	9	6	..	..
KE-E	*ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	8	5
KO-RI-TO	*te-pe-ja*	..	..	..	10	1
PO-TO-RO-WA-PI		4	4	3	..	..
PO-TO-RO-WA-PI	*ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	0	1
PU-RO RA-U-RA-TI-JO	*ze-pu*$_2$*-ra*$_3$	26	15	10	..	..
PU-RO RA-U-RA-TI-JO	*z.+ri-ne-ja*	..	..	..	4	3

† The figures in parentheses are the discrepant Ab data. The discrepancies are most serious in places other than Pylos, as is natural when the information has to come from afar.

‡ *o.* = 'deficit'.

The suprascript gloss explains a non-arrival (*οὐ παρογέ-νε[το]*).

The following word could be a personal name: e.g. *Καλϝο-στρατ-*[.

19. Aa 96

da-[*mi-ni-ja* WOMAN] 1 *ko-wa* 13 DA 1 TA 1

20. Ad 697

e-re-[.] *qe-ro-me-no*
da-mi-ni-ja ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo MAN

No number is added and presumably the gloss explains this (Tritsch). The first word again evidently refers to rowing. With VC I would restore *e-re-*[*e*] *qe-ro-me-no* = *ἔρεεν gʷε̄λόμενοι* 'volunteering to row'. Tritsch would restore *e-re-*[*ta* and read *ἐρέται qʷελόμενοι* 'becoming rowers'. Both interpretations come to the same thing, but the former identification has important dialect implications (see p. 64). Note that 40 *da-mi-ni-jo* are listed in the list of *e-re-ta* (An 610), whom we have located in southern Messenia.

21. An 292 (*Docs.* 26).

si-to-ko-wo
ka-pa-ra₂-de WOMAN 24 *ko-wo* 10 [+]
ko-ro-ki-ja WOMAN 8 *ko-wo*[nn]
ki-ni-di-[*ja* WOMAN] 21 *ko-*[*wo* nn]
ka-pa-ra₂-de: cf. Aa 788, Ad 679.
ko-ro-ki-ja: cf. Aa 354, Ab 372, Ad 680.
ki-ni-di-ja: cf. Aa 792, Ab 189, Ad 683.

For the interpretation that these women are on emergency duties as bread-makers see above, p. 118.

The information contained in the Aa, Ab, and Ad sets is summarized in the table on pp. 122–3.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT KNOSSOS (Ai, Ak)

The first word on these tablets is either a place-name or ethnic as at Pylos: e.g. *ra-su-to*, *da-wo*, *se-to-i-ja*, *a-mi-ni-so*; *pa₂-mi-ja*,

da-te-we-ja, *ri-jo-ni-ja*, *da-wi-ja*, *pa-i-ti-ja*. A man's name may also appear in the first position, sometimes in the genitive: *pe-se-ro-jo*, *we-we-si-jo-jo* (a prominent cattle 'owner', see p. 178).

The children are classified as 'bigger' and 'smaller'. A number of abbreviations doubtless indicate further classifications. Of these only *di* is reasonably clear, since it is likely to stand for the *di-da-ka-re*, which appears e.g. in Ak 781. 3. *di* frequently follows another abbreviation, e.g. *pa.di*, *pe.di*, *ne.di*. Some clue to their meaning is given by the order in which they occur. *di* is never appended to the 'smaller' children. *pe.di* are listed after WOMAN and before *me-zo-e* (e.g. Ak 627). The same is true of *pa.di* (e.g. Ak 614), and *ne.di* (e.g. Ak 624). The WOMAN sign itself may be preceded by an adjunct abbreviation: *de.* WOMAN (Ak 610), which presumably = *de-di-ku-ja* WOMAN (Ak 611); *pe.di* WOMAN (Ak 616). One possible interpretation is that these tablets list women at various industrial establishments together with 'apprentices' at various crafts, which are indicated by the first syllabic sign. Only two age classes appear among the *ko-wo*, *ko-wa*, and it is appropriate that only the older ones are 'in school' (*di-da-ka-re* διδασκάλει, so MV). But the entries of Ak 781 *di-da-ka-re ne.* 1 *ko-wo* (cf. Ak 624, 630) make it possible that *ne.* stands for the next higher age class: *νέϝοι* 'youths'. (See p. 177 and Addendum).

22. Ai 63 (*Docs.* 24)

pe-se-ro-jo e-e-si

WOMAN 1 *ko-wa* 1 *ko-wo* 1

'they belong to Psellos . . . . '

23. Ai 739 (*Docs.* 17)

RA-SU-TO a-ke-ti-ri-ja WOMAN 2

ko-wa 1 *ko-wo* 1

ra-su-to: a place-name?

a-ke-ti-ri-ja: some kind of cloth worker? See Glossary.

24. Ak 611 (*Docs.* 18)

to-te-ja TA 2 DA 1 WOMAN 10[ ] *ḍe-di-ku-ja* WOMAN 1

ko-wa me-zo-e 4 *ko-wo me-wi-jo* 1[

On TA and DA see above.

to-te-ja: an ethnic?

de-di-ku-ja: = δε-δι-<δα>-κυῖα 'who has served her apprenticeship?'

25. Ak 824 (*Docs.* 20)

.1 *A-PI-QO-I-TA do-e-ra* WOMAN 32 *ko-wa me-zo-e* 5 *ko-wa me-wi-jo-e* 15

.2 *ko-wo me-wi-jo-e* 4

a-pi-qo-i-ta: a proper name = Ἀμφιφοίτας? This is presumably the owner or slave-master.

INDIVIDUAL MEN AT PYLOS (Ae)

(*Docs.* pp. 169 ff.)

The Ae set records individual men with a note of their location and their occupation or present assignment.

26. Ae 8

tu-ra-te-u

KU-SO-NO i-na-ni-ja du-ni-jo-jo me-tu-ra su-ra-se MAN [1]

ku-so-no: masculine name.

i-na-ni-ja: place-name.

du-ni-jo-jo: apparently *du-ma* in the Hither Province (see On 300, p. 374). The other words have no likely later equivalents.

me-tu-ra is object of the verb; they are possessed by *du-ni-jo*.

tu-ra-te-u: possibly a heading, an occupational designation of *ku-so-no*?

su-ra-se: a verb, but συλάω does not yield satisfactory sense.

27. Ae 264 (*Docs.* 30)

PI-RA-JO ai-ki-pa-ta su-ra-te du-ni-jo⟨jo⟩ me-tu-ra su-ra-se MAN [1

pi-ra-jo: Φιλαῖος?

ai-ki-pa-ta: αἰγιπά(σ)τας 'goat-herd'.

su-ra-te: agent noun corresponding to *su-ra-se*.

28. Ae 134 (*Docs.* 31)

KE-RO-WO po-me a-si-ja-ti-ja o-pi ta-ra-ma-ta-o qe-to-ro-po-pi 'o-ro-me-no' MAN 1

Κεροϝος ποιμὴν a-si-ja-ti-ja ὀπὶ Θαλαμάταο q^{w}ετρόπο(δ)φι ὀρόμενος: MAN 1

'K. shepherd, (at) *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, watching over the cattle of Th.'

a-si-ja-ti-ja: a place in the Further Province (see p. 75).

29. Ae 398

pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja

A-PI-KA-RA-DO-JO pa_2*-si-re-wi-*[*ja*

pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja: 'Trans-*a-ko-ra*' (see p. 66) = the Further Province.

a-pi-ka-ra-do-jo: personal name in genitive singular.

pa_2*-si-re-wi-ja*: establishment of a pa_2*-si-re-u* (see pp. 227 f.).

WOMEN IN RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS (PYLOS)

30. Ae 303 (*Docs.* 27)

i-je-ro-jo [[*ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo*]]

pu-ro i-je-re-ja do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo WOMAN 14[+]

Πύλος: *ἱερείας δόελαι ἕνεκα χρυσοῖο ἱεροῖο* WOMAN 14(+).'

'Pylos: slaves of the priestess in charge of the sacred gold.'

ἕνεκα: apparently 'in charge of, in the service of' (see pp. 227 f.).

31. An 607 (*Docs.* 28)

me-ta-pa ke-ri-mi-ja do-qe-ja ki-ri-te-wi-ja

do-qe-ja do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-pi

WOMAN 6 *do-qe-ja do-e-ra e-qe-ta-i e-e-to*

te-re-te-we WOMAN [[6]] 13

do-qe-ja do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de di-wi-ja do-e-ra

WOMAN 3 *do-qe-ja do-e-ra ma-te pa-te-de ka-ke-u*

WOMAN 1 *do-qe-ja do-e-ra ma-te pa-te-de ka-ke-u*

WOMAN 3

Vacant 2

ka

'*Ke-ri-mi-ja* of *Me-ta-pa* (who are) *ki-ri-te-wi-ja of Do-qe-ja.*

('A group who have) a slave of D. as father, but their mother is from *ku-te-re-we*: WOMAN 6; Women slaves of D. (who) have been sent to the "Counts" in *te-re-te-u*: WOMAN 13.

('A group who have) a slave of D. as father, but their mother is a slave of Diwia:

'WOMAN 3. (One who has) a slave of D. as mother but her father is a bronze-smith:

'WOMAN 1. (A group who have) a slave of D. as mother, but their father a bronze-smith: WOMAN 3.'

VC regard this as a record of 'barley-reapers'. *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, however, appear to be a corporation of religious women (see PY Ep 704, p. 212). *ke-ri-mi-ja* is an occupational name connected with textiles (see p. 292). *do-e-ro* has likewise predominantly religious associations and is usually preceded by the genitive. We interpret thus: *ke-ri-mi-ja* of *Me-ta-pa* (who are) *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* of *do-qe-ja* (a divinity, or a cult personage like *i-je-re-ja*). The entries record the parentage of the various groups, the *do-e-ra* or *do-e-ro* of *do-qe-ja* being named first. This explains the puzzling change in the order of the parents. If either is a 'slave' of *do-qe-ja*, the offspring are *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* of the goddess. In l. 5 there appears to be a conflict of divine interest, the father being a 'slave' of *do-qe-ja*, but the mother a 'slave' of *di-wi-ja* (see p. 263). The claim through the father is apparently decisive. The 'bronze-smiths' who figure as fathers are presumably also attached to the divine establishment (see p. 279). In ll. 3–4 *e-qe-ta-i* is dative plural. *e-e-to* = ἕεντοι 'have been sent?'.

te-re-te-we: place-name? similar in formation to *te-re-ne-we* (An 18. 6). We should expect the allative form, but the sense of the perfect may be 'static': 'have been sent (and are at) . . . .'

ku-te-re-u-pi: a place-name (cf. Na 296, where it has a high assessment). Probably not to be identified with the island of Cythera. Strabo (8. 356) mentions a town Heracleia in the Pisatis some 40 stades from Olympia on the *Κυθήριος ποταμός*. *Me-ta-pa*

we have located in the same general area, and the two identifications provide mutual support.

INDIVIDUAL MEN AT KNOSSOS

32. As 821 (*Docs.* 29)

]*RA-JO* *e-qe-ta-e e-ne-ka ti-mi-to* MAN 2

KI-TA-NE-TO/su-ri-mo e-ne-ka 'o-pa' MAN 1

]*RE-WE* *e-ra i-je-*[*re*]*-u po-me e-ne-ka 'o-pa'* MAN 1

KO-PE-RE-U e-qe-ta e-ki-'si-jo' MAN 1

This text lists men with religious affinities.

e-ne-ka, too, points to the religious sphere (see p. 277).

ti-mi-to: *Θέμιτος*? (cf. *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* = *te-mi-ti-ja*).

o-pa: parallel with *ti-mi-to*; hence possibly also a divinity (? *Ὄμφας*); but on *o-pa*, 'workshop' see Glosssary.

e-qe-ta-e: dual (?) with -ε from consonant stems? (see p. 47).

su-ri-mo: a place-name.

i-je-[*-re-*]*u*: a strange combination of functions: 'priest of *e-ra* (place rather than goddess?) and shepherd in the service of *O-pa*'.

ko-pe-re-u: *Κοπρεύς* (?) *e-qe-ta* of *e-ko-so*, one of the Knossian place-names, *e-ki-si-jo* being the derived adjective. This shows that the vowel of *-ko-* is 'empty'. The place-name will thus be *Ἔξος*.

VC's interpretation of *ti-mi-to* and *o-pa* as referring to some kind of feudal service depends on *Il.* 9. 156 where, however, *θέμιστας* has its customary link with *σκῆπτρον* and can hardly mean 'dues, tribute'.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AT PYLOS (An)

(*Docs.* pp. 172 ff.)

33. An 1 (*Docs.* 53)

e-re-ta pe-re-u-ro-na-de	*i-jo-te*
ro-o-wa	MAN 8
ri-jo	MAN 5
po-ra-pi	MAN 4
te-ta-ra-ne	MAN 6
a-po-ne-we	MAN 7

ἐρέται Πλευρῶνάδε ἴοντες. 'Rowers going to Pleuron.'

The total contingent is thirty men, possibly one ship's crew. Of the place-names *ri-jo* is the last of the 'Nine' (see pp. 66 ff.). *ro-o-wa* appears to have a northerly location on the west coast (see p. 75). *po-ra-pi* is presumably identical with *po-ra-i*, which is in the command area of *a-ke-re-wa* (see p. 160). The text links up with An 724 and An 610.

34. An 610

]-*ne e-re-ta*
]-*e ki-ti-ta* MAN 46
]-*ta* MAN 19
] *ki-ti-ta* MAN 36
me-ta-ki-ti-ta MAN 3
e-wi-ri-po MAN 9 *po-si-ke-te-re* [
a-ke-re-wa MAN 25 *wo-qe-we* [
ri-jo MAN 24 *wi-nu-ri-jo* [
te-ta-ra-ne MAN 31 *me-ta-*[*ki-ti-ta*
a-po-ne-we MAN 37 *me-ta-*[*ki-ti-ta*
ma-ra-ne-nu-we MAN 40 *po-ti-ja-ke-e* MAN 6
za]*-ku-si-jo* MAN 8 *za-e-to-ro* MAN 3
da-mi-ni-jo MAN 40 *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-no* MAN 40
we-da-ne-wo MAN 20 *ko-ni-jo* 126 *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* MAN 26
po-ku-ta MAN 10 *we-re-ka-ra te-pa*$_2$*-ta-qe* MAN 20

35. An 724

ro-o-wa e-re-ta a-pe-o-te
me-nu-wa a-pe-e-ke a-re-sa-ni-e
o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de ki-ti-ta o-pe-ro-ta [[*e*]]
e-re-e MAN 1 MAN
e-ke-ra$_2$*-wo-ne a-pe-e-ke a*$_2$*-ri-e*
o-pe-ro-te e-re-e MAN 5
ra-wa-ke-ta a-pe-e-[*ke*]MAN [nn]
ta-ti-qo-we-u o-[ ]*-qe* MAN 1
a-ke-re-wa ki-e-u o-pe[. . .]*-e a-ri-ja-to* MAN 1

10 *ki-ti-ta* MAN 1 *o-ro-ti-jo di-qo a-*[
o-pe-ro[. . .] *e-ko-si-qe e-qe-ta ka-ma*[
e-to-ni-jo e-ṇwạ-se-ri-jo MAN 1
wo-qe-we [*e*]-*qo-te ru-ki-ja a-ko-wo* MAN [nn]
ri-jo o-no e-qo-te MAN 10[

The geographical indications in An 610 have been discussed above (p. 69). Under the general heading 'rowers' we have men at different localities. Of interest are the categories *ki-ti-ta* and *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*, terms which refer to different categories of the inhabitants at the places in question who are serving as rowers. The etymological identification is clear enough, but we can only guess at the precise technical significance of κτίται and μετακτίται. *po-ku-ta* is an occupational designation (discussed pp. 136 f.).

After the heading 'rowers absent from *ro-o-wa*' in An 724, the first three entries begin with the name of a notability in the dative case (note *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-ne*). The men in question are presumably recorded as 'with E. etc.' In all three entries the proper name is followed by *a-pe-e-ke*, which I would take to be a place-name; it may well be a double-barrelled toponym (p. 76), perhaps identical with the *a-pe-ke-e*, *a-pe-ke-i-jo* of Jn 431. If we may venture to analyse this as *a-pe* + *ke-e*, that is '*A-pe* in the district *Ke-e*', this offers some indication of the whereabouts of the three notabilities in question. As we have seen, the rowers of *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* in An 610 are listed after the conclusion of the toponymic indications which led us round into the Gulf of Messenia. Consistent with this is the fact that in the A series the women listed at *ke-e* (Aa 76) are in the group located in the Further Province.

Ta-ti-qo-we-u begins a new type of entry in which the name is in the nominative. He is known as the possessor of an *o-ka* (An 654. 11, see p. 149). *a-ke-re-wa*, *wo-qe-we*, *ri-jo*, as we saw above, are common to both texts. *ki-e-u* appears to be the title of a functionary (p. 144). The intrusion of *ka-ma* and *e-to-ni-jo*, land-tenure terms (see p. 207), into this context of rowers is puzzling, but the terms may single out the persons providing the man in question by virtue of their land-holding.

o-no e-qo-te is obscure. It recurs in An 615, which lists men in conjunction with places (see Glossary).

36. An 5

e-ta-je-u	*te-ko-to-a-pe*	MAN 1
wi-do-wo-i-jo	*te-ko-to-a-pe*	MAN 1
to-ro-wi-ka	*te-ko-to-a-pe*	MAN 1
po-ru-to	*te-ko-to-a-pe*	MAN 1
o-tu	*te-ko-to-a-pe*	MAN 1
sa-ni-jo	*qe-re-me-ti-wo*	MAN 1
ku-ri-sa-to	*mu-ta-pi*	MAN 1
i-na-pi	*ra-u-ta*	MAN 1

sa-ni-jo and *ku-ri-sa-to* are listed adjacently in the CATTLE tablet Cn 4 (see p. 172), which records animals missing (*o-pe-ro*) from *a-si-ja-ti-ja*. *to-ro-wi-ka* is nominative singular corresponding to the genitive singular *to-ro-wi-ko*, a herdsman in Cn 655. 2 (see p. 171).

The above tablet is thus presumably a list giving the present locality of herdsmen absent from their stations. The parallelism of the items occupying the second 'place' is evident. That *te-ko-to-a-pe* is a double place-name and not a phrase 'a carpenter was absent' was argued above (p. 32). The consistent omission of the word-divider is an important symptom which must not be ignored in the diagnosis.

i-na-pi: cf. *i-na-ne(s)*, *i-na-ni-ja*, which occur in An 18.

37. An 18 (*Docs.* 51)

e-re-u-te-ri-[

te-ko-to-na-pe MAN [nn]

i-na-ni-ja MAN 1 [ ] MAN [nn]

a-si-we-i [MAN] 1 *a-se-e* MAN 1

Vacat

te-re-ne-we to-ko-do-mo a-pe-o MAN 1

i-na-ne MAN 1 *te-ko-to-na-pe* 1

Vacat

qo-u-ko-ro/ti-no MAN 90

Vacat

pa-ki-ja-si to-so te-ko-to-ne [ ]*-no*

MAN 254[+]

4. *re-si-we-i* Bennett.

This tablet similarly lists men (*to-ko-do-mo* = τοιχοδόμοι, *qo-u-ko-ro* = βουκόλοι, *te-ko-to-ne* = τέκτονες) against place-names: *te-ko-to-na-pe*, *i-na-ni-ja*, *a-si-we-i* (locative of *s*-stem), *a-se-e*, *te-re-ne-we*, *i-na-ne*, *te-ko-to-na-pe*. *e-re-u-te-ri-*[in the first line may be another. The last two entries are evidently totals. Of interest is the fact that the men are listed as at *ti-no* and *pa-ki-ja-si*. These are the locations of the estate of the *lawagetas* and the *wanax* respectively (see p. 92).

Connected with the two preceding texts is also the fragmentary An 852. The visible place-names are *te-re-ne-wi-ja*, *te-ko-*[*to*]*-na-pe*, and *a-se-e*. The first line contains the word *qo-u-ko-ro*, and if this is the heading (there is no ideogram), the tablet may be the first of a census of herdsmen. As we saw above, the indications are that three of the men listed are herdsmen, but in charge of small cattle. The large number of *qo-u-ko-ro* is difficult to reconcile with the great scarcity of large cattle in these records (see below). The explanation presumably is that βουκόλος is the generic name for 'herdsman' as is evident in the use of the denominative in *Il.* 20. 221: ἵπποι ἕλος κάτα βουκολέοντο. The totalling formulae at the end of An 18 suggest that this tablet is the last of a series.

An 830+907 similarly lists *qo-u-ko-ro* at *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*, *pi-*82*, and a_2*-ki-ja*. The first half of this tablet records large amounts of *ke-ke-me-na* land in *a-te-re-wi-ja* and *e-sa-re-wi-ja*. Structural 'parallelism' suggests that *ma-ra-ti-sa* is also a place-name.

38. An 35 (*Docs.* 41)

to-ko-do-mo de-me-o-te

pu-ro MAN 2 *me-te-to-de* MAN 3

sa-ma-ra-de MAN 3 *re-u-ko-to-ro* MAN 4

Vacat

·5 *a-ta-ro tu-ru-pte-ri-ja o-no*

MA+RU 2 SHE-GOAT 4 *146 3 WINE 10 FIGS 4

τοιχοδόμοι δεμέοντες: 'masons going to build.'

Two of the place-names are in the locative: *pu-ro* and *re-u-ko-to-ro* are the centres of the Hither and the Further Province respectively (see above p. 75).

The allative forms in *-de* imply destination: the men in question are due to go to these places; cf. *ne-do-wo-ta-de* (An 661. 13) (p. 154). *sa-ma-ra* is the third of the 'Seven'. *me-te-to* appears adjacent to *e-wi-te-wi-jo* and [*ro*]-*u-so* in Vn 130 and in Mn 456. *ro-u-so*, as appears from the Ab series (see p. 113), is in the 'Nine'. If there is any geographical consistency in the order of entry *e-wi-te-wi-jo* will be near *pa-ki-ja-si* (adjacent entries in Vn 130). Thus the masons are listed 'at Pylos', 'to *Me-te-to*' (both Hither Province), 'to *Sa-ma-ra*', 'at *Re-u-ko-to-ro*' (both in the Further Province). On the second paragraph, see p. 260.

39. An 39 (*Docs.* 50)

			rev.		
pu-ka-wo +	MAN 16		*po-ru-da-ma-te*	MAN 4	
me-ri-du-ma-te	MAN 10 +		Vacat		
mi-ka-ta +	MAN 3		*pa*$_2$-*ra*$_2$-*te*	MAN	
o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we	MAN 4 +		*pu-ko-ro*	MAN	
5 *e-to-wo-ko* +	MAN 5		*a-ko-so-ta*	MAN	
ka-sa-to +	MAN		*pi-ri-ja-me-ja*	MAN	
pu-ka-wo +	MAN 23		*e-ni-ja-u-si-jo*	MAN	
me-ri-da-ma-te	MAN 6		*pte-jo-ri*	MAN	*qo-ta-wo* [
o-pi]-*te-u-ke-e-we*	MAN 5 +		*a-ta*	MAN	*te-o-po*-[
.10 *mi-ka*]-*ta*	MAN 6 +		Vacant 2		
e-to]-*wo-ko*	MAN 3				
a-to-po-qo	MAN 3				

The obverse falls into two parts, ll. 7–11 being in a different hand. The two parts list the specialist groups in the same order, the final entry of the second being written on the reverse. Scribe B

has then drawn up a list of personal names in the dative (e.g. *pa*$_2$-*ra*$_2$-*te*), one of whom is the well-known official *a-ko-so-ta*. The MAN entries are left blank. Presumably the different craftsmen were to be assigned to or by these individuals (see pp. 225 ff.).

Most of the designations have no later equivalents. They tend to recur in much the same order elsewhere e.g. An 594. They will be discussed below apropos of the ration list (Fn 50) (see pp. 225 ff. and Addendum).

Note that the two scribes spell one word differently: (1) *me-ri-du-ma-te*, (2) *me-ri-da-ma-te* (cf. *po-ru-da-ma-te*). Since it is unlikely that there would be so great a gap in the pronunciation of the vowels as between *u* and *a*, it is possible that the vowel is 'empty', both spellings representing *-dma-*. It is noteworthy that the value *du* for *51 rests upon identifications where it denotes an 'empty' vowel: **51-ru-to-mo* = δρυτόμοι, **51-wo-u-pi* = δϝου(ν)φι (cf. *dwo*, p. 211), and the alternation of *wi-*51-wo-i-jo*, *wi-do-wo-i-jo*, and *wi-dwo-i-jo* all = ϝιδϝόϊος. Even if the value of *51 is *du*, it could still be used to represent the 'anaptyctic' vowel between the consonant cluster *dm* which may have varied in different pronunciations. M. Lejeune has compared Boeotian βανα, Attic γυνή, both from **g*^{w}*nā*.

There is evidently no connexion between these persons and the high official the *du-ma-(t)-*, nor have such 'etymological' interpretations as 'inspectors of honey' and 'inspectors of sowing' (ML 9) much plausibility in this craftsman context (see p. 229). Note that *ka-sa-to*, last in the first list, corresponds in position to *po-ru-da-ma-te* in the second.

It is important to note that *me-ri-du-ma-te* and *mi-ka-ta* belong to ration status 3, *po-ro-du-ma-te* to status 2 (see p. 232).

40. An 207 + 306 (*Docs.* 52)

3 lines missing

] MAN 10

] *pi-ri-je-te-re* MAN 2

re-ka-ta]*-ne a-de-te-re* MAN 2

re-ka-[*ta*]*-ne ke-ra-me-we* MAN 2

re-ka-ta-ne	*da-ko-ro*	MAN	12
wa-a$_2$-te-we	*po-ku-ta*	MAN	10
a-nu-wa	*ku-ru-so-wo-ko*	MAN	4
]	*me-ri-da-ma-te*	MAN	2
]*-jo*	*to-ko-so-wo-ko*	MAN	5
a-pi-no-[*e-wi-jo*		]MAN	[
so-ro-pe-o	*ra-pte-re*	[	
ko-ri-si-jo	*ra-pte-re*	[	
ka-ro-ke-e	*ra-pte-re*	[	
ra-ni-jo-ne	*ra-pte-re*	MAN	[nn
]*-ka-si-da*	*ra-pte-re*	MAN	20[

The first word in each entry is apparently a place-name, or an ethnic derived therefrom. For *wa-a$_2$-te-we* cf. *wa-a$_2$-te-pi* (Na 1009), a place of small importance to judge from the entry SA 10 (see pp. 306 ff.). *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* appears adjacent to *po-ra-pi* in Nn 228, the next entry being *e-na-po-ro*. In Vn 130 it appears between *me-ta-pa* and *e-na-po-ro*. *ko-ri-si-jo* may be the adjectival derivative from *ko-ri-to*. This occurs in Ad 921, and Bennett places it in the *re-u-ko-to-ro* group, which we site in the Further Province. Another of these places is *ke-e* (see p. 123). The entry following *ko-ri-si-jo* in the above text, *ka-ro-ke-e*, is analysable as a double place-name (see p. 76), *ka-ro* (in) *ke-e*. *so-ro-pe-o*, on the analogy of *ne-wo-pe-o*, may likewise be a double place-name. The first element could represent *Σόλοι*, *Σόρων* (*vel sim.*)

Of the craft designations *ke-ra-me-we* = *κεραμῆϝες*, *ku-ru-so-wo-ko* = *χρυσοϝοργοί*, *to-ko-so-wo-ko* = *τοξοϝοργοί* seem reasonably certain. *pi-ri-je-te-re* are found associated with swords at Knossos (see pp. 335 ff.); *ra-pte-re* (feminine *ra-pi-ti-ri-ja*?) etymologizes as *ῥαπτῆρες* in view of *e-ra-pe-me-na* applied to cloths (see p. 45). *ra-pte-re* appear in An 298 assigned to *ra-wa-ra-ta$_2$ u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* and to *po-ti-ja-ke-e* (another double place-name, see p. 70). The last entry lists *ki-ri-se-we* and *we-re-ka-ra-ta* after *ra-pte-re*. If *ki-ri-se-we* = *χρισῆϝες* in the sense 'dyers' (see p. 292), then *we-re-ka-ra-ta* may also have associations with textiles. In An 610. 15 an entry of *po-ku-ta* MAN 10 is followed by *we-re-ka-ra te-pa$_2$-ta-qe*,

and it is tempting to restore *we-re-ka-ra-⟨ta⟩*. This would bring *po-ku-ta* into the 'craftsman' category.

The KN evidence points in the same direction. L 469 enters CLOTH against *po-ku-ta* at *pa-i-to*, and B 815 and 816 show that *po-ku-ta* belong to the category MAN[B] (= SEATED MAN), which includes *o-pi-te-u-ke-we* (B 798. 10). We have concluded that MAN[B] = craftsman (see below). It is significant that an *a-pi-me-de* is listed as MAN[B] in B 801, and that the CATTLE tablet (C 911. 10*b*) makes an entry against *a-pi-me-de-o po-ku-ta*. All this makes difficulties for the interpretation 'wine-pourers' (*Docs.*). 'Temple-sweepers' would also appear to be in unsuitable company. It is true that *da-ko-ro-i* and *di-pte-ra-po-ro-i* (Un 219, see p. 259) appear in divine company, but so do *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* in the previous line. These again have associations predominantly with textiles (see Glossary). Perhaps here, too, the temple economy (see pp. 95 ff.) would account for the apparent incongruence of the entries.

An 424 has entries of the structure place-name + craft-designation (e.g. *ka-ra-u-jo ra-pte-re*; *sa-ri-nu-wo-te ra-pte-re*; *ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo me-ri-du-ma-te*, *da-ko-ro*). The last word in l. 1 is *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*, which recurs as the description of the *te-re-ta* in the genitive case in Eo 276. 1. It can be diagnosed as an occupational description only on the assumption of a syntactical incongruity which does not appear, for instance, in *a-ka-ta-jo-jo ka-na-pe-wo* (Eo 269). It is possible that *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* is a place-name. The 'etymological' interpretation as 'beet-gatherer' is incongruous among the specialists of An 424 and it seems a remarkable enough occupation for a *te-re-ta*, more particularly if the last = 'initiation priest' (see pp. 193 ff.).

Some of the words diagnosed as occupational designations occur at Knossos in conjunction with the 'seated man' ideogram = MAN[B]: *o-pi-te-u-ke-we* (B 798. 10), *po-ku-ta* (B 815, 816). This helps to diagnose *ko-wi-ro-wo-ko* in B 101, while the adjacent *ai-te-re* can be most plausibly connected with the technical verb *a-ja-me-na*, which below we translate 'veneered' or 'inlaid'. B 779 is unfortunately mutilated, but in *KT* ii the text is restored:

te]-*re-ta* MAN[B][
pa$_2$]-*si-re-we* 10

This is consistent with our diagnosis of *pa$_2$-si-re-u* as a master-craftsman, while we shall see that *te-re-ta* is a word which keeps company with 'carpenters' and the like.

In Pylos we have only one text with this ideogram: Be 995 *ko-to-ne-we* MAN^{B}. This word can have nothing to do with *ko-to-na* since the example of *ka-ma-e-we* shows us that a derivative from this word would have the form *ko-to-na-e-we*. Thus the craftsmen concerned here are those who have to do with *ko-to-n-*. The etymological possibilities are numerous, and we quote merely *exempli gratia* the bare possibility *κόθορνος*.

One Knossos MAN^{B} word, however, leads to Pylos: this is *tu-ra-te-we* (B 755). This recurs in the dative plural form *tu-ra-te-u-si* in PY Gn 428, a text concerned with the issue of wine which has some interesting ramifications. In the next line we find mention of *o-ro-ke-we* and *i-*[*ja*]*-me-ni-jo*. Both of these recur in Fn 324, which records rations of barley (see pp. 225 ff.), and other texts of this series show that craftsmen were the recipients. Now in Fn 324. 13 we find mention of *a-ta-o*, and from Jn 431 we know that he is a bronze-smith at *a-pe-ke-e*; and from An 340 that he is in charge of a number of bronze-smiths, some of whom we can trace to *a-pe-ke-e*, *a-ke-re-wa*, and *ro-u-so* (see p. 162). From Jn 431, again, we know that thirty-one *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* bronze-smiths belonging to *a-mu-ta-wo* were unemployed. A man of this name appears in Nn 831, to which we shall return. (See Addendum.)

In Jn 431, again, the entry relating to *a-mu-ta-wo* is preceded by one which records five unemployed bronze-smiths of *to-sa-no*. This name leads us back to the barley-ration text in Fn 79, where he is preceded by *du-ni-jo ti-ni-ja-ta*. This is a person whom we believe to be identical with the *du-ni-jo* of Ae 8 and 72, where curiously enough we find the word *tu-ra-te-u* as a heading describing *ku-so-no* and *ko-ro-ja-ta* (see p. 126).

We now return to Nn 831 with its mention of *a-mu-ta-wo*, whom we provisionally identify with the person of the same name, the master bronze-smith at *a-pe-ke-e*. The text is discussed in detail below (p. 311), but we note that *u-re-*[*u*, the first entry, is the name of a shipbuilder, *na-u-do-mo* (Vn 865. 9). The next entry in Nn 831 is *a-mo-ke-re-*[ ], a name which leads us back, once

again, to Fn 324. 2, the text in which we have already found *o-ro-ke-we* and *i-*[*ja*]*-me-ni-jo*. Finally, we may note that *e-po-me-ne-u*, who follows *a-mu-ta-wo* in Nn 831, recurs in Nn 1357, where the next entry relates to the *ka-ke-we* (dative singular). These interlocking relationships of this group of texts may be summarized as follows. All the texts refer to the activities of craftsmen (bronze-smiths, shipbuilders, *tu-ra-te-we*, etc.). Of particular note is the group at *a-pe-ke-e* and the text (An 340) which records the bronze-smiths under *a-ta-o*, some from *a-ke-re-wa* and *ro-u-so*. This group of place-names we find reflected in the 'rower' texts, and we again must consider the possibility that *a-pe-e-ke* may be merely a variant spelling of *a-pe-ke-e* and that it is the place where the *ra-wa-ke-ta* and *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* are stationed (An 724, see p. 131). It is in this context that the *na-u-do-mo* find an appropriate place. A fundamental point of methodology arises in the above analysis. It is true that it would be imprudent to base conclusions on mere resemblance of names, which may recur at different places, but this will hardly apply to notabilities. However, the most cogent factor is that we are here dealing with a cluster of names the pursuit of which leads us back repeatedly to the same context of 'craftsmen' and to the same place or cluster of places. As such the group of texts here discussed fits significantly into the wider context which we find reflected in so many of the Pylian texts: this is the war emergency (see pp. 103 ff.).

In view of the interest of the matter, with the implications that the most southerly part of the kingdom south from *a-ke-re-wa* through *ro-u-so* and *ka-ra-do-ro* and round past *ri-jo* up into the Gulf of Messenia was a centre of strategic interest in the final months of Pylos's existence (see p. 104), it is worth while carrying out a quite independent test. PY An 129 has the same layout as An 340 in that it is headed *pa-ro ti-ki-jo* (cf. *pa-ro a-ta-o*) and a list of men follows. We note straight away that the final entry relates to bronze-smiths. Only one name recurs: this is *to-ro-wo*, but this leads us to Vn 130 (see pp. 369 f.). A man of this name is there located at *ka-ra-do-ro*. Moreover, the preceding entry of this text relates to *a-ta-no-re*, and this leads us back once more to the barley-ration text Fn 50, where we find that he has a *pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja*. Finally, in

Vn 130. 4 we have mention of an *ai-ki-e-we*, and Jn 605 tells us that he has bronze-smith slaves at *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*. Thus such clues as the parallel text affords have again led to the craftsman context and to the same general locality.

41. An 218+ Sn 64
(MR 5, MR 6, LP 6*b* 10 ff., LP 13. 568, EB 5)
An 218 (*Docs.* 44)

o-da-a$_2$ *a-na-ke-e o-pe-ro-te* [

ri-so-wa i-je-re-u ṗi-ja [MAN I

ne-wo-ki-to i-je-[*re*]*-u da-i-ja-ke-re-u* MAN I

ro]*-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo me-ta-pa* MAN I

.5 *a-e-ri-qo-ta* [ ] *o-wi-to-no* MAN I

ai-ko-ta a-da-ra-[. .] MAN I

Vacant 2

o-da-a$_2$ *e-ke-jo-ṭọ a-ko-to-no*

.10 *pa-ku-ro*$_2$ *de-wi-jo* ZE I

.]*ka-re-u e-ko-me-na-ta-o* **34-te* ZE I

]*-no ke-ki-jo* ZE I

]*me-ta po-ru-da-si-jo* ZE I

]*me-nu-a*$_2$ ZE I

.15 *ma-ra-te-u a-pu-ka* ZE I

]*qo-te-wo i-ju* ZE I

Rev.:

di-we-si-ṗọ-ṛọ-ti-mi-to-ạ-[*ke-e*]

.2. After *i-je-re-u* there are distinct traces of the bottom half of signs which are consistent only with the above reading *ṗi-ja*.

.9. There is no trace, even under magnification, of the down-stroke of the final sign of *e-ke-jo-ṭọ* since the fracture runs clean through this sign.

.12. A final sign *-no* is quite distinct for the word preceding *ke-ki-jo*.

Rev. Bennett: *di-we-si-ṗọ-ụ, ti-mi-to-qo*. I should restore *ti-mi-to-ạ-*[*ke-e*].

42. Sn 64 (*Docs.* 43)

]*ṛe-wi-jo-te*

]*ja mo-ro-pa*$_2$ *to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se* ZE 1 *171 3

ka-ḍo-wo mo-ro-pa$_2$ *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se* ZE 1

ru-ro mo-ro-pa$_2$ *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se* ZE 1

·5 *ku-ru-me-no mo-ro-pa*$_2$ *i-te-re-wa ko-re-te to-to we-to* [*o*]*-a-ke-re-se* *171 6

pe-ri-mo ti-mi-ti-ja ko-re-te to-to-we-to [*o*]*-a-ke-re-se* ZE 1 *171 3

pe-ri-me-de-o i-ju po-so-ri-jo-no te-ra-ni-ja a-ke-re-se to-to-we-to 'o-a-ke-re-se' *171 12

po-ki-ro-qo e-qe-o a-to-mo ZE 1

Vacant 3

·12 *o-da-a*$_2$ *ko-to-na e-ko-te*

e-ta-wo-ne-u to-to-we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 *171 6

a-qi-zo-we to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1[

ne-qe-u e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1[

me-wi e-ru-ta-ra me-ta-pa ki-e-wo to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1[

Bennett (EB 5) believes that these two tablets form a single complete record. They are written in the same hand. That An 218 cannot be the first tablet is shown by the fact that it begins with the itemizing word *o-da-a*$_2$ (see p. 57). It is unfortunate that the top of Sn 64 is damaged so that we cannot see whether this text had a similar beginning. As things are, there is nothing inconsistent with Bennett's belief that the text is complete. But the internal analysis with the entries MAN, ZE, and then ZE +*171, points to the order printed above, in which case the text is incomplete and we lack the expected introductory formula which should explain the four headed paragraphs contained in the above two tablets.

Sound methodology is especially called for in the interpretation of this difficult text. Autopsy has shown that the correct reading of the heading of the third paragraph is]-*ṛe-wi-jo-te*. In the photograph, too (published by Bennett in *Minos* 5. 1957, plate x),

the *-re-* is seen to be seriously damaged, and there is no trace of a preceding *-si-*. It would therefore be most unwise to base any interpretation on the otherwise unattested restoration *pa*$_2$*-si*]*-re-wi-jo-te* especially in view of our determination of the word *pa*$_2$*-si-re-u* with its exclusively craftsman-metal contexts, which makes its identification with the later word βασιλεύς still more dubious (see pp. 227 ff.). It has proved unfortunate that Bennett inadvertently misplaced his square bracket in *PT* ii so that the text appears as *pa*$_2$-]*si-re-wi-jo-te*. Thus there are no grounds at all for the diagnosis of this document as 'a royal charter for the distribution of the land' (see below). On the wholly fantastic equation of *mo-ro-pa*$_2$ with *brahman*, see Glossary.

Crucial to the interpretation is the recurrence of many of the names which figure in the *o-ka* tablets. The cluster resemblance is so striking that suspicion must fall on any interpretation which fails to account for it (see below).

The first paragraph of An 218 lists the more important personages. Moreover, peculiar to this paragraph is the fact that the final word is a place-name (*pi-ja*, *da-i-ja-ke-re-u*, *me-ta-pa*, *o-wi-to-no*), and that the ideogram is a MAN. The *o-ka* tablets show that these men took the field in person: *a-e-ri-qo-ta*, for instance, is stationed at *o-wi-to-no* (An 657. 13–14). The sentence which heads this paragraph presumably refers to these facts and it may be etymologized as ἀνάγεεν ὀφέλοντες 'having to take the field' (LP 6*b*. 11 followed by HM 8. 37) as against *Docs.* 'to bring (men?)'.

Now it should be noted that the last three persons in this paragraph are *e-qe-ta*, and it will be shown below that such persons are grouped in the land-register along with cult personnel. Since the first two are priests, there is a satisfactory semantic harmony among the entries of this paragraph: they refer to religious personnel stationed in the places recorded.[1]

In the following paragraph *pa-ku-ro*$_2$ *de-wi-jo* recalls the *de-wi-jo* who is an officer in the *o-ka* text An 519. 10. *e-ko-me-na-ta* has an *o-ka* in An 661. 9; *ke-ki-jo* is the *e-qe-ta* in An 657. 11, while *ma-ra-te-u* is an 'officer', ibid. 7. It is of importance also to note

[1] On *da-i-ja-ke-re-u*, see p. 76.

that An 218 uses the full patronymic in ll. 10, 11, 12 and that the others receive some kind of 'style'.

The ideogram ZE (pair), on the evidence available to us, cannot be interpreted as a measure of land, which on the contrary is indicated by units of WHEAT (see pp. 101, 207). We may, therefore, have here a record of other and additional exactions than the personal services recorded in the first paragraph. The introductory phrase to this paragraph contains the word *a-ko-to-no*. This contrasts with the fourth paragraph, which is headed 'those having *ko-to-na*'. Here the entries are increased by varying numbers of *171, which are always multiples of three. *171 correlates invariably with the appearance of *to-to*(-)*we-to* in the text and then the verb changes to *o-a-ke-re-se*. It is doubtless an accident that the ideogram looks like a ligature *TO* + *TO*. VC detect the separable introductory *o-* in *o-a-ke-re-se*, but this is never found except to introduce a formula. The fact that *o-a-ke-re-se* correlates with extra entries of *171 suggests rather that the prefixed *o-* means 'in addition': 'will contribute (levy?) in addition'. The negative *o-u-qe*, which cannot here mean 'and not', may contain the 'prospective' particle *-qe* (see p. 189 on *e-ke-qe*). In Knossos *171 is known from contexts recording deficits of four units along with BARLEY (G 464); and further with deliveries of cyperus (G 519). The 'offering' context again suggests itself as a possibility. The PAIR may be a pair of animals. The clue to the context of the whole text, as we have suggested, lay in the lost introductory formula. The verb defies satisfactory etymological identification: *a-ke-re* is known from a CATTLE tablet, possibly with the meaning 'levy, collect' (see p. 172): ἀγρήσει 'will take' is merely a possibility. (See Addendum.)

On the analogy of the two preceding paragraphs the heading of the third]-*re-wi-jo-te* presumably indicates the status of the persons concerned: there are three *mo-ro-pa*$_2$, one *ko-re-te*, one who is both *mo-ro-pa*$_2$ and *ko-re-te*, one who is the *i-ju* of Perimedes and simultaneously *po-so-ri-jo-no te-ra-ni-ja*, and finally the *e-qe-o a-to-mo*. We have here a group of high dignitaries many of whom figure in the GOLD text Jo 438 (see pp. 287 ff.). Thus *e-qe-o a-to-mo* can hardly be equated with the craftsman designation *i-za-a-to-mo-i* (PY

Fn 50. 8, see p. 229). KN V 56 *e-qe-a-o a-to-mo ko-no-si-jo* gives us no help. A further element of doubt is infused by PY Jn 832, where *a-to-mo* is 'in parallel with' a place-name *ro-u-so*, and this was presumably in the vicinity of *ro-u-so* (see pp. 279 ff. on the Jn series). It is, therefore, conceivable that the person *po-ki-ro-qo* is further identified by a place-name, as often in these texts, cf. *ma-ra-te-u a-pu-ka*; while the broken entry with *me-nu-a_2* in the second place is also likely to be a place-name.

The diagnosis of the term *mo-ro-pa_2* is hindered by the fact that the introductory word denoting their class is broken. However, the evident religious connexions of *i-je-re-u* and the *e-qe-ta* support those who would assign this term also to the religious sphere (see Glossary). Our own etymological identification as μοιρόπας 'possessor of a μοῖρα' is consistent with this. μόρος is known in the meaning 'portion of land' (e.g. Cauer–Schwyzer 621 B: note especially ἀμπέλων μόρον, l. 5). From this noun, used in the sense of a portion set aside for a god, will be derived μορίαι as the designation of the olives sacred to Athena (K. Latte, *RE* xvi 302 f.). Of interest, too, is the phraseology in *Ath. Pol.* 60. 2: συλλέγεται δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀπὸ τῶν μοριῶν· εἰσπράττει δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἐν οἷς αἱ μορίαι εἰσὶν ὁ ἄρχων. The phrase οἱ τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἐν οἷς αἱ μορίαι εἰσίν could function as a translation of *mo-ro-pa_2* as we etymologized it in 1954.

There remains the puzzling alternation of the entries between exactions 'this year' and 'non-exaction'. One is reminded of the religious calendars known from Athens (see S. Dow, 1959), with their entries relating to sacrifices τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος.

In the final paragraph, *me-wi e-ru-ta-ra* is echoed by *e-ru-ta-ra*, an 'officer' in the *o-ka* text An 654. 2. He is also described as *me-ta-pa ki-e-wo*, and we note that the relevant paragraph of An 654 lists *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* (see p. 158). *ne-qe-u e-te-wo-ke-re-wi-i-jo* again, to judge by the patronymic, is an important personage. He may be the same as *ne-qe-u e-da-e-u* (the second term being a toponymic derivative, see p. 202), who is an important holder of *ka-ma*, these being special holdings of *ke-ke-me-na* land (see p. 207).

We now return to the introductory formula at the head of

the second paragraph. In interpreting this it must be borne in mind that all the other three headings are descriptive nominal phrases preceded by the paragraphing-itemizing word *o-da-a_2* (see p. 57). It would consequently be unwise to depart from this pattern in analysing the following words. Thus *e-ke-jo-to* will be a noun defined by the adjective *a-ko-to-no*, just like the *ka-ke-we* who are *a-ta-ra-si-jo*. We interpret accordingly 'the *e.* who have no *ko-to-na*'. Their contribution is less than those who have *ktoinai*. No noun of the required sense and phonetic pattern survived into later Greek. We have here yet another extinct term of Mycenaean officialdom.

M. S. Ruipérez (MR 5. 151, 154) has etymologized *e-ke-jo-to* as a verb ἐγκέοντοι, and he gives this the unparalleled sense 'to be established on common land', bringing it into connexion with *ke-ke-me-na*. *a-na-ke-e* is identified by him with ἀνάγεεν in a sense invented *ad hoc*, 'trace a line', the said 'lines' being imagined as the limits of land. Combined with the reconstruction of]-*re-wi-jo-te* as βασιληϝίοντες, contrary to the observed contexts of *pa_2-si-re-u*, all this leads to the diagnosis of this document as a 'royal charter for the distribution of the land'. No explanation is offered for the inescapable connexions with the *o-ka* tablets. These facts, we insist again, must form the basis of any explanation. The data are tabulated below. Our general diagnosis will have emerged from the above detailed analysis. We have here arrangements of a predominantly religious character connected with the military dispositions recorded in the *o-ka* tablets. Attention is drawn in this connexion to the discussion of Cn 3, another religious text which has close links with the *o-ka* texts (see pp. 172 ff.).

ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo	An 218. 4	An 519. 15–16
a-e-ri-qo-ta	5	An 657. 12
ai-ko-ta	6	14
de-wi-jo	10	An 519. 10
*e-ko-me-na-ta-o *34-te*	11	cf. An 661. 8
ke-ki-jo	12	An 657. 11
ma-ra-te-u	15	7

ku-ru-me-no	Sn 64. 5	An 654. 1
[1]*pe-ri-me-de-o i-ju*	7	cf. An 656. 12
po-ki-ro-qo	8	An 654. 12
me-wi e-ru-ta-ra	16	cf. An 654. 2

[1] The *pe-ri-mo* of the preceding entry may be a shortened form of *pe-ri-me-de*. On such shortened names see LP 16*b* and further AH 1 and 3.

II

MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEFENCE OF PYLOS

(*Docs.* pp. 188 f., LP 2, LP 3, LP 13. 568 f., HM 8, ER 11)

43. An 657 (*Docs.* 56)

o-u-ru-to o-pi-a$_2$-ra e-pi-ko-wo

ma-re-wo o-ka o-wi-to-no

a-pe-ri-ta-wo o-re-ta e-te-wa ko-ki-jo

su-we-ro-wi-jo o-wi-ti-ni-jo o-ka-ra$_3$ MAN 50

·5 Vacat

ne-da-wa-ta-o o-ka e-ke-me-de

a-pi-je-ta ma-ra-te-u ta-ni-ko

a$_2$-ru-wo-te ke-ki-de ku-pa-ri-si-jo MAN 20

Vacat

·10 *ai-ta-re-u-si ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de* MAN 10

me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ke-ki-jo

a-e-ri-qo-ta e-ra-po ri-me-ne

o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no MAN 30 *ke-ki-de-qe a-pu$_2$-ka-ne*

MAN 20 *me-ta-qe pe-i ai-ko-ta e-qe-ta*

'Thus the watchers are guarding the coast:

Command of *Ma-re-u* at *O-wi-to-no*: *A-pe-ri-ta-wo, O-re-ta, E-te-wa, Ko-ki-jo.*

At *Su-we-ro-wi-jo*, men of *O-wi-to-no, O-ka-ra$_3$*: MAN 50

Command of *Ne-da-wa-ta(s)*: *E-ke-me-de, A-pi-je-ta, Ma-ra-te-u, Ta-ni-ko.*

At *Aulon, ke-ki-de* of *Kyparissos*: MAN 20

At *Ai-ta-re-we(s), ke-ki-de* of *Kyparissos*: MAN 10

With them is Count *Ke-ki-jo.*

A-e-ri-qo-ta, E-ra-po, Ri-me-ne.

At *O-wi-to-no, O-ka-ra*: MAN 30, and *ke-ki-de* of *A-pu$_2$-ka*: MAN 20 With them is Count *Ai-ko-ta*'

44. An 519 (*Docs.* 57)

to-ro-o o-ka ro-o-wa
ka-da-si-jo mo-ro-pa$_2$ zo-wo
ki-ri-ja-i-jo wa-tu-wa-o-ko mu-to-na
o-ka-ra$_3$ a$_2$-ra-tu-wa MAN 110
Vacat
ke-wo-no-jo o-ka ka-ke-[
tu-si-je-u po-te-u [ ]*-wo-ne-*[
a-pi-te-wa i-wa-so MAN [
Vacat
a$_2$-te-po de-wi-jo ko-ma-we
*o-*34-ta-qe u-ru-pi-ja-jo*
o-ru-ma-si- ja-jo MAN 30
Vacat
pi-ru-te ku-re-we MAN 50
me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ro-u-ko
ku-sa-me-ni-jo

'Command of *To-ro*(*s*) at *Ro-o-wa.*
Ka-da-si-jo the *mo-ro-pa$_2$, Zo-wo, Ki-ri-ja-i-jo, Wa-tu-wa-o-ko,* (and) *Mu-to-na.*
At *A$_2$-ra-tu-wa, O-ka-ra$_3$*: MAN 110
Command of *Ke-wo-no*: *Ka-ke-*[], *Tu-si-je-u, Po-te-u,* []*-wo-ne*[].
At *A-pi-te-wa, I-wa-so*(*i*): MAN [nn]
A$_2$-te-po, De-wi-jo, Ko-ma-we.
At *O-*34-ta, U-ru-pi-ja-jo*(*i*) (and) *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*: MAN 30
At *Pi-ru-t-, Ku-re-we*: MAN 50
With them is Count *Ro-u-ko Ku-sa-me-ni-jo.*'

45. An 654 (*Docs.* 58)

ku-ru-me-no-jo o-ka pe-ri-te-u
wo-ne-wa a-ti-ja-wo e-ru-ta-ra
*o-*34-ta me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de*
MAN 50
Vacat

u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we MAN 60
me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta
a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-
i-jo

.10 Vacat

ta-ti-qo-we-wo o-ka to-wa
po-ki-ro-qo pe-ri-no de-u-ka-ri-jo
ra-pe-do do-qo-ro pe-ri-ra-wo
e-no-wa-ro to-so-de pe-di-je-we
.15 *wa-wo-u-de ke-ki-de* MAN 10
u-ru-pi-ja-jo MAN 10 *ku-re-we* MAN 20
i-wa-so MAN 10
o-ka-ra$_3$ MAN 10
Command of *Klumenos*: *Pe-ri-te-u*, *Wo-ne-wa*, *A-ti-ja-wo* (and) *E-ru-ta-ra.*
At *O-*34-ta*, *ke-ki-de* of *Me-ta-pa*: MAN 50
At *U-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, *Ku-re-we*: MAN 60
With them is Count *Alektryon*, son of *Eteokles.*
Command of *Ta-ti-qo-we-u* at *To-wa*:
Poikilops, *Perinos*, *Deukalion*, *Lampedon*, *Do-qo-ro*, *Perilawos.*
At *E-no-wa-ro* so many *ke-ki-de* of *Pe-di-jo* and *Wa-wo-u-de*: MAN 10.'

46. An 656 (*Docs.* 59)
wa-pa-ro-jo o-ka ne-wo-ki-to
⟦*a-ta-je-u*⟧ *e-ri-ko-wo a*$_2$*-di-je-u*
a-ki-wo-ni-jo ⟦ ? ⟧
wa-ka-ti-ja-ta ke-ki-de sa-pi-da
.5 *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta*
pe-re-qo-ni-jo a-re-i-jo
ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo
MAN 20 *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta*
di-wi-je-u
.10 Vacat
du-wo-jo-jo o-ka a-ke-re-wa

a$_2$*-ku-ni-jo pe-ri-me-de* ⟦ ? ⟧
pu$_2$*-ti-ja a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne ke-ki-de po-ra-i* MAN 20
me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ḍi-ko-na-ro a-da-ra-ṭi-jo
.15 *u-wa-si ke-ki-de ne-wo* MAN 10
me-ta-qe pe-i pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e-qe-ta
Vacat
a-ke-re-wa ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MAN 50
me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ka-e-sa-me-no
a-pu$_2$*-ka*

'Command of *Wa-pa-ro* at *Ne-wo-ki-to*:
Erikowos, *A*$_2$*-di-je-u*, *A-ki-wo-ni-jo*.
Ke-ki-de of *Wa-ka-ti-ja* at *Sa-pi-da*: (MAN entry missing).
With them is Count *Pherephonios* (?), son of *Ares* (?).
At *Ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja*, *Krokulaioi*:
MAN 20. With them is Count *Di-wi-je-u*.

Command of *Dwoios* at *A-ke-re-wa*:
A$_2$*-ku-ni-jo*, *Perimedes*, *Phutias*.
Ke-ki-de of A-pu$_2$*-ka* at *Po-ra*(*i*): MAN 20
With them is Count *Di-ko-na-ro* son of *Adrastos* (?).
At *U-wa-te*, *ke-ki-de* of *Ne-wo*(*-ki-to*?): MAN 10
With them is Count *Pleuronios*.

At *A-ke-re-wa*, *Krokulaioi*: MAN 50
With them is Count *Ka-e-sa-me-no* of *A-pu*$_2$*-ka*.'

47. An 661 (*Docs.* 60)
e-ki-no-jo o-ka e-o-te-u
a-ti-ro[ ] *i-da-i-jo e-se-re-a*$_2$
e-na-po-ro i-wa-so MAN 70
ṭi-o-ri-jo ko-ro-ku-[*ra*]*-i-jo* MAN 20 (See Addendum.)
.5 *ka-ra-do-ro ko-ru-ku-ra-i-jo* MAN [nn]
za-e-to-ro ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MAN 20
me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo
] /
e-ko-[*me*]*-na-ta-o o-ka*

.10 *ti-mi-[to] a-ke-i ma-re-u ro-qo-ta*
a-ke-[.]-u a-ke-wa-to
a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo
ne-do-wo-ta-de MAN 30 *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta*

'Command of *E-ki-no*: *E-o-te-u*, *A-ti-ro*[], *I-da-i-jo*, *E-se-re-a_2*.
At *E-na-po-ro*, *I-wa-so(i)*: MAN 70
At *Ti-o-ri-jo*, *Krokulaioi*: MAN 20
At *Ka-ra-do-ro*, *Krokulaioi*: MAN (nn)
At *Za-e-to-ro*, *Krokulaioi*: MAN 20
With them is Count *Wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo*.

Command of *Erkhomenatas*:
At *Ti-mi-to a-ke-i*: *Ma-re-u*, *Ro-qo-ta*, *A-ke-*[]*-u*, *A-ke-wa-to*.
The *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo(i)* and the *U-ru-pi-ja-jo(i)*
(are to go) to *Ne-do-wo(n)*: MAN 30
With them is Count . . . .'

This group of texts forms a set recording groups of men, the occasion being indicated by the introductory sentence *ὥς ϝρύντοι ὀπίαλα ἐπίκοϝοι* 'how (thus) the watchers are guarding the coastal areas'. *ϝρῦμαι* is an archaic athematic verb (cf. *ῥῦμα*, *ῥύσιος*, *ῥυσίπολις*, Homeric *ῥύομαι*, *ἐρύομαι*) meaning 'guard, protect', cf. *Il.* 10. 416–17:

φυλακὰς δ' ἂς εἴρεαι, ἤρως,
οὔ τις κεκριμένη ῥύεται στρατὸν οὐδὲ φυλάσσει.

The text is divided into paragraphs. Each one first names the military unit, identified by the word *o-ka* and by a preceding proper name in the genitive singular (e.g. *to-ro-o o-ka*). *ὀρχά* (= *ἀρχή*) would account for *o-ka* (on the other 'etymological' possibility *ὁλκάς*, see below). Next comes a place-name (e.g. *ro-o-wa*), which is presumably the station or headquarters of the unit. Then follows a group of names, many of which recur in other tablets and presumably refer to the 'officers'. Finally, before the ideogram we have a place-name together with troop designations, mostly ethnics. After a number of entries of this kind An 519 (this was the first tablet of this group which came to light) concludes with the words *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo*. The use of

the patronymic suggests a grandee: cf. *Il.* 10. 68 f., *πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον πάντας κυδαίνων*. *e-qe-ta* is a title: it 'etymologizes' as *ἑqʷέτας*, and analogies from Homeric, Macedonian, and other Indo-European societies suggest that the *ἑqʷέται* may have been 'companions' of the king. We translate it 'count' (*comes*). Chadwick has suggested that the *e-qe-ta* was a charioteer who acted as a communications link between the units in the field and the palace. However, further research points insistently to the religious functions and character of these officials. Most important has been our discovery (p. 198 f.) of the order of 'pages' in the land register and the reflection of this order in the totalling tablets. In the latter the *e-qe-ta* is bracketed with the religious functionaries (p. 213). The dossiers of the individual *e-qe-ta* supports the diagnosis. Above (pp. 142 ff.) we drew attention to the connexion of An 218 + Sn 64 with the *o-ka* tablets and pointed out that in the first paragraph there are two *e-qe-ta* (*ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo* and *ai-ko-ta*) the status of the third *a-e-ri-qo-ta* being doubtful.[1] The first two entries of the same paragraph relate to the *i-je-re-u* of *ri-so-wa* and *ne-wo-ki-to* respectively. Here again the *e-qe-ta* keeps priestly company.

To these indications we may add that *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, the *e-qe-ta* of An 654. 8, may be identical with the *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* who figures prominently in the texts concerned with holdings and dues connected with Poseidon (Es 644, 649, 650), his holding being the largest (pp. 221 ff.). Again *di-wi-je-u* (An 656. 9) is an Es personality, but a recipient of the *do-so-mo* and so attached as a cult official to Poseidon (p. 222). Below we shall consider the possibility that *di-wi-je-u* is a title rather than a proper name.

Finally, if we turn to Knossos, we find there that the word *e-qe-ta* occurs in connexion with *ti-mi-to* (As 821. 1, see p. 129) and *o-pa*, and that these entries are followed by an *i-je-re-u*. Thus the evidence points decisively to the religious functions of the *e-qe-ta* in the *o-ka* series. That the use of the patronymic indicates high social status we argued long ago. The 'etymological' inter-

[1] It is argued by Ruipérez (MR 5. 158) and Mühlestein (HM 8. 25) that *ke-ki-jo a-e-ri-qo-ta* is a single name. I am not convinced.

pretation as 'companions' of the king fits well into this framework, for now the sacral character of the Mycenaean *wanax* has emerged more clearly. The attachment of members of the priestly class to the various units listed in the *o-ka* tablets may lessen resistance to our interpretation of the closely connected BULLS tablet, Cn 3. We shall argue further below (p. 173) that these animals were to be sacrificed.

Nothing supports the proposed connexion of *e-qe-ta* with *i-qo* (CG 1. 90, SL 2. 8), or their alleged functions as charioteers. Such 'dispatch-rider' duties, as envisaged by Chadwick, are more likely to have devolved on less-exalted personalities, such as the vehicle-owners listed in the Sa series (pp. 324 ff.).

The phrase introducing the *e-qe-ta* entry etymologizes as *μετά-q^{w}ε σφε(h)ὶ ἑq^{w}έτας* . . . . On the morphology of *σφε(h)ί*, see p. 50.

The designations of the troops are often clearly ethnic: e.g. *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, *o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*. Of these designations only *ke-ki-de* is regularly accompanied by a toponymic adjective (see below); so this would appear to be the only appellative, denoting perhaps some kind of local levy. The principle of economy makes it wise to take all the rest as ethnics, even *o-ka-ra*$_3$ and *i-wa-so* (despite the equivalent *i-wa-si-jo-ta*, cf. Cn 3, see below). For the last, cf. *ἀν' Ἴασον Ἄργος* (*Od.* 18. 246). The full list is *o-wi-ti-ni-jo*, *o-ka-ra*$_3$ (*o-ka-ra*), *i-wa-so*, **u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, *o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*, **ku-re-we*, **ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, *a*$_2$*-ka-a*$_2$*-ki-ri-jo*. The following ethnic adjectives accompany *ke-ki-de*:[1] *ku-pa-ri-si-jo*, *a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne* (cf. *a-pu*$_2$*-ka*), *me-ta-pi-jo*, *wa-ka-ti-ja-ta*.

It will be consistent to take **ke-ki-de ne-wo* likewise as a toponymic description, the second word being a genitive plural of *Newoi* (cf. *ne-wo-ki-to* and the feminine *ne-we-wi-ja* Aa 695). The asterisked groups occur in the Na and Ma series (see below), where they are recorded as 'having' certain commodities. It is significant that the quantities in the Na series correspond to the numbers recorded in the *o-ka* tablets (Mühlestein). The complex entry An 654. 14 ff. is difficult. I now take *e-no-wa-ro* to be

[1] The addendum *ke-ki-de-qe a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne* after the ideogram in An 657. 13 rules out the possibility of taking *ke-ki-de* as an ethnic.

a place-name and all the words following *to-so-de* to be troop designations. *pe-di-je-we* is an ethnic, perhaps from *Πέδιον*, and *wa-wo-u-de* preceding *ke-ki-de* should belong to the same category. Thus, taken together with the following entries, this makes sixty men based on *e-no-wa-ro*, and this balances satisfactorily with the fifty and sixty of the preceding two paragraphs.

The geographical order of the stations appears to follow the north–south arrangement of the 'Nine' (see below) with a jump to the first of the 'Seven' in the last entry. We list them in their order of occurrence, those immediately following the *o-ka* being in capitals: *O-WI-TO-NO*, *su-we-ro-wi-jo* (?), *a_2-ru-wo-te*, *ai-ta-re-u-si*, *o-wi-to-no*, *RO-O-WA*, *a_2-ra-tu-wa*, *a-pi-te-wa*, *o-*34-ta-(qe)*, *pi-ru-te*, *o-*34-ta*, *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, *TO-WA* (?), *e-no-wa-ro*, *NE-WO-KI-TO*, *sa-pi-da*, *ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja*, *A-KE-RE-WA*, *po-ra-i*, *u-wa-si*, *a-ke-re-wa*, *E-O-TE-U* (? man's name), *e-na-po-ro*, *ti-o-ri-jo*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *za-e-to-ro*, *TI-MI-TO A-KE-I*. The final entry is the sole allative form: *ne-do-wo-ta-de* '(destined for) the Nedon (?)'.

Thus we have ten *o-ka* disposing of upwards of 860 officers and men covering the coasts of Pylos. The purpose of these dispositions is stated in the introductory formula. They are groups of 'watchers' and their activity is 'guarding'. It would be unwise to go beyond this plain meaning of the explanatory sentence. Their function is 'to watch', not 'defend'. Their stations are in the locative (e.g. *ai-ta-re-u-si*) with the one exception noted above. Thus there is no question of 'destination'. This brings us to the interpretation of *o-ka*. There are two 'etymologized' possibilities: *ὀρχά* (for *ἀρχή*; cf. *Ἀρχαγέτας SEG* ix. 1. 72. 22 parallel with *λαϝαγέτας* and *σταρταγέτας*, *IC* iv. 185). This may be a unit in the military organization, *λαϝός* being the total body of warriors, with *σταρτός* (*στρατός*) and *ἀρχά* as subdivisions of different size and status. The other possible representative, *ὁλκάς*, 'a ship which is towed', 'trading vessel or merchantman' (*LSJ*) fits less well into the general picture, which recalls the Homeric (*Il.* 9. 85-86):

> *ἕπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων, ἑκατὸν δε ἑκάστῳ*
> *κοῦροι ἅμα στεῖχον.*

Moreover, *ku-ru-me-no*, to whom one *o-ka* belongs, is a *mo-ro-pa_2*

and simultaneously the *i-te-re-wa ko-re-te* (Sn 64. 5). It is difficult to imagine him as the captain of an ὁλκάς. Add to this the fact that the choice of this 'etymological' possibility leads to difficulties with the introductory formula. These are resolved only by making *o-u-ru-to* into an imperative and construing the dativa1 place-names as destinations, quite contrary to normal Greek usage. Finally, the said place-names in Cn 3 must be given a different syntactical interpretation from those of the corresponding entries in the *o-ka* set.[1]

There remain some points of detail.

An 657

su-we-ro-wi-jo: I take this as the station of the *o-wi-ti-ni-jo* and the *o-ka-ra*$_3$. The word recalls the Pamphylian Σελύϝιυς (Cauer–Schwyzer 686. 1, etc.): = Σϝελοϝίωι??

a$_2$*-ru-wo-te*: if identical with the later Αὐλών, the latter must be due to folk-etymological adaptation of a pre-Greek place name, or we have one of the frequently attested interchanges between the *-ων* and the *-ων -ον-* declensions (e.g. λέων, λέοντ- but λέαινα).

e-ra-po, *ri-me-ne*: the station of this detachment is given as *o-wi-to-no*. Consequently these words must be two names of 'officers' and not another place-name = Ἐλάφων λιμένει (so Mühlestein).

An 519

a$_2$*-ra-tu-wa*: the closest equivalent in later Greek is to be found in the ethnic Ἀλασυῆς, which is conjoined with Ἀκρώρειοι in *Inscr. Olymp.* 258. Dittenberger and Purgold, ad loc., quote Strabo viii. 341 Ἀλαισυαίων (MS. A, Blass Ἀλαισέων).

D. & P. suggest that the A. were named after the main town of

[1] E. Risch (ER 14) has also examined Mühlestein's proposals. His criticisms are similar. It is a violation of Greek syntax to take datives of place-names as indications of direction or destination. He adds a point of word-formation: 'Selon tout ce que nous savons sur l'histoire des thèmes en *-αδ-* (et aussi sur l'histoire du verbe ἕλκειν), il est extrêmement improbable que le substantive ὁλκάς "vaisseau de transport", qui est attesté dès le début du Vème siècle, ait existé déjà au deuxième millénaire' (with refs. to P. Chantraine, *Formation des noms* 349 ff.; E. Risch, *Hom. Wortbildung* 133 ff.; E. Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i. 507 f.).

the 'canton' which is designated by *Ἀκρώρειοι*. Strabo (ibid.) locates the place in question thus:

κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐξ Ἤλιδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν· πρότερον δ' ἦν πόλις τῆς Πισάτιδος.

Its location in the Pisatis is of interest in view of our arguments (LP 9) for the northerly situation of *ro-o-wa*, but our place may be merely homonymous. Note that both these places have the characteristic suffix *-wa*, for which a Luvian origin has been suggested (LP 22, with refs. to the work of H. Bossert).

*o-*34-ta-qe*: this must be a place-name (see An 654. 3). The attached *-qe* appears to be optional. It can hardly be the enclitic 'and'. Perhaps a locative particle or suffix of the type *-θε*, etc. For a possible interpretation *Ὄλυνθα*, see p. 23.

An 654

to-wa could be either a man's name, *Θόας*, or a place-name, the station of this *o-ka*: cf. *Θοαί*.

An 656

di-wi-je-u: that this may be a title of a religious functionary is argued p. 174.

ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo: probability lies with the identification as *Κροκυλαῖοι*. The alternative suggestion *Κορκυραῖοι* requires (1) the change of *Κερκ-* to *Κορκ-* and (2) the use of the dubious spelling rule relating to the occasional notation of *r* before plosive (see p. 27).

In making the attempt to give some geographical precision to the places mentioned in these troop dispositions, the method outlined above (pp. 65 ff.) must be borne in mind. Of basic importance is the canonical order of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven', which gives us a framework of reference determining the relative positions of the places. Thus An 661 mentions *ka-ra-do-ro*, which is the eighth of the 'Nine' and next to *ri-jo*, which we have identified as *Ῥίον*. This would site the HQ of the *o-ka* concerned to the area immediately to the north of the 'Cape Province' (see LP 9. 132,

142), and the stations under its control, *e-na-po-ro*, *ti-o-ri-jo*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, and *za-e-to-ro*, must all be in the same region. We may note, further, that the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, who furnish three contingents in this text, have apparently drawn some kind of supply in the Na series (see p. 306) from *wo-no-qe-wa*, *to-ro-wa-so*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, and one other place (Na 516).

The siting of this *o-ka* in a southerly part of the Hither Province is consistent with the fact that the next *o-ka* mentioned in this tablet is stationed at *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*, which is the first of the 'Seven'. The prospective station of the troops *ne-do-wo-ta-de*, etymologized as *Νεδϝοντά-δε*, would site *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* in this general area. One contingent is designated a_2-*ka*-a_2-*ki-ri-jo*, and a_2-*ka*-a_2-*ki-ri-ja-jo* is the name of a place at which the other associated contingent, the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, are concerned with (? the sacrifice of) a bull (see p. 173). We have here one of the double place-names in which the second element is the name of the district in which the place named in the first element is situated. Now the Na set mentions a place a_2-*ki-ra* (Na 856), which can hardly be separated from the preceding forms. It etymologizes as *Αἴγιλα*, a place which was probably in the western part of the later Laconia near the frontier of Messenia (see LP 9. 141), where there was a shrine of Demeter (Pausanias iv. 17. 1). Our tentative identification of the name as 'Aigai-in-Aigila' is thus consistent with the location of *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*, not far from Nedon.

We may now draw a further conclusion. The above text jumps from *za-e-to-ro*, immediately beyond (on our hypothesis) *ka-ra-do-ro*, the last but one of the 'Nine', to the first of the 'Seven', which we have located right round the Messenian gulf. It would appear that both the 'Nine' and the 'Seven' are enumerated from their point farthest away from their demarcation point, Cape Akritas. From this we must conclude that *ri-jo* and *e-re-e* are adjacent.

An 656 mentions *a-ke-re-wa* as the headquarters of an *o-ka*. This is the sixth of the 'Nine' and consequently on our hypothesis to the north of *ka-ra-do-ro*. The stations *po-ra-i* and *u-wa-si* will lie within its general area, and we note that *a-pu*$_2$-*ka-ne ke-ki-de* are stationed at the former and *ke-ki-de ne-wo* at the latter. Here

we introduce the second of our principles and so increase the complexity of the topographical interrelationships which impose a further severe discipline on etymological identifications. *Ke-ki-de* is the only troop designation which is regularly accompanied by ethnic determinations. We assume that they are local levies and used as such for guard duties within their own area. This means that the place *a-pu*$_2$*-ka* is not far from *po-ra-i*. Note also that the *e-qe-ta* of this *o-ka* comes from *a-pu*$_2$*-ka*.

The first *o-ka* of An 656 is located at *ne-wo-ki-to*, and I am inclined to link *ne-wo*, which describes the *ke-ki-de* in l. 15, with this place-name, which consequently analyses as *ne-wo* and *ki-to*. The stations of the contingents of the *o-ka* are at *sa-pi-da* (where there are *wa-ka-ti-ja-ta ke-ki-de*).

An 654 mentions *me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de* at *o-*34-ta*. Since *me-ta-pa* is the second of the 'Nine', it is evident that we are now in the more northerly parts of the Pylian territory. *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, the station of the *ku-re-we*, will be not too far away. If we are right in our belief that the troops are listed from north to south, then the next *o-ka* at *to-wa* (if this is a place-name) will be to the south and this will be also true for the subordinate station *e-no-wa-ro* and the places which lie behind the designations of the *ke-ki-de* (see p. 153).

An 519. The *o-ka* headquarters is *ro-o-wa*, which occurs in a number of maritime contexts. VC have suggested, in view of its prominence, that this was the port of Pylos itself. However, we note that *o-*34-ta-qe* is given as the station of contingents in l. 11 and this implies that the dispositions recorded in this tablet are adjacent to those of An 654. This suggests a northerly location, which is consistent with the most attractive identification of *a*$_2$*-ra-tu-wa* with Ἀλα(ι)σύα in Pisatis (see above). The consistent application of our north–south hypothesis gives us the order of stations in this text as *a*$_2$*-ra-tu-wa*, *a-pi-te-wa*, *o-*34-ta*, and *pi-ru-te*.

An 657, the first of the set, offers the most complex data, the successful harmonization of which will inspire confidence in the method pursued. The *o-ka* headquarters is *o-wi-to-no*, and since no headquarters is mentioned for the second *o-ka*, we may assume

that they were both located there. This is further confirmed by the fact that a contingent in the command of the second *o-ka* is located at *o-wi-to-no* (l. 13). In this command area we also find two contingents of *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de*. If we identify the underlying place with the *ku-pa-ri-so* of Na 514 and note (with Mühlestein) that there they 'have' 30 SA and that their combined number in our text is 30; if we further identify this place with the later *Κυπαρισσία*, this gives us an important 'fix', which we can now proceed to test. Since one group of these *ke-ki-de* is at a_2*-ru-wo-te*, our hypothesis implies that this place cannot be very far from Cyparissos. According to Pausanias (iv. 36. 7) the traveller proceeding northwards from Pylos, after passing Cyparissiae, comes to a temple of Asclepius *ἐν Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ*. Aulon thus lay north of Cyparissiae and south of the river Neda, which forms the boundary between Messenia and Elis. Valmin (1930. 107 f.) locates the town at the foot of the mountain Vounaki and comments: 'C'est un point stratégique de premier ordre qui domine tout le mouvement entre Élide et la Messénie.' a_2*-ru-wo-te* could represent *Αὐλών* (note that *Ἄϝλών* is also attested as the name of a suburb of *Γόρτυς* in Crete), and in view of its proximity to *ku-pa-ri-so* this possibility becomes more tempting. On the change of declension implicit in this equation see above. We add the fact that the 'commander' is *ne-da-wa-ta*, an ethnic from *Νέδϝα*. This, then, is the bare, complex 'cluster resemblance' on which we are required to pass judgement. Pausanias' data are *Κυπαρισσιαί*, *Αὐλών*, *Νέδα*; our text combines *Κυπαρίσσιοι* at a_2*-ru-wo* under a commander *Ne-da-wa-ta*. *ai-ta-re-u-si*, the other station of the *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de*, will similarly be in the vicinity of *ku-pa-ri-so*, and since we find *ke-ki-de a-pu*$_2$*-ka-ne* at *o-wi-to-no*, the headquarters of the *o-ka*, with another contingent, as we have seen, at *po-ra-i* in the command area of *a-ke-re-wa*, this would indicate that *ai-ta-re-u-si* is to the south of *ku-pa-ri-so* and that *o-wi-to-no* links up with the command area of the unit based on *a-ke-re-wa* (see above on An 656).

Note that *a-e-ri-qo-ta* is assigned to *o-wi-to-no* in An 218. 5 (where he is listed after *ro-u-so ku-sa-me-ni-jo* of *me-ta-pa*) and that he appears as an 'officer' in the unit stationed at *o-wi-to-no* in

An 657. 12.[1] *o-wi-to-no* also occurs as the locale of women recorded in Aa 775 = Ab 277 (with the men of Ad 685, see p. 123). From this we learn no more, however, than that this place belongs to the Hither Province.

It would appear that the arrangements recorded in An 657, the first tablet of the set, concern the important strategic area astride the river Cyparisseis and that the scribe then proceeds to record the other contingents area by area proceeding from north to south in the Hither Province. Only one entry relates to the Further Province, but the set is perhaps incomplete.

In view of the importance of the matter we now take the opportunity of carrying out the most complex set of verificatory tests on our over-all hypothesis of geographical consistency in listing the places of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven'. The second part of An 656 with its mention of *A-ke-re-wa*, on our hypothesis, must come to the north of An 661 with *ka-ra-do-ro*:

A-KE-RE-WA *po-ra-i*
u-wa-si
e-na-po-ro
ti-o-ri-jo
ka-ra-do-ro
za-e-to-ro

In An 37, Nn 228, and An 130 *e-na-po-ro* is preceded by *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*, *po-ra-pi* being included in Nn 228, while *te-tu-ru-we* follows. *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* is listed apparently after *ko-tu-we* in the much-broken An 615. 16, 17: this distinct northward trend is again reflected in Eq 213, where *ko-tu-wo* is listed along with *a-ke-re-wa* in the territorial unit a_2-*ri-sa* (p. 217). In this text these two places consort with *e-ri-no-wo-to*. Now *e-ri-no-wo-te* in An 427 appears between *a-pu*$_2$-*we* and its immediate neighbour to the south *a-ke-re-wa*. In Mn 456. 8 it appears in a list which starts with *re-u-ko-to-ro* in the Further Province, and if we take the chain of places in the north–south orientation, we have *sa-ri-nu-wo-te* + *e-ri-no-wo-te* leading to *ro-u-so*, *e-wi-te-jo*, *me-te-to*. These last three places occur as a cluster also in Vn 130. Thus this group *ro-u-so*,

[1] See above on the alternative suggestion that *ke-ki-jo a-e-ri-qo-ia* is the name of the *e-qe-ta*.

etc., should lie to the south of *e-ri-no-wo-te*+*sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, which are situated in the region *a-pu*$_2$—*a-ke-re-wa*. But *ro-u-so* is known to substitute for *e-ra-te-i*, which lies next to *a-ke-re-wa* in the north–south chain of the 'Nine'.

There is thus an astonishing measure of consistency in the arrangement of the places if it is considered that these are texts compiled by different scribes for a variety of purposes. The only seriously disordered text is Vn 130, with *pa-ki-ja-si* and *me-te-to* appearing twice in different lines. But even this shows the clusters *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*+*e-na-po-ro* and *e-wi-te-wi-jo*+*ro-u-so*. The following tabulation of this extremely complex set of facts will make the course of the inquiry clearer and also facilitate checking by critics. If the facts relating to the disposition of the rowers (pp. 68 ff.) and the craftsmen (pp. 138 f.) are superimposed, this will give a picture of the varied activities in this part of the kingdom during the last months of Mycenaean Pylos.

Mn 456	*An* 427	*Eq* 213	*Nn* 228, *etc.*	*An* 656, 661
	A-PU$_2$*-WE*			
sa-ri-nu-wo-te				
e-ri-no-wo-te	*e-ri-no-wo-te*	*e-ri-no-wo-to*		
		ko-tu-wo	*ko-tu-we*	
	pa-ko		*a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*	
			po-ra-pi	*po-ra-i*
				u-wa-si
	A-KE-RE-WA	*A-KE-RE-WA*		*A-KE-RE-WA*
			e-na-po-ro	*e-na-po-ro*
				ti-o-ri-jo
				KA-RA-DO-RO
ro-u-so				
e-wi-te-wi-jo				
me-te-to				

The place-names in capitals are members of the 'Nine'.

Now that we have completed this complex series of tests to establish the general coherence of the geographical relationships, we pose a question the implications of which are so important that we must raise it despite the disquieting methodological aspects. The facts may first be allowed to speak for themselves. We have seen (pp. 68 ff.) how the analysis of the 'rower' tablets, hinging on the 'fix' of *e-wi-ri-po*, imposed a chain of geographical relationships which were verifiable. The series of 'rower' stations

brackets *ri-jo*, identified as Rhion. Then independent inquiry into a number of texts which apparently had no connexion with the *o-ka* or the 'rower' tablets repeatedly led to the same set of localities; particularly notable was the location of bronze-smiths and other craftsmen at *a-pe-ke-e* (pp. 138 f.). Now the interpretation of An 724 opened up the bare possibility that certain of the rowers absent from *ro-o-wa* were with the *lawagetas* and *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* at a place called *a-pe-e-ke* (see p. 131). Are these different orthographic variants of one and the same place-name?

There is one other point which suggests that the scribe of An 610 and 724 compiled his lists of rowers from a source of information which had clerical faults. We saw above that the *o-ka* immediately to the north of *ri-jo*, which, according to our analysis, like the 'rower' dispositions, brackets Cape Akritas, included *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, who drew supplies from *wo-no-qe-wa*, *to-ro-wa-so*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, and one other place. We have argued that place-names in *-e-wa* sometimes link up with district names in *-e-u* (see p. 76 for refs.). Now in Un 1193. 1, 2 *wo-no-qe-we* and *a-ke-re-we* occur in adjacent lines. In view of the fact that *a-ke-re-wa* and *ka-ra-do-ro* are respectively sixth and eighth of the 'Nine', this supports the connexion of *a-ke-re-u* and *wo-no-qe-u*, on the one hand, and *a-ke-re-wa* and *wo-no-qe-wa*, on the other; while the adjacency evinced in Un 1193 again points to geographical proximity. With this in mind, we turn once again to the 'rower' entries in the above tablets and now observe that *a-ke-re-wa* is followed by *wo-qe-we*, which in its turn precedes *ri-jo*. We face a choice of possibilities. Either there are two places in the vicinity of *a-ke-re-wa*, one *wo-qe-we* and the other *wo-no-qe-we*; or the first is an error for *wo-⟨no⟩-qe-we*. If the probabilities are judged to lie with the second alternative, this will lend support to the possibility that *a-pe-e-ke* is an orthographic variant or error for *a-pe-ke-e*. The matter is of importance in that An 724, on our interpretation, indicates where the *lawagetas* and *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* were when the locations of rowers were recorded. If in fact *a-pe-ke-e* was the headquarters, this would explain also the assignment of craftsmen connected with this place, especially those of An 340, which lists bronze-smiths with *a-ta-o* of *a-pe-ke-e*.

The importance of *a-ke-re-wa* as another such centre is evidenced, (see p. 228) by An 261, with its *ke-ro-si-ja* of bronze-smiths mostly from *e-ni-pa-te-we* near *a-ke-re-wa*, but a final one from *a-pe-ke-e*. Finally, to complete the picture of these elaborate arrangements, we recall that in An 129, the twin tablet to An 340, the sole clue leads us again to bronze-smiths and a connexion with *ka-ra-do-ro*. All these separate inquiries converge on the same set of localities. If the considered verdict of scholars should be that the convergence of such complex paths of inquiry cannot be due to chance, then the conclusion may suggest itself that the main effort of defensive preparations was centred in southern Messenia on both sides of Cape Akritas and that the headquarters was at *a-pe-ke-e* within the Gulf of Messenia.

Finally, we stress once again the complementarity of the geographical locations of the rowers, on the one hand, and the coast watchers, on the other. The 'rower' stations fill the great gap in the *o-ka* stations between *ka-ra-do-ro* and *za-e-to-ro*. The total impression of these complex and doubtless incomplete data is that of a concentration of sea-forces in the southern part of the Messenian peninsula on both sides of the cape with a thin screen of watchers guarding the rest of the coast.

III

CATTLE INVENTORIES (C, D)

(*Docs.* pp. 195–215; MD 2; LP 13. 569 f.)

Ideograms: *21 = SHEEP, *106*a* = RAM, *106*b* = EWE, SHEEP+TA, *22 = GOAT, *107*a* = HE-GOAT, *107*b* = SHE-GOAT, *85 = PIG, *108*a* = BOAR, *108*b* = SOW, PIG+SI, PIG+KA, *23 = OX, *109*a* = BULL (? OX), *109*b* = COW, OX+SI? *104 = DEER, *105 = HORSE (ASS, HORSE without mane = FOAL)

PYLOS

THE following data are recorded in the PY Cn series: (1) place; (2) personal name, usually in the dative case preceded by *pa-ro*, but the inventory style also permits the 'neutral' nominative; (3) one of a limited number of well-known names of frequent occurrence in the genitive case; (4) the ideogram followed by numerals. A typical entry is PY Cn 40. 4:

(1) *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (2) *pa-ro po-ru-qo-ta* (3) *we-da-ne-wo* (4) RAMS 60.

We discuss the entries under these headings.

Places

The place-names are usually in the dative-locative case: e.g. *ma-ro-pi*, *a-ne-u-te*, a_2*-pa-tu-wo-te*, *pa-na-pi*, *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*. It has been suggested that these are to be taken ablatively. The cattle stations are listed according to their geographical position. Those in Cn 40 are situated in the Hither Province (see p. 75) in the neighbourhood of *pi-*82* and *me-ta-pa* (*wa-no-jo wo-wo*, *e-ko-me-no*, *a-ne-u-te*, *ma-ro-pi*, *re-pe-u-ri-jo*, *a-te-re-wi-ja*). The places and the herdsmen mentioned connect this text with Cn 599 and the fragmentary Cn 437. Places in the same region are recorded in Cn 643, 655, and 719 (*a-pa-re-u-pi*, *wi-ja-we-*ra_2, *pi-*82*, *ma-ro-pi*), and the fragmentary Cn 286.

Cn 45 deals with herds at *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-ja* in the Further Province: it is grouped with *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* and *pa-na-pi*. The herds of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, another of the 'Seven', are recorded in Cn 254. Yet other herds are listed in Cn 600 (*ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*, *o-re-e-wo*,

wo-wo, *re-pa*$_2$*-se-wo wo-wo*). The tablets evidently form sets, as will appear from the analysis below. The analogy of other such sets suggests that the first tablet in each set began with a brief heading. That these are represented by Cn 131 and 328 will emerge from a study of the 'owners'.

Owners

We diagnose as 'owners' the names in the genitive case which appear in the third 'place' of the formulaic structure. The most frequent are *a-ko-so-ta-o*, *we-da-ne-wo*, and *a-ke-o-jo*. The first is a prominent personage in the searchives (see 'Glossary'); *we-da-ne-u* is apparently attached to the cult of Poseidon (see pp. 221 f.); *a-ke-o*, who is credited with the largest number of beasts, also occurs in a list of notables (An 192. 4). *A-pi-me-de*, for whom an *a-ko-ra* of 190 animals is recorded (Cn 655. 5), is likely to be a priest of the holy town of *pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*) (see p. 210). There remains in this 'place' of the formulae the frequent entry *pa-ra-jo*. Its interpretation must be governed by this 'place'. In Cn 40 it alternates with *wo-ne-we* and one of the above personal names. Moreover, the numbers of *pa-ra-jo* tend to be much higher than the others (e.g. 230 in Cn 719. 4). In Cn 40, 254, and 655 the *pa-ra-jo* are the first entries. In Cn 40 *wo-ne-we* is the second entry; in Cn 643, h weve , where there are no *pa-ra-jo*, a *wo-ne-we* entry comes first. A solution of these non-genitival forms, which alternate with personal 'owner' designations, is suggested by the fact that for a large number of contingents no 'owner' is indicated. The owner who for the palace scribe needs no explicit mention is presumably the king. We now add the fact that some tablets have a heading of the type *pi-*82 we-re-ke* (Cn 131), *ro-u-so we-re-ke* (Cn 328). This last list is continued in Cn 285, as will be seen from the fact that *ai-ta-ro-we* EWES, the last entry in Cn 328, corresponds to *ai-ta-ro-we* [GOATS], the first in Cn 285; cf. the adjacent entries of *ma-ra* (Cn 328. 8, 9) and of *a-we-ke-se-u* (Cn 285. 5, 6), where the order is again SHEEP–GOATS. The *we-re-ke* tablets indicate no 'owner'; and though they list much the same herdsmen in the same localities as on the 'owner' tablets, the numbers on the *we-re-ke* tablets are consistently

higher, as will be seen from the tabulated comparison of Cn 131 with Cn 719+655

	Place		*Numbers*		
Herdsman	Cn 131	Cn 719	Cn 131	Cn 719	*Owner*
o-ku-ka	*pi-*82*	*pi-*82*	RAMS 130	RAMS 70	*a-ke-o-jo*
ku-pi-ri-jo	,,	*pi-*82*	,, 50	,, 60	*a-ke-o-jo*
a-ka-ma-wo	,,	*wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$	,, 120	,, 96	*a-ko-so-ta-a*
ko-ru-no	,,	*wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$	,, 100	,, 66	*pa-ra-jo*
		Cn 655		Cn 655	
to-ro-wi-(ko)	*ma-ro-pi*	*ma-ro-pi*	,, 130	,, 133	*pa-ra-jo*
ke-ro-wo	,,	,,	,, 130	,, 85	nil
ra-pa-sa-ko	,,	,,	,, 91	,, 69	nil
e-ti-ra-wo	,,	,,	,, 100	,, 70	*pa-ra-jo*
a-ta-ma-ne-u	,,	,,	,, 140	,, 60	*pa-ra-jo*
se-no	,,	,,	,, 44	EWES 40	*we-da-ne-wo*
pu-wi-no	,,	,,	GOATS 55	RAMS 190	*a-pi-me-de-o*

What gives further significance to the above comparison is the fact that the entries in Cn 131 follow the order of Cn 719 and Cn 655 except for the final she-goat herd of *pu-wi-no*. In Cn 131 all the herds in ll. 2–5 are at *pi-*82* while those listed in ll. 6–14 are at *ma-ro-pi*. It will be evident that these three tablets belong together and form a set.

The same group of place-names appears on Cn 643: *a-pa-re-u-pi*, *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$, *pi-*82*, and *ma-ro-pi*. Three of the herdsmen (*pa-pa-ro*, *ma-ra-ni-jo*, and *ku-ka-ra-so*) also occur on Cn 719.

There can be little doubt that Cn 643 belongs to the same set. Most important is that they are in the same hand. What distinguishes Cn 643 from the others of the set is that it lists not rams and ewes but pigs and goats. Thus this scribe differs from the habits of the *ro-u-so* scribe in that whereas the latter lists the animals of the different herdsmen in adjacent entries on the same tablet in the order sheep–goats, he for his part reserves the pigs and goats for a separate tablet.

Internal analysis and study of the hands enable us to group other tablets in sets. Cn 40 belongs with Cn 599, and that this is the last of the set is shown by the fact that it has been scored across and snapped off when the scribe had filled in eight lines.

Since some of the cattle of Cn 40 are at *ma-ro-pi* and this is one of the cattle stations of *pi-*82*, it is likely that the main centre to which these cattle are assigned was near *pi-*82*. Now the final entry of Cn 40 relates to *a-te-re-wi-ja*. Aa 779 brings this place into association with *me-ta-pa*, which is next to *pi-*82* in the list of the 'Nine' places of the Hither Province. We may conclude that though the first tablet of the series which comprises Cn 40+ 599 has not been recovered, it probably began *Me-ta-pa we-re-ke*. To this set we can assign Cc 660: *Me-ta-pa pa-ro ka-ra-su-no a-ke-o a-ke-re* HE-GOAT 30.

Cn 45 is in the same hand as Cn 600, and their entries relate to places known to lie in the Further Province: Cn 45 with *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*, *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* and *pa-na-pi*, and Cn 600 with *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*, *o-re-e-wo wo-wo*, and *re-pa$_2$-se-wo wo-wo*. Of the herdsmen *wi-ja-te-we* has 'ownerless' ewes at *re-pa$_2$-se-wo wo-wo* in Cn 600. 10, but she-goats of *a-ke-o* at *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* in Cn 45. 11. Evidently these two places must have been close together. *qe-ta-ko* has an 'ownerless' herd of boars at *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* (600. 14) and another such herd apparently at *pu-ro-ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (the text overflows on to the edge of the tablet) in Cn 45 edge. This imposes the conclusion that his two stations are close together. It is satisfactory that *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* and *ra-wa-ra-ti-ja* are adjacent places in the list of the 'Seven' of the Further Province. Both Cn 45 and 600 divide their entries in the order sheep–goats–pigs. Now *qe-ta-ko* also appears in the fragmentary Cn 570, and the next entry is *o-pe-pa$_2$*, who reappears in the spelling *o-qe-pa$_2$* with a herd of she-goats belonging to *a-ko-so-ta* at *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* in Cn 45. 9. Thus Cn 579 will also belong to this group of texts. One herdsman entry of Cn 45 links up with Cn 254: *a-ko-to-wo* (Cn 45. 8) has a herd of she-goats belonging to *a-ke-o* at *pu-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-jo*, and a man of the same name has a herd belonging to *a-*[*ke-o*] at *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (Cn 254. 9). The two places are, however, the second and fourth of the 'Seven'. This reinforces the likelihood that the 'Seven', whose order is not as consistent as that of the 'Nine' (p. 76), do not lie in a simple linear order along the coast. Cn 1197 is headed simply *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, and this may be the headed introductory tablet of the set to which Cn 254 belongs.

Finally, the fragmentary Cn 485, with its entries relating to the place *da-we-u-pi*, links up with Cn 925, the latter tablet listing only pigs.

From this analysis it will be clear that the Cn tablets form several series and that the first tablet in each case probably began with the formula *place-name*+*we-re-ke*. The set relating to *pi-*82* comprised Cn 131+719+655+643 and the fragment Cn 286. Cn 40 belongs, as we have seen, with Cn 599, and the herdsmen recorded on the fragmentary Cn 437 indicate that it belongs here. The first two place-names are presumably to be restored *e-ko-me-*] *no* and *wa-no-jo*] *wo-wo*. Cn 45 belongs with Cn 600 and the fragmentary Cn 570. Cn 202 is headed *a-ke-re-wa we-re-ke*, but there is no other trace of this set. Cn 328, headed *ro-u-so we-re-ke*, continues, as we have seen, in Cn 285, both being in the same hand. This scribe is intelligently economical of effort. He writes the place-name *a-ka-na-jo* three times and starts a fourth time but in fact writes only the first sign, when he seems to have given it up as pointless. He also omits the word *pa-ro* and simply puts the names of the herdsmen in the nominative case. All the animals are 'ownerless'.

In these sets of tablets the available evidence shows that the scribes list the 'ownerless' animals first and then those of the few notables.

There remains the problem of *pa-ra-jo* and *wo-ne-we*. Their tendency to be listed first on the tablets which follow the *we-re-ke* lists and their non-genitival aspect suggest that these are categories of 'ownerless', that is royal, herds. The etymological identifications as παλαιοί 'old' and ϝοινῆϝες 'wine coloured' do not form a convincing pair of semantic 'oppositions'. *Wo-ne-we* is certainly not the name of a trade or title (as VC). *we-re-ke*, which is now seen to be the heading for the whole set, is presumably the generic term meaning 'herds'. No later Greek word fits, but **wreges* 'enclosures, herds' is indirectly attested in the Vedic *vraja-* 'enclosure, herd', this being the corresponding thematic noun **wrego-* (see LP 13. 569). The relationship now established between the different tablets of the sets clears up the problem why the *we-re-ke* herds are 'ownerless': in drawing up his list the

scribe puts the royal herds first and then inventories the special varieties, the *pa-ra-jo* and the *wo-ne-we*, before going on to the herds of the notables, whose ownership had to be given explicit expression.

In the above sets *pi-*82* is the most prominent centre, and the cattle stations listed along with it are presumably in the same region, *ma-ro-pi* being evidently the most important. In view of the evidence for other *we-re-ke* at *ro-u-so* (Cn 328) and *a-ke-re-wa* (Cn 202) and for herds at places in the Further Province, it is to be assumed that the complete inventory covered the whole of the two provinces.

The above analysis belies the contention (MD 2) that the same herdsmen are listed at different cattle stations at different times. That the tablets belong together is further supported by the fact that they are in the same 'hand'. Thus there is no factual basis for the far-reaching conclusions about a system of transhumance in Mycenaean Greece (MD 2).

An analysis of the figures relating to *pi-*82* reveals some curious disproportions. Approximately 3,250 rams of the various categories are 'ownerless' and some 1,280 ascribed explicitly to 'owners'. Some 135 ewes are 'ownerless' and 340 'owned'. Of the she-goats 109 are 'ownerless' and 133 'owned'. One hundred and forty-eight he-goats are 'owned' but none are listed in the 'ownerless' category. Forty sows are 'ownerless' and none are 'owned'. The sows listed in Cn 599 and 600 are likewise 'ownerless'. The total of all the animals recorded at *pi-*82* approaches 5,500. In view of the scarcity of female animals the record was not intended as a complete inventory. If we may be guided by the proportions of the produce listed in the Ma series (see below), according to which *pi-*82* was far from being the largest of the tributary places, an estimate of $16 \times 5{,}500$ is likely to fall far short of the total number of animals recorded in the palace archives. In fact the predominance of males indicates that the purpose of the list was delivery, or assessment for delivery, with a view to consumption. The absence of large cattle, as at Knossos, is striking. This fact will assume significance in the discussion of Cn 3 (p. 173).

48. Cn 131 (*Docs.* 61)

*pi-*82 we-re-ke*

pa-ro pi-me-ta	RAMS 200	*pa-ro o-ku-ka*	RAMS 130×
pa-ro ku-pi-ri-jo	RAMS 50×	*a-ka-ma-wo*	RAMS 120×
pa-ro ko-ru-no	RAMS 100×	*pa-ro ne-ri-to*	RAMS 30×
pa-ro po-ro-u-te-we	RAMS 90×	*pa-ro o-wa-ko*	SHE-GOATS 54×
ma-ro-pi to-ro-wi	RAMS 130×	*pa-ro a-no-po*	RAMS 130×
pa-ro ke-ro-wo	RAMS 130×	*pa-ro ra-pa-sa-ko*	RAMS 91×
pa-ro po-ke-we	EWES 27	*pa-ro a-ri-wo-ne*	RAMS 100
pa-ro a-we-ke-se-we	RAMS 180	*pa-ro po-ko-ro*	RAMS 100
pa-ro e-ti-ra-wo	RAMS 100×	*pa-ro a-ta-ma-ne-we*	RAMS 140×
pa-ro se-no	EWES 44×	*pa-ro ko-ro*	EWES 24×
pa-ro do-qo-no ×	RAMS 80	*pa-ro wo-ki-to* ×	RAMS 73
pa-ro me-te-we	RAMS 163×	*pa-ro ke-sa-me-no*	EWES 40×
pa-ro pu-wi-no	SHE-GOATS 55		

we over *u*.

49. Cn 719

ma-ro-pi ka-do-wo a-ke-o-jo	RAMS 40	
ma-ro-pi to-si-ta a-ke-o-jo	RAMS 80	
ma-ro-pi me-ta-no a-ke-o-jo	RAMS 60	
*pi-*82 ma-ra-ni-jo pa-ra-jo*	RAMS 230	
*pi-*82 o-ku-ka a-ke-o-jo*	RAMS 70	
pi]-**82 ra-mi-ni-jo a-ke-o-jo*	RAMS 90	
*pi-*82*] *ku-pi-ri-jo a-ke-o-jo*	RAMS 60	
*pi-*82 ku*]-*ka-ra-so a-*⟨*ko*⟩*-so-ta-o*	EWES 30+	
wi]-*ja-we-ra*$_2$ *ko-ru-no pa-ra-jo*	RAMS 66	
a-pa]-*re-u-pi pa-pa-ro a-ko-so-ta-o*	RAMS 100	
wi-ja-we-ra$_2$ *a-ka-ma-wo a-ko-*[*so*]*-ta-o*	RAMS 80	16
wi-ja-we-ra$_2$ *a-ke-ta* [*wo-ne*]*-we*	RAMS 100	

50. Cn 655 (*Docs.* 62)

ma-ro-pi qe-re-wa-o pa-ra-jo	RAMS 136
ma-ro-pi to-ro-wi-ko pa-ra-jo	RAMS 133
ma-ro-pi ke-ro-wo-jo	RAMS 85
ma-ro-pi ra-pa-sa-ko-jo	RAMS 69
ma-ro-pi pu-wi-no a-pi-me-de-o a-ko-ra	RAMS 190
ma-ro-pi i-wa-so we-da-ne-wo a-ko-ra	RAMS 70
ma-ro-pi ti-ke-wo pa-ra-jo	RAMS 70
ma-ro-pi o-ka-ri-jo pa-ra-jo	RAMS 95
ma-ro-pi e-ti-ra-wo pa-ra-jo	RAMS 70
ma-ro-pi a-ta-ma-ne-u pa-ra-jo	RAMS 60
ma-ro-pi qi-ri-ta-ko a-ke-o-jo a-ko-ra	RAMS 90
ma-ro-pi a-ri-wo a-ke-o-jo a-ko-ra	[ ]+4
ma-ro-pi ṛọ-re-jo we-da-ne-wo a-ko-ra	[ ] 60
ma-ro-pi o-pe-re-ta we-da-ne-wo	EWES 86
ma-ro-pi po-ro-pa$_2$-ta-jo we-da-ne-wo	EWES 63
ma-ro-pi to-ru-ko-ro we-da-ne-wo	RAMS 88
ma-ro-pi ma-ma-ro we-da-ne-wo	RAMS 90
ma-ro]-pi ma-du-ro we-da-ne-wo	RAMS 100
ma-ro]-pi se-no we-da-ne-wo	EWES 40
ma-ro]-pi ta-ta-ke-u [we]-da-ne-wo	EWES 30

51. Cc 660 (*Docs.* 63)

a-ke-o a-ke-re

me-ta-pa / pa-ro ka-ra-su-no HE-GOATS 30

The formula is the usual one of place-name plus herdsman. Instead of the genitival owner entry plus *a-ko-ra* we have what appears to be the nominative followed by the corresponding verb: *a-ke-re* is attractively interpreted as *ἀγείρει*.

52. Cn 595

e-ra-te-re-wa-pi ta-to-mo/o-pe-ro

me-ta-pa a-we-ke-se-u MAN 1 RAM+TA 5

	ne-de-we-e		RAM+TA 9
	u-de-wi-ne	MAN 2	RAM+TA 8
.5	*ma-to-ro-pu-ro*		RAM+TA 1
	]*i-pi*[	] 1	RAM+TA 5
	]-*ko* [		RAM+TA] 3

This text records the 'deficit' at *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*, the fifth place of the 'Seven' .Those absent include both men and animals. Some difficulty has been felt over the appearance of the place *me-ta-pa*, the second of the 'Nine', in a tablet referring to absences from one of the 'Seven'. Two possibilities suggest themselves. *me-ta-pa* is merely a namesake village in the district of *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi*; or the man is recorded as being at *me-ta-pa* when his normal station is the former place (see p. 75).

ne-de-we-e: locative of an *s*-stem *Nedwos*: cf. *ne-do-wo-te*, *ne-da-wa-ta*.

u-de-wi-ne: cf. the ethnic *u-de-wi-ni-jo*, Jn 413. 2.

ma-to-ro-pu-ro: has been etymologized as *Ματρόπυλος* and made the 'mother-city' of Pylos (Mühlestein). The sole evidence is RAM 1.

a-we-ke-se-u: a common name since it appears again at *pi-*82* and *ro-u-so* as the name of a herdsman.

ta-to-mo: has been equated with *σταθμοί*, but it is difficult to believe that the adjunct TA is not connected with the word in the text.

A similar text Cn 4 records the deficit relating to *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

53. Cn 3 (*Docs.* 76)

	jo-i-je-si me-za-na	
	e-re-u-te-re di-wi-je-we qo-o	
	a_2-*ra-tu-a o-ka-ra*$_3$	OX 1
	pi-ru-te ku-re-we	OX 1
.5	*e-na-po-ro i-wa-si-jo-ta*	OX 1

o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo OX 1

a-$_2$-ka-a$_2$-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-{jo} OX 1

The last syllable is written much larger than those of the preceding word.

Crucial for the interpretation of this text is the recurrence of the places and the same associated groups of men listed in the *o-ka* series (see pp. 147 ff.). This cluster resemblance is so striking that no explanation which ignores it can be wholly satisfactory. The text must represent another aspect of the same situation which lies behind the *o-ka* texts. The *o-ka-ra$_3$* at *a-ra-tu-a* (cf. An 519. 4) are somehow concerned with a single ox (? bull). So, too, with all the other entries down to the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* at *a$_2$-ka-a$_2$-ki-ri-ja-jo*. The nature of the event envisaged lies concealed in the verb *i-je-si* which begins the formula. This has been identified 'etymologically' as 'they send' and the text interpreted as some aspect of the food supply (*Docs.* p. 206). The detachments concerned in each case are, however, detailed for coast-watching duties. In particular, as we have seen (p. 157), the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* are in the *o-ka* stationed at *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* in the Further Province and they are destined for the Nedon (so also *Docs.*). Moreover, whereas many thousands of small cattle are listed in the cattle inventories (see p. 169), we find only a very small number of oxen (? bulls) in the catalogues, five in this text and three in the following text (No. 54) with its colour specifications. Elsewhere (Ua 25, Un 2, Un 6, Un 138, Un 718, Un 1177) the ideogram (BULL/COW/OX) occurs only in mixed entries with very small numbers, mostly one or two. The interpretation 'they send' (so *Docs.*) requires us to believe *inter alia* that the detachment of *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* on coast-watch duties in the Messenian gulf in the neighbourhood of the Nedon are to send a single bull to *Di-wi-je-u* the *e-re-u-te(r)* as a contribution to the food supply, a fact duly recorded in the palace archives along with similar contributions from the other detachments, among whom the most northerly is that of the *o-ka-ra$_3$* at *a$_2$-ra-tu-wa* in the *o-ka* stationed at *ro-o-wa* (see p. 155).

It is difficult to believe that parties of men on coast-watching duties at stations so far apart as that of the *o-ka-ra$_3$* and that of the

u-ru-pi-ja-jo should each be required to send a bull to Pylos as a contribution to the food-supply, duly recorded by the palace. This explanation, strange enough in itself, offers no account of the connexion with the *o-ka* tablets, and this is the most important aspect of the facts as they are presented to us.

It would be unwise to ignore the colour specifications in the following text together with their delivery by *we-da-ne-u*, who has religious connexions (see pp. 221 ff.). It is agreed that another verb *i-je-*, distinct from ἵημι 'send', occurs in the religious calendar (see p. 265), where it evidently refers to some cult act carried out in various shrines (so also *Docs.*, ad loc.). If we insert this meaning here, the above difficulties do not arise: the detachments on military duties at the places mentioned are to *i-je-* an ox (? bull). The religious operation concerned will be most probably an 'offering'. The subject of the verb has now to be determined. *e-re-u-te-re* is morphologically a possibility since this can stand for the nominative plural. *e-re-u-te-re* occurs on a sealing (Wa 917): *o-da-sa-*[*to*] *a-ko-so-ta e-qe-ta e-re-u-te-re*, but this is mutilated and it would be possible to add *-qe* to the last word so that the *e-qe-ta* (plural) and the *e-re-u-te-re* (plural) could be the subject of the verb *da-sa-to*, and *a-ko-so-ta* the dative singular. Alternatively indications on the sealing could simply be: 'What A. distributed': *e-qe-ta* (and) *e-re-u-te-re* (plural).

The word *di-wi-je-we* again leads to a religious context. It occurs in the offering records represented by the Es series (see pp. 221 ff.). Here he is parallel with *we-da-ne-u*, who, as we have seen, is the only other person concerned with oxen (? bulls) in these records. *Di-wi-je-u* is further an *e-qe-ta* in An 656. 9. Thus the links we have established are *we-da-ne-u–di-wi-je-u–e-re-u-te(r)–e-qe-ta–di-wi-je-u*. A possible solution is suggested by the **34-ke-te-si* who figure in the Es series (see p. 222) 'in parallel with' *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u*. As we shall see, they are likely to be religious functionaries, and so *we-da-ne-u* and *di-wi-je-u* may belong to the same category; that is to say they may be titles rather than proper names just as *i-je-re-u* is sufficient designation for a tenant in the E series (see p. 210). This would explain the attachment of *e-re-u-te-re* to *e-qe-ta* as well as to *di-wi-je-u*. In other words,

in An 656. 9 the *di-wi-je-u* of the place in question is to act as *e-qe-ta* rather than a named person. That an *e-qe-ta* may have had religious functions has been made probable by a number of scholars.

Thus the *e-re-u-te-re* may be the religious functionaries concerned with the sacrifice of bulls listed with each contingent. In An 656. 8–9 the *di-wi-je-u* of *ne-wo-ki-to* (where there was a shrine of Potnia, see p. 177) was acting as *e-qe-ta* for the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*. It is noteworthy that the tablet An 218 also lists the *ne-wo-ki-to i-je-re-u*. *e-re-u-te(r)* is an agent noun from the verbal root *ereu-*, which is also known from ἔρευνα: cf. ἐρείομεν *Il.* 1. 62, and the Cretan Doric ἐρευτάς 'exactor, collector of state debts' (Cauer–Schwyzer 193. 133).

me-za-na: this cannot be separated from the dative form *me-za-ne* (Fn 50. 4, see p. 225; for the determination of the case cf. the parallel *ze-u-ke-u-si*, l. 9). The interpretation as a plain accusative with allative force is not supported by any parallel in these texts, which always show the added lative particle *-de*. This is plain from tablets such as Fn 187, which show the normal Greek distinction between lative forms like *pa-ki-ja-na-de* (l. 4) and the datives of personal recipients like *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* (l. 15). Moreover, *Μεσσήνη* in Homer is the land of Pherai and a part of Lacedaemon. The only Greek noun which fits the syllables *me-za-na me-za-ne* with the observed declension is *μελαν-*; and *Μέλας* occurs frequently as a proper name. However, the word order is difficult if *me-za-na* 'black' refers to *qo-o* 'bull(s)', whether this is singular or plural (see p. 27). Another possibility is that this is the name of the divinity to whom the offering is to be made. *Μέλαινα* is the epithet of an Arcadian divinity, the horse-headed Demeter of Phigalia (see Nilsson, *GGR.* i². 199 and Schachermeyr, *Poseidon* 17 and 31). It is, of course, to Arcadia that we should turn for Mycenaean survivals (see p. 256). If this identification were correct[1] the syntactical difficulties would disappear: the formula would read: 'How the *e-re-u-te-re di-wi-je-we* are to sacrifice to Melaina a bull (or bulls).' The individual entries then name the

[1] The determination of *me-za-na* as a name fits its only other occurrence (see p. 330) on Sh 736.

detachment of men concerned and its location. The text then appears as a ritual aspect of the military preparations recorded in the *o-ka* set. Cf. the cult personnel in An 218.

VC (*Docs.* p. 206), as we saw, slight the religious interpretation and prefer the 'less picturesque' explanation of the text as reflecting arrangements for the food-supply. Doubtless there was much in Mycenaean, as indeed in classical Greece, which a modern visitor would find 'picturesque'. Homer, however, encourages the belief that sacrifice and service of the gods were not inappropriate among preparations for battle. In *Il.* 11. 727–9, after the Pylian forces had reached the Alpheus, we read:

> ἔνθα Διὶ ῥέξαντες ὑπερμενεῖ ἱερὰ καλά,
> ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι,
> αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκώπιδι βοῦν ἀγελαίην.

On this F. Bölte comments (*Rh.M.* 83. 1934. 327): 'Zu den Vorbereitungen zum Kampf gehört es dagegen, wenn man noch an diesem Tage den Göttern opfert, deren Beistand man sich sichern will.' As Bölte points out, the Ten Thousand still behaved in this 'picturesque' way before a battle (Xen. *Anab.* 3. 5. 18).

However, we repeat, any explanation, whether colourful or sober, must account for the connexion with the *o-ka* tablets. Our own interpretation rested upon the previous diagnosis of *i-je-to* in Tn 316 as a verb of religious meaning. Since VC came to agree that such a verb *i-je-* must be ascribed to Mycenaean Greek (loc. cit.), it is legitimate to apply it here.

54. Cn 418 (*Docs.* 77)

pa-ro we-u-da-ne-we

re-u-ko a-ko-ro-we-e OX+SI 2

re-[*u-ko*]*ma-ra-ku pe-ko a-ko-ro-we* OX+SI 1

]3 RAM 3 WE 3 SHE-GOAT 3

·5]2 [ ]3

re-u-ko [ ] *pe-ko a-ko-ro-we*

RAM 1 HE-GOAT 1 WE [

'From *we-u-da-ne-u*: (two) white, *uniformly coloured* (oxen); (one) white, *short-haired, uniformly coloured* (ox).

a-ko-ro-we-e: dual of ἀχρώϝης or ἀχρώης in the sense 'without spot or blemish'.

ma-ra-ku: = μραχύ (so *Docs.*). On the Mycenaean preservation of μρ- for later βρ- see HM 10. Another reading is *ma-ra-pi*. On this and *pe-ko* = πέσκος 'hide' (*Docs.*) see Glossary.

The beasts are presumably delivered for ritual purposes; for *we-(u)-da-ne-u* see the Es set (p. 222).

55. Cc 665

ne-wo-pe-o po-ti-ni-ja RAMS 100 PIG 190

ne-wo-pe-o: a place-name. The owner is the goddess Potnia.

Herds described as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* are known from the Knossos CATTLE tablets, see below.

KNOSSOS

Much the same categories of data are recorded in the KN CATTLE tablets. The same ideograms occur, but we also find them more closely determined by the addition of adjunct syllabic signs: *pa. pe. ki. ne. ki.ne. za.* and *sa.* accompany RAM, and *se.* accompanies EWE. *pa. pe.* and *ne.* also occur as adjuncts with the WOMAN ideogram (see p. 125) and there they appeared to refer to age groupings. The double adjunct *ki.ne* RAM again finds an echo in *ne.ki.* (Ak 780). **85* WOMAN is unique (Ak 617). If the value of *85 is *sja* (see p. 21), then *sa.* RAM may be added to the parallels between the two sets of texts.

The lay-out of the KN tablets is different from the PY. They are of the palm-leaf type (see p. 2). The name of the herdsman is written large as the first entry. Then the right-hand part of the tablet is divided by a horizontal line. In the bottom 'register' we usually find the place-name and in the top register the 'owner'. Many tablets record not merely what is delivered but what is still owing. The total in the Da–Dg tablets is usually

a round hundred, less frequently some other round figure. They thus probably record deliveries, not herds, which would also explain the preponderance of males.

The following occur in the toponym place of the tablet: *a-ka*, *da-ra-ko*, *da-*83-ja*, *di-ro*, *do-ti-ja*, *da-wo*, *da-*22-to*, *e-ko-so*, *e-ra*, *ku-ta-to*, *ma-ri*, *ma-sa*, *pa-i-to*, *pa*$_3$*-ko-we*, *pa*$_2$*-mo*, *pa*$_2$*-nwa-so*, *pa*$_2$*-ra*, *pa*$_2$*-sa-ro-we*, *pu-na-so*, *ra-ja*, *ra-su-to*, *ra-to*, *ri-jo-no*, *ru-ki-to*, *se-to-i-ja*, *si-ja-du-we*, *su-ki-ri-ta*, *su-ri-mo*, *ti-ri-to*, *tu-ni-ja*, *tu-ri-so*. The following are doubtful: *da-ta-ra-mo* (Dl 935), *ka-ru-no* (Dl 412), *ma-so-mo* (Dl 932+963), *sa-jo* (Dw 931).

Words occurring in the 'owner' place, often in the genitive, are: *a-di-je-wo*, *a-ka-i-jo*, *a-no-qo-ta*, **a-te-jo*, **da-mi-ni-jo*, **e-se-re-e-jo*, *ka-to-ro*, **ki-ri-jo-te*, *ko-ma-we-to*, *ku-ru-me-ni-jo*, **o-re-te-wo*, **pe-ri-qo-te-jo*, *ra-wo-qo-no-jo*, *sa-pa*$_2$*-re-jo*, **se-wo-to*, **te-ra-po-si-jo*, **tu-ma-we-to*, *we-we-si-jo*. The asterisked items are not included in *Documents*.

po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo also designates an 'owner' at *si-ja-du-we* and *pa*$_2$*-nwa-so*. Since the word also occurs in Pylos as a descriptive of bronze-smiths, it may be taken as 'belonging to Potnia' (see p. 279 and cf. Cc 665 above).

In Knossos, too, a large number of herds are 'ownerless' and presumably the same explanation holds good: i.e. owner 'zero' = 'the king'. The explicitly mentioned owners doubtless occupied a position analogous to that of their Pylian correspondents.

56. Db 1105

RAM 52 EWE 28

AI-KU-PI-TI-JO *su-ri-mo*

57. Dd 1155+5378+5688

we-we-si-jo RAM 86 EWE 14

WI-JO-KA-DE *da-wo*

58. Df 1119 (*Docs.* 69)

da-mi-ni-jo RAM 56 EWE 16

DE-KE-SE-U *ku-ta-to* *pe.* RAM 28

The Dk and Dl series list wool along with sheep. In one set the ratio sheep:wool is 4:1, in another 10:1. On the measurement of 'wool' see pp. 237 ff.

59. Dk 1065

	×RAM 100	WOOL 11	LB 1
KA-DA-NO	*ku-ta-to. o.*	WOOL 13	LB 2

60. Dk 1068

	ku-ta-to RAM 112	WOOL 26	
**49-SO*		*o.* WOOL 2	

61. Dk 1071

	×RAM 50	WOOL 6	
WO-WO	*ku-ta-to*	*o.* WOOL 6	LB 1

From the above texts it emerges that there are 3 LB units to the wool unit so that the total amount of wool resulting from the addition of wool delivered and still owing (*o.* = *ὄφελος*) is 25 in the first example, 28 in the second, and $12\frac{1}{3}$ in the last example. The proportion being 4:1, it will be observed that the herdsman in the last case benefits to the extent of wool $\frac{1}{6}$ LB. The tolerance of an inaccuracy of this dimension in measuring wool is an important indication from which it appears that there is another MA unit; for this in other texts is measured more finely than wool (see p. 239).

The name Aiguptios (Db 1105) is of some historical interest. '... one Egyptian "name" for Memphis (the capital throughout the O-M-N Kingdoms) is attested in the Tell-El-Amarna letters as Hikuptah (*Hi-ku-up-ta-ah*). The Ugaritic place-name *ḥkpt*: *ḥqpt* has been identified with it by Albright, (and) Dussaud .... El-Amarna Hikuptah stands as the source of Greek Aigyptos' (O. Szemerenyi in *MLS* 10 xii 53). This identification may throw some light on the origin of the sign *43, with its apparently diphthongal value *ai*, which is contrary to the purely vocalic coefficients of the syllabic signs as a whole. The interchange of *43 and *25 and *57 was observed long ago, and it was suggested (LP 4, 37)[1] that the sign a_2 stands for a sign with a palatal on-glide or an aliph-like onset. The question now poses itself whether in the ancestral form of the syllabary the value of *43 was not *ḥi*.

[1] Previously in *MLS* 17 xi 54: '25 (a_2) may have been perhaps preceded by a laryngeal or an alif-like sound.'

62. Dl 463

EWE 55 *ki.* SHEEP 5 WOOL 5 LB 1
MI-TI ku-ta-to o. EWE 35 *o. ki.* SHEEP 45 *o.* WOOL 20 LB 2

63. Dl 932+963

sa-pa$_2$-re-jo | a-ko-ro e-pe-ke EWE 40
PA$_2$-RA$_2$-RO ma-so-mo o. ki. RAM 40

a-ko-ro e-pe-ke: these words, added in smaller letters after the 'owner' *sa-pa$_2$-re-jo*, have no parallel. VC suggest that the first word stands for *ἀγροί* and that the second is a verbal form. An indication of locality, however, should occur in the lower register, and *a-ko-ro* might be the dual of *a-ko-ra*, which occurs after the 'owner' in Pylos (see above). It is not possible to determine the grammatical status of *e-pe-ke*.

64. Dl 943 (*Docs.* 73)

po-ti-ni-ja-we⟨-jo⟩ EWE 90 WOOL 11
A-KO-I-DA pa$_2$-nwa-so o. ki. RAM 90 *o.* WOOL [[8]] 7

65. Dl 944

sa-pa$_2$-re-jo EWE 60 WOOL 5 LB 2 *o.* WOOL [nn]
TA-MI-DE-SO e-ra o. EWE 40 *o. ki.* RAM 100

ta-mi-de-so: a similar name occurs on a Theban inscribed vessel, which, as we shall see, is probably of Cretan origin: *ta-*22-de-so*, cf. *ta-di-*22-so* (X 5564). This suggests a value 'quasi *mi*' for *22 (see p. 22).

The Dn series lists places in couples (which were presumably adjacent) and simply records the number of rams at or received from each place.

66. Dn 1094+1311 (*Docs.* 79)

pa-i-to RAM 1509
da-wo RAM 2440

The Do series lists *se.* EWES always 100 in number. They are accompanied by *ki. pe.* and *za.* RAMS. In the only two instances

where the number is visible the total of RAMS, including deficit, is 80.

67. Do 919+921

ki.pe RAM[
WI-DA-MA-RO se. EWE 100 *za.* RAM[

68. Do 927

pe. RAM 19
] EWE 100 *za.* RAM 30 *o.* RAM 31

The Dm tablets have a place-name in the first position and they list rams described as *ai-mi-re-we* and *e-ka-ra-e-we*. The number of the former never exceeds five. In its formation *e-ka-ra-e-we* resembles *ka-ma-e-u* (see pp. 201 ff.). The basic noun is now attested in PY Ta 709. 2 (see p. 342), where it means 'hearth' (ἐσχάρα). Here the description may have ritual or culinary relevance: if the former, then the designation would mean 'for burnt offerings', and then *ai-mi-re-we* could attractively be opposed as 'for blood offerings'. But this leaves wholly obscure the morphological relationship of the derivative to the basic noun αἷμα. If *e-ka-ra* is taken in its purely secular sense, then the distinction may be of no greater moment than that between 'roasters' and 'boilers'. On the other hand, the ritual specifications we have detected in the Pylos series must add their weight to the first possibility, and there remains the comparative rarity of the *ai-mi-re-we*.

69. Dm 1176+5375+5833

ai-mi-re-we RAM 5
KU-TA-TO e-ka-ra-e-we RAM 61[

The KN C texts are miscellaneous in content.

70. Ca 895 (*Docs.* 82)

i-qo EQUINE^{b} 5 EQUINE^{mane} 4 *po-ro* FOAL[
o-no EQUINE^{b} 3 *po-ro* FOAL 2 EQUINE^{a} 4[

This tablet, the result of a join made by Chadwick in 1955, offers one of the most notable correlations of text and ideograms.

All the words are self-evident and they explain the variations in the HORSE ideogram: *i-qo* = ἵπποι, *po-ro* = πῶλοι, *o-no* = ὄνοι.

Ch 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 1015, and 1029 list bulls (oxen) in pairs. In the text we find names, largely denoting colour, in pairs. There can be little doubt that these are the names of the beasts in question.

71. Ch 896 (*Docs.* 85)

TA-ZA-RO ai-wo-ro 'ke-ra-no-qe' ne.we. BULL ZE 1

ta-za-ro: presumably the name of the herdsman. The two names are αἰϝόλος and κελαινός. The other names occurring in this group are *to-ma-ko* στόμαργος, *wo-no-qo-so* ϝοίνοϙʷς, *po-da-ko* πόδαργος, *ko-so-u-to* ξουθός. *ne. we.*: age specifications? (See p. 177.)

72. Ch 902 (*Docs.* 83)

	mi-ru-ro / si-pe-we	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
	o-du-ru-wi-jo / ko-re-te	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
	wa-to / ko-re-te OX *ne.* *170 12	*wa-to / da-nu-wo* OX *ne.* *170 12
	si-ra-ro / ko-re-te	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
.5	*pa$_3$-ko-we / e-ra-ne*	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
	o-du-ru-we / u-wo-qe-we	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
	ri-jo-no / ko-re-te	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
	ru-ki-ti-jo	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
	a-pa-ta-wa / ko-re-te	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12
.10	*ku-ta-i-to / ko-re-te*	OX 1 *ne.* *172 12
	re-ṇa-jo / e-re-ta	OX 1 *ne.* *172 12
	[ ]*-wa-to / we-re-we*	OX 1 *ne.* *170 12

The first word in each entry is apparently a place-name. *u-du-ru-wo*, the genitival form of the above *o-du-ru-we*, occurs in V 145 after *u-wo-qe-ne*. This cannot be coincidental, for this same text in the following lines has entries relating to *we-re-we*; of these the second refers to a place *ka-ta-ra-pi*. This leads us to the Co set, which list beasts designated *a-ko-ra-i-ja* at *wa-to*, *ku-do-ni-ja*, *ka-ta-ra-i*, *si-ra-ro*, *a-pa-ta-wa*, and *o-du-ru-wo*. What is more

remarkable is that *o-du-ru-wi-jo* and *wa-to* should occur on the Theban jars (see below pp. 275 ff.). VC's remark (*Docs.* 212) apropos of *wa-to* that this is 'apparently an otherwise unknown place-name' overlooks Co 903 and the striking cluster resemblance of this whole group with the place-names of Ch 902.

The designations in the second place are all unclear with the exception of *ko-re-te*. Some doubt is cast on the interpretational principle of 'parallelism' here because *mi-ru-ro* occurs as a man's name in As 1516. 5. A point of great interest is that the district *o-du-ru-wi-jo* has a *ko-re-te*, whereas the place *o-du-ru-* has *u-wo-qe-we*, which on the principle of 'parallelism' should be nominative, and hence plural or dual. I have 'etymologized' the word as *ὐϝοϙʷη̃ϝε(ς)* 'overseers', a compound of *ὐ-* and the root **οϙʷ* 'see'. *e-ra-ne* will then also be plural. The description *e-re-ta* in l. 11 is puzzling. In such official company it can hardly be identified with the *e-re-ta* of the rower tablets. Doubtless we have here one of the many homophones to be expected in such a script. Finally, *da-nu-wo* recurs as a description of a man]-RO in KN C 911, where it is in parallel with other designations, the most frequent of which is *po-ku-ta* (see pp. 136 f.), a type of craftsman.

There remains the identification of the ideogram *170, which is always preceded by *ne.*; this, as we have seen, is used to specify categories of women and may well mean *νέϝος*. VC's guess 'calves' is plausible. The round dozen recorded in each case may again have some ritual significance.

73. C 50

A-QI-RU / *te-pa-ra pe-re-qo-ta* RAM 134 *PA*$_2$-*RA*$_2$-*WO* EWE 43
A-NU-KO EWE 51 *RO-RU* EWE 32

Rev.:
A-QI-RU / *o-pa* RAM 190 *PA*$_2$-*RA*$_2$-*WO* EWE 144
A-NU-KO EWE 133 *RO-RU* EWE 150

edge:
we-ka-ta BULL 4 [[2]]

This tablet is unique in its arrangement. *o-pa* is 'in parallel

with *te-pa-ra* on the obverse, the entry comprising *a-qi-ru* (herdsman?), *te-pa-ra*, and *pe-re-qo-ta*. Since the last is a proper name, we can fit the items of the entry into the well-known pattern (1) herdsman—(2) place-name—(3) 'owner' (see above). Since *o-pa* occupies the same 'place' as *te-pa-ra*, we may conclude that it is likewise a place-name *"Ολβα*?, *"Ολπα*?,). But since the *o-pa* 'palace workshop' both at Knossos and Pylos receives animal products (p. 319), it may be the 'owner' recorded here.

we-ka-ta: = *ϝεργάται*?

pa$_2$*-ra*$_2$*-wo*, *a-nu-ko*, *ro-ru* are presumably all names of herdsmen. The last recurs in Db 1185 and De 1234.

74. Co 903

WA-TO a-ko-ra-ja RAM 60 EWE 270 HE-GOAT 49 SHE-GOAT 130 BOAR 17 SOW 41 BULL 2 COW 4

This tablet, like others of the same set, differs from the SHEEP series in the fact that it records mixed herds, that the numbers are not a round hundred, and that there is a more natural proportion of females to males. It is likely that these texts record actual herds present in the named places as opposed to the 'tribute' character of the series Da–Dg. *a-ko-ra-ja* can hardly be separated from the *a-ko-ra* which occurs in the PY cattle tablets (see p. 171). The word recalls in formation the later *ἀγελαῖος*. The basic noun is presumably *ἀγορά* in the sense 'flock, herd'; cf. Latin *grex*. Note the small number of large cattle (see p. 173).

A few tablets (C 913, 914, 915) have the Pylian phrase *pa-ro* plus a proper name. The last of these contains the word *a-ka-wi-ja-de*, on which see p. 65. To this group belongs Dl (?) 941+1016.

75. C 914 (*Docs.* 78)

	pa-ra-ti-jo	RAM	50
A-KA-WI-JA-DE	*pa-ro*	HE-GOAT	50

76. Dl (?) 941+1016

		RAM 8	SHEEP^{x}
PA-RO A-PI-QO-TA	*sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*	EWE 10	

The last word has been etymologized as *σφακτηρια*, but the

gender remains puzzling and the equation is achieved by two violations of the spelling rules; for the Greek word ought to be spelt *pa-ke-te-ri-ja*. The classification is also uncertain.

77. C 915

EWE 10

pa-ro a-pi-qo-ta / *pa-ro do-e-ro* SHE-GOAT 10[

Here the same principal source is mentioned as in the preceding tablet: the actual source is his *do-e-ro*.

IV

LAND TENURE

THE PYLOS Eb, En, Eo, Ep SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 232 ff.)

THE PY E series offer precious testimony for the social structure and the modes of land tenure of Mycenaean Greece. Two distinct series are recognizable from the current parallel formulae. The first concerns land referred to as *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na*; the second records *ko-to-na ke-ke-me-na*. Since the former is always 'leased' (see below) from an individual and the latter from the *damos*, the distinction is evidently between 'individual' and 'common'. The word κτοίνα is known from Rhodian records as a territorial subdivision of a *damos* with predominantly religious associations. The word is of ancient morphology, κτοίνα corresponding to the verb **ktei-* as ποινά (**q*^{w}*oinā*) does to **q*^{w}*ei* 'to pay'. The semantic field of **ktei* covers the notions of 'win from the waste, assart; lay out; settle'. Homeric (ἐυ)κτίμενον contains the corresponding participle. The original meaning of the archaic neuter formation κτέαρ, κτέατος is still apparent in the use of the derived verb κτεατίζω with reference to Laertes' activity in clearing his outlying farm (*Od.* 24. 207). The semantic development from 'assart' to 'private possession' is easy and natural. In the Mycenaean texts *ko-to-na* must have lost its connexion with the verb κτει- (see p. 187) and come to mean 'a plot of land', since otherwise *ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na* would be tautologous.

While the meaning of *ke-ke-me-na* is clear, the verb is not extant in later Greek any more than κτει- is (see p. 309). However, in view of its meaning 'common' and the morphological parallelism κτει-: κτοίνα, the most evident connexion is with κοινός 'common', which is thus revealed as the archaic participle of a verb **kei*.

Now it is evident that this technical verb did not survive into Hellenic Greek, and we shall look for it in vain in the lexicon. The interpretation at first seemed to involve an invented Greek

verb, and this is a matter of great delicacy which demands an explicit and precise methodology, so that we can estimate the probabilities involved in the various proposals.

The methodology is the same as that of etymology itself. 'La condition primordiale d'une étymologie rigoureuse . . . c'est l'établissement du sens initial' (Benveniste, *Les Mages*, 20). This injunction we have obeyed by first diagnosing *ke-ke-me-na* land as *damos* land. In the search for congeners there is yet another fundamental principle, which was given pungent expression by Franz Skutsch: 'Look for Latin etymologies on the Tiber.' This means no more than that connexions within the particular language concerned must be preferred to all others. Translated into practical terms this implies that the first step is a morphological one. The problem word, once its meaning has been established, must be analysed morphologically, and any proposed connexions with other words in the same language must fit into the patterns of word-formation established for that language. Thus, quite apart from the meaning, the proposed connexion (*Docs.*) with κεῖμαι 'lie' is impossible: Greek throughout its history preserved the Indo-European participial form κείμενος. κεῖμαι is not a perfect formation, but an athematic present deponent (LP 13. 570 f.).

The connexion of *ke-ke-me-na* with κοινός and the ascription of both to a verbal root *kei* fits the morphological pattern discerned in the contrasted term *ki-ti-me-na*; for κτίμενος has long been connected with κτοίνα. It is also clear that κτίζω replaced an earlier κτεῖμι, to which we have referred the Linear B word *ki-ti-je-si* = κτίενσι (p. 309). Our first result is, therefore, to establish an exact morphological parallelism between *ktei*:*ktoina*::*kei*:*koina*.

Now just as κτίζω later replaced κτεῖμι, we have evidence that κεάζω replaced an earlier verb which survives in a disguised form in the Homeric participle κείων (LP 18. 70 f. with refs.). This verbal root 'split' will satisfy not only the morphological conditions we insist upon, but also the technical meaning. We have pointed out (LP 18) that a large number of land-tenure terms are derived from verbs meaning 'cut'. We single out the Hittite *kweras* 'field' cf. *kwerzi* 'cuts'. Now this same root in

Lycian yields a noun meaning 'band of men' and an adverb meaning 'apart' (Pedersen, *Lykisch*, 48 f.). Pedersen in fact translates Lycian *terñ* as 'Schar'. This German word links up with our *shear* and *share* and provides a convenient schema for mapping the semantic ramifications of our 'cut' words:

SHEAR

SHARE SCHAR

To aid our further search for the missing relatives of *kei* 'split', it will be well to list their possible guises. They may take ablaut forms conveniently exemplified in the relatives of *kei* 'lie':

κεῖμαι κοῖτος κοιμά-ομαι (< κοίμᾱ) κῶμα
κοίτη
ἄκοιτις

Now if we may expect to find settlement words among the land-tenure terminology, then κώμη fits easily into our *kei* family. What of the semantic possibility represented by the German *Schar* = 'band of men'? At once we see that κῶμος fits in, which is all the more satisfactory in that this word has so far eluded the grasp of the etymologists.

We now apply a test which is rarely attempted in word studies. This is to attempt to account not merely for a word by assigning it to a place within a family of words in the language in question, but to account for the whole fixed 'collocatio' *ke-ke-me-na pa-ro da-mo*. What does δᾶμος mean? Like so many words of this sphere it means both the land and the community attached to it. Nor must we lose sight of the social implications of the word in Homer: the δῆμος is a lower, less privileged order. As for the etymological analysis of δᾶμος, we need do no more than quote Frisk (*GEW*): 'Ursprüngliche Bedeutung "Abteilung, Teil", falls wie wahrscheinlich, *m*-Ableitung eines Verbs "teilen", s. δαίομαι.' Now, as Frisk points out, there is an exact correspondent in Celtic: Old Irish *dam*, which Frisk renders significantly 'Gefolgschaft, Schar'.

We see then that both κώμᾱ and δᾶμος are *m*-derivatives of verbs meaning 'cut', 'divide', respectively. How close the words

remained in application is revealed by Aristotle's remark (*Pol.* iii. 1448[a] 36) that the Peloponnesians called κῶμαι what the Athenians call δῆμοι. Behind both is the conception of the village land as the 'shareland'. It would be possible to pursue this terminology and its related concepts via the bilingual gate of Gothic into western Europe,[1] but this would violate the frontiers of this book. To resume our results we may say that *ke-ke-me-na* is the perfect participle of a verb which, after all, did survive in a disguised form (like κτεῖμι) into later Greek, where we may also detect other scattered members of the same family. Above all we have discovered a deep-lying semantic unity in the whole phrase *ke-ke-me-na pa-ro da-mo*.

The mode of tenure is expressed by the phrase *o-na-to e-ke*, and those having an *o-na-to* are called *o-na-te-re*. The privative adjective *a-no-no* is also attested. This presupposes an underlying nominal stem *o-na-* or *o-no-*, whereas both *o-na-to* and *o-na-te*(*r*) must be referred to a verbal stem. The connexion with ὠνή, ὤνος is tempting and inhibited only by the absence of the digamma which the etymological connexion with Sanskrit *vasnás*, *vasnám* leads one to expect. However, an *ad hoc wōsno-* is required to establish the connexion, and the etymology may be wrong. The connexion of *a-no-no* with the verb ὀν- 'help, benefit' requires the *ad hoc* invention of an unattested noun-form. (See Addendum.)

A vexed problem is the verbal form *e-ke-qe*. Observation of its distribution must form the basis of its correct diagnosis. Basic is the fact that we possess two versions of these complex documents. We deal first with the *ki-ti-me-na* set, where the facts are straightforward.

The Eo set were all written by one hand and form the basis of the En set. Now it can hardly be an accident that *e-ke-qe* is used consistently in the earlier Eo series and *e-ke* in the later version En. The facts are more complex with the *ke-ke-me-na* land. The Eb set, written by one hand, is the earlier version on which the Ep version is based. Here again the earlier version uses consistently *e-ke-qe*. In the later version the distribution is complex.

[1] Cf. OE *gedalland* 'shareland', Welsh *rhandir* 'shareland'. The Hittite word for 'communal land' *takšannaš* links up with the verb *takš-* 'zuteilen'.

Wherever the normal *o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo* is concerned the verb changes to *e-ke*. It is only with other, exceptional types of tenure of *damos* land such as *ko-to-no-o-ko*, *ka-ma*, *i-je-re-ja ke-ra*, which will be discussed below, that the form *e-ke-qe* may be retained in the second version. The facts thus suggest that the addition of the particle *-qe* to the verb gives it 'prospective' force. The first versions record that 'X *is to have* such and such'. This explains why with this idiom we have the word order *e-ke-qe o-na-to*; for it is a well-known fact of Greek word order that the emphatic word goes to the head of the phrase.[1] In the second version, where the proposals have been realized, we have *o-na-to e-ke*. The use of *e-ke-qe* in the exceptional *da-mo* tenures of the second version implies that the proposal still requires ratification. There is an instructive series of contrasts in the entries in Ep 617 relating to *ka-ma* where *ka-ma e-ke-qe* (*e-ke-qe ka-ma*) alternates with *o-na-to e-ke ka-ma-e-u*, and this implies that a man who 'is to have a *ka-ma*' is not yet a *ka-ma-e-u*.

The *ki-ti-me-na* set is introduced by the heading *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te* DA 40. The equivalence of DA and *da-ma-te* is difficult to reject. A clue to the meaning of the word is the fact that the fourteen *te-re-ta* and their subtenants together number forty. Both Carratelli and I diagnosed the word as δάμαρτες but in an earlier postulated sense 'familiae'. We may adduce as a parallel, *inter alia*, the Rumanian *femeie* 'wife' (< Latin *familia*) to account for the Hellenic meaning 'wife' (only in poetry). Little is to be said for the suggestion that Δαμάτηρ is here used metaphorically for a measure of cornland (TW 9). The Homeric nonce use of Hephaistos for 'fire' is inadequate support. What is required for the alleged Damater > 'corn' > 'cornland' > 'measure of cornland' is exemplification of Hephaistos in the meaning 'fuel' and 'unit of fuel' (see LP 23).

The fourteen holders of *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* recorded in the En set are called *te-re-ta*. Apart from this we have no contextual clue to their function. In our study of this series (LP 3. 37 ff.) the word was etymologized as τελεστάς, 'man of the τέλος', as a result of a comparison of these land-tenure documents with evidence

[1] Cf. Arcadian (C. D. Buck *GD*³ 16): ἔχε̄ ὅδε κῦρος δέκο ϝέτεα.

relating to the contemporary Hittite society, where the 'Man of the (Feudal) Service' derives his tenure from the palace whereas the 'Man of the Tool' derives his from the village. The word τελεστά occurs only once in later Greek juxtaposed with δᾶμος. This is in an early Elean inscription (Cauer–Schwyzer 413. 8) which classifies the constituents of the citizen body as ϝέτας or τελεστά or δᾶμος. Τελεστάς also occurs as a proper name in Arcadia, where we also find evidence of ϝέτας as a constitutional term (*IG* 5 (2). 20 Tegea), a text which speaks of 'all the ϝέται in the city', and thus implies other classes of citizens. ἔτης in Homer comprises the more remote degrees of kinship (e.g. παῖδάς τε κασιγνήτους τε ἑτας τε, *Il.* 6. 239; ἕται καὶ ἀνεψιοί, *Il.* 9. 464). The Elean terminological triad is evidently of great antiquity.

Chadwick, having approved *te-re-ta* 'barons' (*Docs.*), now prefers 'initiation priests' (JC 10). In the determination and identification of this word we must again insist upon our basic methodological point that diagnosis through textual analysis must precede the ransacking of the lexicon for possible equivalents.

Now certain of the *te-re-ta* in the En set are given occupational descriptions. *ti-pa$_2$-jo* is a shepherd (*po-me*, Eo 278, the description is not repeated in En 467. 1), *pi-ri-ta-wo* is a potter (En 467. 5), and *a-ka-ta-jo* is a fuller (Eo 269). Thus *te-re-ta* will be a generic word which includes these apparently humble occupations; but below we shall have second thoughts about their actual status.

Certain of the *te-re-ta* are recorded as holders of *ke-ke-me-na* land in Ep 301 (see below); but there the designation changes to *ko-to-no-o-ko*, and that this is related to *damos* land is shown first by the fact that it is confined to holding of such land and also by the circumstance that a protest by *ko-to-no-o-ko* (possibly plural) is taken up at a later stage by the *damos* (see p. 212). Thus we conclude further that *te-re-ta* is a tenure-bound status word.

Who is the granter of *ki-ti-me-na* land corresponding to the *damos* for the *ke-ke-me-na* land? A clue is given by the designation *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, which occurs a number of times among the holders

of this type of land. It is applied to a fuller (En 74. 3), an *e-te-do-mo* (En 609. 5), a potter (Eo 371). The lands in question are at *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*, where there was a shrine of *po-ti-ni-ja*, and the predominance of religious personnel among the holders was apparent from the beginning. Furthermore, we have evidence for a close connexion between the *wanax* and Potnia. All this suggests that in the En set we have records relating to the estate of the *wanax* at *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*, and that the *wa-na-ka-te-ro* personnel owe service to him. As we shall see below, when we turn to the Ea set, we shall find that the terms *te-re-ta* and *wa-na-ka-te-ro* disappear and instead the designation *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* makes its appearance. Thus our pure diagnosis has revealed the *te-re-ta* as holders of land owing service to the *wanax*.

In our first study of this word (LP 2 and 3) we pointed out that among the Hittites we also find such a dichotomy of land and that the land granted by the king is in the possession of the LÚ *ILKI* 'Man of the (Feudal) Service'. By way of hypothesis we equated this class with the Mycenaean *te-re-ta* and sought verification by insisting that the resultant word must mean 'Man of the Service'. Thus we chose from the lexicon the equivalent τελεστάς rather than Ventris's original choice τηρητής. It was a further encouragement to find that the word τελεστά occurs only once in later Greek juxtaposed with δᾶμος and, of all places, in the western Peloponnese (see above).

This then, we suggest, is the explanation of the term: the *te-re-ta* are 'Men of the τέλος' and we would give to this word its basic meaning 'burden (of service)'. How conscious the Greeks were of the underlying etymological meaning of the word is shown by phrases like τέλος . . . μὴ φάρειν (Cauer–Schwyzer 362. 5). That the Hittite 'Man of the Service' conceived of his duty as a burden to be lifted or cast down we have already pointed out (LP 3. 40).

We now turn to the question of their status. *qe-re-qo-ta/pe-re · qo-ta pa-da-je-u* (En 659 = Eo 444) recurs in a list (An 192) of high dignitaries, many of whom are among the gold personalities of Jo 438 (see p. 288). His holding measured in seed-corn is 2/3/0. Now the holding of *ti-pa$_2$-jo* the *po-me* is nearly four times

as large: 8/3/0. It is evident that this is no ordinary 'shepherd'. The same will apply *pari passu* to the others such as the 'fuller' and the 'royal potter'. These will be palace offices and might be less misleadingly rendered as 'Master of the Royal Herds', etc. Parallels from other court terminologies are not far to seek.

Now that the lines of our own solution to this vexed problem have been clarified, we must examine the other proposal which has enlisted strong support. This is that *te-re-ta* is indeed to be identified with τελεστάς, but in the later meaning 'initiation priest'. The idea was first put forward by W. E. Brown (= WEB 1) and subsequently elaborated by J. Chadwick (first *MLS* 2 xi 56, then published in *Minos* 5. 1957. 126 ff.). Its methodology must be subjected to scrutiny. After Ventris had first identified the word merely by application of the spelling rules as τηρητής, this was changed in *Evidence* for obscure reasons to τελεστάς. In *Documents*, as we have seen, my own analysis of the word was preferred. In his later study Chadwick states 'we must re-examine the meaning of the word *te-re-tas*. The Olympian inscription tells us us nothing but that the τελεστά is distinct from the ϝέτας (private citizen?) and the δᾶμος. In ordinary usage the terms τελεστής, τελετής, or τελεστήρ are connected with the mysteries and are either initiating priests or sometimes the initiated themselves. Is there any clear reason for rejecting this line of approach to the meaning of the Mycenaean term?'

In the first place we note that the equation is purely etymological. No reasons are advanced except, implicitly, that the later word satisfies the spelling rules. Rejecting the other possibility τηρητής, the investigator turns to Liddell and Scott. There the earliest example recorded (sixth century B.C.) in the western Peloponnese in conjunction with δᾶμος is dismissed as telling us nothing. But does it not at least tell us that the word does *not* mean 'initiation priest'? Chadwick gives his preference to the other entries in the lexicon article he is examining. They read: '*initiator, priest* Max. Tyr. 10. 5, Cels. ap. Orig. *Cels.* 8. 48, Procl. *in Ti.* 1. 51D. b. = γόης, *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 8 (4). 221.' We may wonder if it is legitimate to project so late and peculiar a usage of the word τελεστής into the second millennium B.C.

There is, however, another fact revealed by analysis which appears to deny religious status to the *te-re-ta*, quite apart from their inclusion of the above occupations and functions. Below we shall see that the pages of the land register have to be arranged in a certain order and that this order is also reflected in the totalling tablets. This order effectively separates the *te-re-ta* from the religious functionaries.

Chadwick has attempted to give his interpretation further support by bringing *te-re-ta* into relationship with the verb *wo-ze*, which he again simply etymologizes as meaning 'sacrifice' (see below). This interpretation is in any case to be rejected, but even if it were established, it could have no relevance to *te-re-ta*. We read in *Documents* (p. 263): 'Note that the subjects of §9 and §10, who are in the *telestās* class, are alone in not being required to *worzeen*, etc.).' This is true. As we shall see below, this particular obligation attaches, with one exception (a double *ko-to-na*), to the holdings designated *ka-ma*. Chadwick attempts to repair this lack of evidence by bringing together two fragments which do not join: Eb 149+Eb 940. But with the exception of the totalling tablets every Eb tablet begins with a proper name, whereas the proposed join makes a non-totalling tablet begin with the status word *te-re-ta*.

Finally, we may apply both interpretations, the analytical and the etymological, to the tablet KN Am 826:

A-PA-TA-WA-JO	*te-re-ta*	MAN 45
	te-ko-to-ne	MAN 5

In view of the craftsman (potter, fuller, etc.) associations of the Pylian *te-re-ta* there is nothing incongruous about the presence of 'carpenters'. The text records forty-five '(royal) service men' at the place Aptarwa. Chadwick's comment is as follows: 'If however we can see in the classical temple of Artemis there the successor of the Minoan *πότνια θηρῶν*, the presence of a religious association would receive faint confirmation.' This is, again, an attempt to manufacture evidence. The *te-re-ta* of the above text do not occur in association with *po-ti-ni-ja* but with *te-ko-to-ne*. To list forty-five 'initiation priests' along with five carpenters

seems administratively at least a little untidy, to say nothing of their number. We conclude with Chadwick's objection to our analysis. He writes: 'If *te-re-ta* are the "barons" Palmer suggests, 45 is a large number for an obscure Cretan town.' Here Chadwick is referring to a footnote which was inserted (LP 3. 40) at the end of my analysis of the term *te-re-ta*, quoting R. Much's study of the Germanic terms derived from **bara-*, where I stated that τελεστής could be most exactly translated into English as 'baron', but with the warning that this was not to be taken with the modern connotations of the term. That the palace of Knossos should list forty-five men owing service to the king sounds less absurd than if we insert the modern word 'baron'.

Since these new terms are vital for the understanding of the structure of Mycenaean society, we may be excused from insisting still further on a complete exposé of method, all the more so since it will help to obviate objections which reverse the actual order of the steps taken in the investigation (see p. 93). VC write apropos of *te-re-ta* (*Docs.* 234): 'To make deductions about the precise conditions of Mycenaean land tenure from the apparent etymology of the terms used is of course rather precarious, in view of the historical adaptations which the system and its terminology may have undergone since the Greeks' original settlement in the country.' We agree, but add that we have not done so. We have first shown by textual analysis that the *te-re-ta* is a name for a class, connected with a particular type of land (*ki-ti-me-na*) and with *wa-na-ka-te-ro* personnel; and that they are *not* listed along with religious functionaries. The agreed identification of the syllabic word as τελεστάς reveals that its basic meaning is 'Man of the τέλος'. Finally, we have here an explanation of the later religious use of the term. Everywhere the religious language is a repository of archaisms. We can see this clearly in the case of τέμενος, which in post-Homeric Greek is confined to sacred landholdings (see K. Latte, 'Temenos', *RE* v A 435 ff.). The same is true of κτοίνα, which survived only in Rhodes in predominantly, if not exclusively, religious contexts.[1] τελεστάς fits into the same

[1] *IG* xii. 1. 694: (κτοινάται) . . . ἀθρεόντων τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Καμιρέων . . .; ibid. 736: gifts of land including one ἐς τάφια, another ἐν τᾷ κτοίνᾳ and a τέμενος; ibid. 3, Suppl.

pattern: its original neutral significance 'Man of the Service' passed to 'Man of the Divine Service'. The Mycenaean *te-re-ta* of the Wanax survive in the Anaktotelestai, officials in the mysteries of the Corybantes (Paus. 10. 38. 7).

The sub-tenants of the *te-re-ta* are predominantly cult personnel, 'slaves' (male and female) of the goddess; but note that *wa-na-ta-jo*, one of the *te-re-ta*, has a holding in the *ko-to-na* of *a-ma-ru-ta*, a fellow *te-re-ta*. Three *te-re-ta* have no sub-tenants. These are listed in En 467. This tablet has only five lines and has been cut off, showing that it is the final tablet. This gives us an important clue to the order of the tablets. We see that the entries of En 659 are in order of decreasing complexity and conclude with four *te-re-ta* who each have one sub-tenant apiece. Since En 609 must be the first tablet, the criterion of decreasing complexity indicates that the order of the tablets in this part of the register is En 609, 74, 659, and 467.

The names of the fourteen *te-re-ta* are *Wa-na-ta-jo*, *A-ma-ru-ta*, *Qe-re-qo-ta-o* (also *Pe-re-qo-ta-o*) *pa-da-je-u*, *Pe-re-qo-ta pe-qo-ta*, *A-da-ma-o*, *A-i-qe-u*, *Ra-ku-ro*, *A-ka-ta-jo*, *Ru-*83* (= *Ru-dwo(s)*?), *Ai-ti-jo-qo*, *Pi-ke-re-u*, *Ti-pa$_2$-jo*, *Po-te-u*, and *Pi-ri-ta-wo*.

78. En 609 (*Docs.* 114)

pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te DA 40

to-so-de te-re-ta e-ne-e-si MAN 14

wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 2/0/1

o-da-a$_2$ o-na-te-[*re*] *e-ko-si wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na*

·5 *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro o-na-to e-ke* ⟨*to-so*⟩*-de pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/1

i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/2/4

e-ju-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/2/0

si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/0

Vacat

1270: the κτοινέται concerned with the temple of Athana; ibid. 1. 746: the κτοινέται concerned with sacrifice; Fraser–Bean, *Rhodian Peraea*, 39 nr. 21: [τοὶ] προθύοντες περί τε τὰν κτοίναν καὶ περὶ τὸν [. . .] [. . .]ν τῷ [Δ]ὶ καὶ τᾷ Ἥρᾳ . . . The apparently corrupt entry of Hesychius also contains a reference ἱερείων: κτύναι ἢ κτοίναι· χωρήσης προγονικῶν ἱερείων. ἢ δῆμος μεμερισμένος. I have had the advantage of discussing these passages with Professor A. Andrewes.

.10 *a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 2/3/0
[o-da-a$_2$ e-ko-si a]-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na o-na-te-re
[so-u-ro te-o-jo do]-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/0/3
[e-do-mo-ne-u te-o]-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/[1
[e-sa-ro te-o-jo do]-e-ro [o-na-to] e-ke [to-so-de] pe-mo WHEAT 0/0/3

.15 *[wa-na-ta-jo te-re-ta . . . o]-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/0
[e-ra-ta-ra i-je-re-ja do-e-ra] pa-ki-ja-na o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/0
po-so-re-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o]-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/3
[i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na o-na]-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/3/0
'Territory of *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*: so many δάμαρτες (= *familiae*): DA 40. So many service-men are in (them): MAN 14.
The assart[1] plot of *Wa-na-ta-jo*: so much seed: WHEAT 2/1
Whereas tenants hold the plot of *Wa-na-ta-jo*: *A-tu-ko*, royal artificer, has a lease: so much seed:' etc.

Compare the earlier versions which contain the 'proposals' couched in the phrase *e-ke-qe o-na-to*: on *e-ke-qe* as a 'prospective' form see above.

79. Eo 211 = En 609. 3–8 (*Docs.* 118)
wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na WHEAT 2 [0/1
a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-[jo] WHEAT [0/0/1
i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-[jo] WHEAT [0/2/4
e-ju-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-⟨na⟩-ta-[jo] WHEAT [/0/2/0

.5 *si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-jo* WHEAT 0/1/0

80. Eo 224 = En 609 10–18 (*Docs.* 119)
a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na WHEAT 2/2[+1]
so-u-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-[na]-ṭọ pạ-ṛọ [[a-ma-ru-ta]] pa-ra-ko WHEAT 0/0/3

[1] We choose this rendering on the grounds of the basic meaning of the root *ktei* (see above).

e-do-mo-ne-u te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-[*na-to*] *pa-ro* [[*a-ma-ru-ta*]] *pa-ra-ko* WHEAT 0/1/0

e-sa-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-[*na-to*] *pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta* WHEAT 0/0/3

wa-na-ta-jo te-re-ta e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT 0/1/0

e-ra-ta-ra i-je-re-ja do-e-ra pa-ki-ja-na e-ke-qe pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT 0/1/0

po-so-re-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro [[*a-ma-ru-ta*]] *ta-ta-ro* WHEAT 0/1/3

i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT 0/3/0

In ll. 2–3 *a-ma-ru-ta* has been erased and replaced by *pa-ra-ko*, but this revision is not reflected in the consolidated version of En.

Another discrepancy between the two versions may be noted here. In En 659 the *te-re-ta* is *qe-re-qo-ta*, but there is an entry *pa-ro pe-re-qo-ta pe-qo-ta* in l. 5. In the corresponding Eo 444 we find *pa-ro pa-da-je-we* and *pa-ro pa-da-je-we pe-qo-ta*. Two conclusions suggest themselves: first, that *qe-re-qo-ta* has a second designation *pa-da-je-u*, and that there is a second person further distinguished as *pe-qo-ta*. This is the missing fourteenth *te-re-ta*. *pe-re-qo-ta pa-da-je-u* is one of a list of notabilities in An 192.

Note that the scribe of En 609 inserts the description *wa-na-ka-te-ro* after *e-te-do-mo*.

pa-ki-ja-na: the form *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* also occurs. They are both adjectives from *pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*). For the alternation of palatalized and unpalatalized consonant cf. *e-pi-jo-ta-na*, *e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja* (p. 113).

DAMOS LAND

The Ep series (of which the Eb tablets represent the earlier version with *e-ke-qe*) show a greater variety of technical terms referring to sub-tenants. The normal, as we have seen, is *o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo*. Ep 212 and 705 are concerned entirely with such 'leases'. The tenants are all 'slaves of the god'.

Observation of the distribution of this type of tenure enables us to arrange the tablets of this set in order. The same type of

entry appears in the last paragraph of Ep 617 (+1121+1131) and the first paragraph of Ep 539 1–6. This text continues with the 'leases' of the slaves of the priestess, of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, and of *a-pi-me-de* (7–12), and then lists holdings of the priest and the *e-to-ni-jo* of *a-pi-me-de*. Ep 704 continues with entries relating to the *qe-ja-me-no*, the *ke-ra* of the priestess, a lease of the priestess, a joint holding of the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* (see p. 211), an *e-to-ni-jo* which the priestess holds for the god(dess), and finally a pair of *ke-ke-me-na* plots held by the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*. That this is the final tablet of the set is shown by the fact that it has been scored across and snapped off. The remaining tablet Ep 301 must come before all the above. It starts with an entry *a-no-no* and then continues with holdings by individuals known to be *te-re-ta* but now called *ko-to-no-o-ko*. Thus the order of holders in the whole register is *te-re-ta*, *ko-to-no-o-ko*, *ka-ma-e-we*, *te-o-jo* *do-e-ra* (*do-e-ro*), and finally the religious functionaries preceded by their slaves.

81. Ep 301 (*Docs.* 131)

ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na a-no-no/to-so-de pe-mo [WHEAT 1/1/0?]

ko-to-no *o-ko*
ai-ti-jo-qo o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so [*pe-mo*] WHEAT 1/4/3

wa-na-ta-jo o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/5/0

a-da-ma-o o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so- [*de pe*]*-mo* WHEAT 0/4/0

.5 *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-*[*to-na to-so pe-mo* WHEAT nn]

ṭa-ṭa-ro o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so pe-mo [WHEAT 0/5/0?]

Vacat

pi-ke-re-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo [WHEAT nn]

ra-ku-ro e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT [nn]

.10 *ku-so e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/[nn]

ke-ra-u-jo e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-⟨so⟩ pe-mo WHEAT 0/4/0

pa-ra-ko e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/7/0

ko-tu-[*ro*$_2$] *e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/0

a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/6/0

'Unleased plot(s) of shareland: so much seed:
plot-holders
Aithiops has a lease from the *damos* of a plot of shareland; so much seed: etc.
pi-ke-re-u is to have a plot of shareland *qua* plot-holder:' etc.

In the first paragraph, with a spread suprascript *ko-to-no-o-ko*, we have the formula *o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo* contrasting with the *e-ke-qe o-na-to* of the earlier set, a specimen of which follows.

82. Eb 846 = Ep 301. 2 (*Docs.* 133)
ai-ti-jo-qo e-ke-qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na
pa-ro da-mo ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1/4/3

The second paragraph of Ep 301 refers to plots of *ke-ke-me-na* land without the phrase *o-na-to pa-ro da-mo*. Here the verbal form *e-ke-qe* is retained. Cf. the following text.

83. Eb 895 = Ep 301. 14 (*Docs.* 134)
a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na
ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 0/6/0

We conclude that this exceptional type of holding has not yet been ratified, presumably by the *damos*. Hence the prospective form *e-ke-qe*.

Note that in the first paragraph of Ep 301 all the 'tenants' except *a-tu-ko* (the *e-te-do-mo*) are *te-re-ta*. In the second paragraph three of the personalities (*pi-ke-re-u*, *ra-ku-ro*, *a-i-qe-u*) are known to be *te-re-ta* and *pa-ra-ko* is likely to be a fourth. The other three are unknown. It is evident that the *ko-to-no-o-ko* are *te-re-ta* in

respect of their holdings of *damos* land. This relationship becomes apparent when the *damos* takes up a protest by the *ko-to-no-o-ko* (see p. 212).

84. Ep 617, 1121, and 1131 (*Docs.* 148)

[*ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma o-pe-ro du*]-*wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e*

[?*e-me-de te-re-ja to-so pe-mo*] WHEAT 10/1/0

[?*ko-.-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke*]-*me-na ko-to-na ka-ma-e-u wo-ze-qe to-so pe-mo* [WHEAT nn]

[?*o-pe-ro-qe*] *du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e o-u-qe wo-ze*[

·5 [*to-so pe*]-*mo* WHEAT [nn]

[. .]-*re-u ą-si-to-po-qo ka-ma e-ke-qe wo-ze-qe to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 1/2/0

[.]-*ke-re-u i-je-ro-wo-ko ka-ma-e-u o-na-to e-ke wo-ze-qe to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 1/0/0

sa-sa-wo] *o-na-to e-ke ka-ma-e-u e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-pi*-[*ke*] *to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 1/5/0

[*e-u*]-*ru-wo-ta te-o-jo*[*do-e*]-*ro e-ke*-[*qe*? *ka*]-*ma o-na-to* [*wo*]-*ze-qe to-so pe*-[*mo*] WHEAT 1/3/0

·10 [*pe-re*]-*qo-ta pa-de-we-u* [*e*]-*ke-qe ka-ma o-na-to si-ri jo-*⟨*jo*⟩ *ra-ke to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 1/0/0

pa]-*ra-ko* [*e-ke-qe*] *ka-ma ko-to-no-o-ko e-o to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 1/0/0

po-so]-*re*-[*ja te-o*]-*jo do-e-ra e-ke o-na-to pa-ro pa-ra-ko to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/3

mi]-*ka-ta pa-de-we-u ka-ma-e-u e-ke-qe wo-ze-qe to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/5/0

we-ra[*po*]-*ti-ni-ja-we-jo o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

·15 *ko-pi-na te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so* '*pe-mo*' WHEAT 0/2/0

mi-ra te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/0

qe-ri-[*ta te-o-jo*] *do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

]*o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/3

]*do-e-ro* [*o*]*-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/4

]*-ra-so te-o-jo* [*do-e-ro o*]*-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-*[*so pe-mo*

The restoration of the first lines has been made possible by the newly discovered fragment joining Eb 833 which is the 'proposal' for the above entry. (See Addendum.)

Eb 833

ne-qe-wo e-da-e-wo ka-ma o-pe-ro du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e/*e-me-de te-re-ja*

to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 10/1/0

edge:

mu-to-wo-ti

M. Lang (*AJA* 63. 1959. 129) argues that the first entry is a heading and that the entry WHEAT 10/1/0 is a total of all the individual entries in this tablet. But the theme changes sharply with l. 14 from the *ka-ma* to the *o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*. The relationship of the amount in the first entry to those of the individual *ka-ma* will be perhaps analogous to that between the amount entered against the individual *te-re-ta* in the En set and those of their *o-na-te-re*.

Line 13 links up with the following text:

85. Eb 839

]*ko ka-ma-e-u mi-ka-ta pa-da-je-u e-ke-qe* [
wo-ze-qe to-so-de pe-mo [

Another personage with the description *pa-da-je-u* appears in:

86. Eb 892

ko-tu-ro$_2$ *pa-da-je-u e-ke-*[*qe*

ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na [

87. Eb 1347

do-e]*-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ko-tu-ro*$_2$*-ne pa-da-je-we*

]WHEAT 0/2/0

pa-ro with a personal lessor recurs in Ep 617. 12 following the entry relating to the *ka-ma* of *pa-ra-ko* the lessor. It is, therefore, conceivable that the above represent adjacent entries in a missing page of the consolidated version. However, this raises difficulties, since the above analysis allows no place except for one entirely devoted to *ka-ma* entries or entirely to *ko-to-no-o-ko* entries, or entirely to *te-o-jo do-e-ro* (*do-e-ra*) entries. There is nothing to prove that *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ was a *ka-ma-e-u* and Eb 1347 allows no room for such an insertion (see discussion M. Lang, *AJA* 63. 1959. 131–2). In Eb 839 there appears to be room for only one sign directly above the first sign of *wo-ze-qe* and this does not encourage the reconstruction *ko-tu*]-*ṛọ*$_2$. On the other hand, *ḳọ*-[ ]-*ṛọ*, the holder in Eb 862, might represent an alternative spelling for *ko-tu-ro*$_2$ and this tablet is equated by Bennett with Ep 617. 3.

Three verbs occur in connexion with *ka-ma* holdings, *wo-z-*, *te-re-ja-*, and *to-*. The first is found also as a stipulation attached to the holding of a pair of *ke-ke-me-na* in Ep 704. 7 (see below).

Ep 617. 3 refers to *ka-ma-e-u* (see p. 207) and it adds that he '*wo-z*'-es (cf. Eb 862 *ka-ma-e-u wo-zo*). The formulations in ll. 6 and 7 show an interesting distinction: (i) *ka-ma e-ke-qe wo-ze-qe* (ii) *ka-ma-e-u o-na-to e-ke wo-ze-qe* (for *e-ke-qe* see above). In l. 13 a man described both as a *mi-ka-ta* and *pa-de-we-u* (see above) is a *ka-ma-e-u* both 'having and *wo-z*-ing'. L. 1, with its *du*]*-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e*, is echoed in l. 4: *du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e o-u-qe wo-ze*. Other fragments of the same formula are contained in Eb 495: *te*]*-re-ja-e, e-me-de te-*[*re-*]*-ja*, and Eb 940: *o*]*-pe-ro-qe te-re-ja-e o-u-qe te-re-ja*. From this M. Ventris brilliantly restored the whole formula as *o-phe-lon du-wo-u-phi te*]*-le-ja-hen, he-mei-de te-*(*le*)*-ja* and

drew the conclusion that *te-re-ja* and *wo-z* are more or less synonymous. (On the morphology of the athematic verb *te-re-ja*, see p. 52).

wo-ze has been interpreted as *worzei* 'works', possibly 'ploughs' (*Documents*), and as 'sacrifices' (JC *MLS* 7 xi 56; *Minos* v: 2. 1957. 127–8; MR 5. 157), and *te-re-ja* brought into connexion with the *te-re-ta*. However, the activities referred to by the two verbs are obligations attaching to certain holdings (especially the *ka-ma*) of *damos* land, whereas the attachment of the *te-re-ta* is to the *ki-ti-me-na* land and they are never said to *wo-z-*. Moreover, a key passage is Ep 704. 7, *ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro e-ke ke-ke-me-no o-pe-ro-sa du-wo-u-pi wo-ze-e o-u-wo-ze*, which I have rendered as 'K. the K. has two plots and though she has to '*wo-z*' in two, she is not doing so . . . '. This is inimical to the interpretation 'has to sacrifice in two (plots), is not doing so'. Another interpretation has been suggested by me. Arguing that *zo* and *ze* should be transcribed as palatalized *kjo* and *kje*, and pointing to the Cretan ϝοιζεύς (see Guarducci on *IC* ii. 12. 2*a*) and the phrase ἐπὶ χώραι ϝοικίων of the Gortynian code (Cauer–Schwyzer 179 iv 23), where χώρα is a plot of land attached to a house, I suggested that the Mycenaean *wo-z-* represents a verbal stem *woikj-* and refers to an obligation attaching to a holding, *te-re-ja* being an alternative obligation. A new inscription from Cyprus recently published by T. B. Mitford (*Minos* vi: 1. 1958. 37–47) has some bearing on the problem. I transcribe it thus with some minor modifications of the *editio princeps*: Ἀριστόμαχος ἐχήρατο τὸν χῶρον τὸν αὐτῶ. ἀντ' αὐτῶ ἴνθηκα οἰκονάον. τῶ χώρω ὧν οὐκ ἰντέλεσα τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ ἔνα ἰ(ν) τὸ(ν) θάλαμον τόν(ν)ε. ἴ δὲ κ' οἰκίσι πείση τὸ(ν) νόμο(ν), 'Aristomachus deserted his plot. Instead of him I installed a 'house dweller' (= occupier). Consequently I did not deposit in this treasury the sum due in respect of the plot. If he should *woik-* it, he shall pay the customary sum (?).' Here, then, we have again a technical verb ϝοικ- used with reference to a plot of land, and this mode of tenancy is bound up with a payment. The field in question Mitford believes to have belonged to a god, who speaks on the stele in the first person. More probably the person concerned is the priest-administrator responsible for the revenues.

The terminology may be applied to the Pylos texts. Thus the holder of a *ka-ma*, etc., may or may not *woik-* in the plot held. The verb *woikj-* is morphologically analysable as a denominative from the consonant stem *ϝοικ-* which survives in the allative form *ϝοίκαδε*, whereas the later *οἰκέω* is a denominative from the corresponding thematic stem *οἰκο-*.

The verb *te-re-ja-e* (3 sing. *te-re-ja*), which likewise occurs with the verb *o-pe-ro* in the first entry and again in the third (l. 4), is presumably some analogous obligation attaching to the holding of land. It has been brought into connexion with the root *τελ-*, and the meaning, if this etymological interpretation is correct, will be 'to perform services'. From the entry *o-pe-ro du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e o-u-qe wo-ze* it would appear that the two obligations were alternative, so that the last two words mean 'is not occupying either'; or that *te-re-ja-* is the superordinate term which includes *woikj-*. We note that this particular stipulation, which is included in the total obligations summarized in the first entry, is here assigned to a particular holder, a *ka-ma-e-u*.

There is evidence of a third type of obligation in this text. Ep 617. 8 may be contrasted with the text of the 'proposal' Eb 842: *sa-sa-wo e-ke-qe o-na-to ka-ma-e-u e-pi-qe to-e te-ra-pi-ke*, cf. Ep 617 *sa-sa-wo o-na-to e-ke ka-ma-e-u e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-pi-ke*. In *Documents* (p. 263) *to-e* is taken as the dative singular of the demonstrative *τῶι*, with *e* for *i*, and *to-me* as a different form of the dative, *to*^{s}*mei* (cf. Skt. *tásmai* 'to that'). *te-ra-pi-ke* is taken as a verb 'he serves as a squire'. This explanation, which is purely etymological, implies that this Greek dialect had two different forms of the dative singular of the demonstrative *to-*, one of which left no trace in later Greek, and the connexion requires a special spelling rule with a fuller spelling and the rendering of the final *i* of the diphthong as *e*. There is, however, another text belonging to this part of the register which also contains a word possibly connected with *to-e* and *to-me*. (See Addendum.)

88. Eb 156. 2

*ai-ti-jo-qo e-ke-qe to-jo-qe *85-to-jo* [*ka*]-*ṃạ*[

to-jo-qe has been taken as the genitive of the demonstrative stem

and **85-to-jo* as σίτοιο 'of that corn' (J. Chadwick, *Et. Myc.* 89). However, the value of the sign is not certain, and in any case **85* occurs predominantly in proper names while the following word *[ka]-ma* requires precisely such a description. The translation '. . . and he has and of that corn a *kama*' is unconvincing.

If we put *e-ke-qe to-jo-qe* in parallel with *e-ke-qe wo-ze-qe*, *to-jo-* will appear as a verb co-ordinated with *e-ke-qe*. If our contention that *e-ke-qe* of the 'proposals' has future reference, this must apply to the co-ordinated verb. Turning now to the other pair of texts, we find that the scribe of the second version has altered *e-ke-qe* to *e-ke* and *to-e* to *to-me*. The facts may be represented as a proportion formula:

e-ke-qe : *to-e* : : *e-ke* : *to-me*.

The verb *to-*, according to our analysis, will express some kind of obligation, and whereas *to-jo* and *to-e* will have future reference, *to-me* will express the same obligation now translated into a *fait accompli*. The morphology implicit in the syllabic groups may be accounted for if we take *to-e* as a jussive subjunctive; cf. the above Cypriot text with its πείση and the Arcadian inscription from Cleitor or Lusoi (C. D. Buck *GD*[3] 16): ἔχε̄ ὅδε κῦρος δέκο ϝέτεα. *e-pi* will in that case be used absolutely: 'and in addition shall *to-*' (see *LSJ* s.v. section E). The corresponding *to-me* may then be taken as an imperatival infinitive *to-μεν*, 'must *to-*', both forms belonging to a root aorist *to-*. *to-jo* will then find its explanation as the prescriptive optative (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* ii 322, and in particular the evidence for this usage in Cypriot δυϝάνοι, δώκοι) of the corresponding present stem: *toi-oi*. It remains to etymologize the word *to-*. It expresses an obligation attaching to the holding of land, and we already have words for 'occupation' and 'service'. The third type of obligation we are searching for will most probably be some form of 'payment'. Greek provides us with a suitable word *θω-*. *θωή* is used in Homer (*Il.* 13. 669) of a fine for failure to render military service. The basic verb is not attested in post-Mycenaean times, but there is a variety of denominatives which have replaced it. H. Frisk (*GEW* s.v. *θωή*) quotes '*θ0άω* (*IG* 1[2]. 4. 7; 12) . . , *θωέω* (delph.) . . . mit *ἀθώητος· ἀζημίωτος* H., *θ0αίω* (kret.) *θ0άζω* (el.)'. The meaning is everywhere 'pay

a (money) fine'. Particularly noteworthy is that the Cretan example *θθαίοι* is an optative used prescriptively. Our three forms will therefore be *θώιοι, θώη, θῶμεν*. The significance of an athematic infinitive in *-μεν* for the dialect relationship of Mycenaean has been discussed above (p. 63). The word *te-ra-pi-ke* remains obscure. Syntactically it could be the instrumental dative of the form of payment; cf. *IG* 9 (1) 333. 9 (Locr.). The suggestion in *Documents* (loc. cit.) that it is a verb meaning 'serves as squire' fails to observe that the holding concerned is a *ka-ma* in the *damos* land.

ka-ma has been brought into a relationship with the Cretan *καμαν· ἀγρόν*. The etymological connexions of the word are obscure. It could be derived from the verbal root *καμ-* 'labour' and mean something like a 'working'. That it was a holding of considerable size is apparent from the amount of *pe-mo*. There are three holdings of precisely one major unit of wheat and four which exceed this amount, the highest being precisely one and a half units (*sa-sa-wo* in l. 8). The *ka-ma* appears to be ideally of a standard size, unlike the *ko-to-na*. It is noteworthy that the obligation to *wo-z-* occurs only with a double *ko-to-na*.

The tenants of Ep 617—besides the ubiquitous 'slaves of the god' in the second paragraph—include a *hieroworgos* (l. 7), a *te-re-ta, pe-re-qo-ta pa-de-we-u*, who is to have a *ka-ma* described as *si-ri-jo-⟨-jo⟩ ra-ke* (cf. Eb 159, where P. has a further description beginning with *i-je-*[ ]). We have further *we-ra*[ ], described as [*po*]*-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (cf. p. 178) in l. 14. Yet another, *pa-ra-ko*, is to have a *ka-ma* being a *ko-to-no-o-ko* in l. 11; and *po-so-re-ja*, a female 'slave of the god', has an *o-na-to* from him (l. 12). As we have seen, he holds also a *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* (Ep 301, Eb 377). A curious detail illustrating the complexity of the land-tenure arrangements is that *po-so-re-ja* was to have her *o-na-to* from the *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* of *a-ma-ru-ta* (En 609. 17); but in the 'proposal' (Eo 224. 7) the name of *a-ma-ru-ta* has been erased and *ta-ta-ro* substituted; *pa-ra-ko* has been similarly substituted in ll. 2 and 3. Apparently the preliminary arrangements were revised several times and so *po-so-re-ja* appears as the sub-tenant of *pa-ra-ko* in the *ke-ke-me-na* land. What is of interest is that the size of the holding measured in *pe-mo* remains constant: WHEAT 0/1/3. *ta-ta-ro*

likewise has an *o-na-to* of *ke-ke-me-na* land qua *ko-to-no-o-ko* (Ep 301. 6)

89. Ep 212

re-ka te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo [*to*]*-so pe-mo* [WHEAT] 0/4/0

e-ri-ko-wo te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/0/3

e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na {*ko-na*} *pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/3

ko-ri-si-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 1/0/0

e-pa-sa-na-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/3/0

mu-ti-ri te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/0

ka-wa-do-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/0/3

ko-sa-ma-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-⟨*so*⟩ *pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/0

i-do-me-ne-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/1

ra-su-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to [*e-ke*] *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* [*pa-ro*] *da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

90. Ep 705 (= *Docs.* 143)

ma-ra$_3$*-wa te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-*[*ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/]2/0

ka-ta-no te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke [*ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-*]*mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

du-ni-jo te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-[*ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-*]*so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/0

e-sa-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to [*e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro*] *da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/2

ka-ra-u-du-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke [*ke-ke-me-na ko*]*-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

to-ro-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me[*na*] *ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo / to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/0

o-re-a$_2$ *te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-*[*to*]*-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/2

e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na [[*ko-to-na*]] *`pa-ro da'-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

pu-ko-wo te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na [*ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo*] *to so-pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

ta-ra-mi-ka te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-[*ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da*]*-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/1/0

These two texts contain nothing but normal *o-na-to* of *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* from the *damos*. The proposals extant are Eb 886, 913, 347, 858, 915, 498, 1174 (= Ep 212. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10) and Eb 866, 890, 169, 838, 464 (= Ep 705. 1, 2, 3, 5, 10). In all cases the *e-ke-qe o-na-to* of the 'proposal' has been altered to *o-na-to e-ke* in the consolidated register. Add Eb 1350 (1958) = Ep 212. 5.

91. Ep 539

pi-ro-na te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-[*ke-me-na ko-to-na*

e-ri-qi-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-[*na ko-tona*

i-na te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-[*na pa-ro da-mo*

po-so-re-ja [*te*]*-o-jo do-e-ra o-*[*na*]*-to e-ke* [*ke*]*-ke-*[*me-na ko-to-na*

po-so-re-ja te-[*o-jo*] *do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke* [*pa-ro*] *ka-*[*ma*]*-e-we wo-zo-te to-so pe-mo* [

te-pa$_2$*-ja te-*[*o*]*-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

me-re-u i-je-re-ja do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke pa-ro [*po-to*]*-re-ma-ta ka-ma-e-we o-u-qe wo-ze to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/0/2

te-te-re-u i-je-re-ja do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/0/3

pu-[ ]*-da-ko ka-pa-ti-ja do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/3

e-ni-to-wo a-pi-me-de-o do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/0

to-wa-te-[*u a-*]*pi-me-de-*[*o*] *do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/8/0

wi-dwo-i-jo a-pi-me-de-o do-e-ro [*o*]*-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-*[*ro*] *da-mo to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 0/2/0

we-te-re-u i-je-re-u o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 2/3/0

a-pi-[*me-de*] *e-ke e-to-ni-jo ke-ke-me-*[*na-o ko*]*-to-na-*[*o to-so*] *pe-mo* WHEAT 4/6/0

The order of entries in this tablet has already been commented on. The following 'proposals' are extant: Eb 885 (= l. 3 *i-na*), Eb 1176 (=l. 8 *te-te-re-u*), Eb 1187, 1188 (= ll. 10–11 *e-ni-to-wo, to-wa-te-u*, both *slaves* of *a-pi-me-de*), Eb 472 and 477, which are combined to make the entry in l. 13 relating to *we-te-re-u*.

92. Eb 472

we-te-re-u o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta e-ke-qe o-na-to
*wo-jo *35-to to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 1/3/0

93. Eb 477

we-te-re-u o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta e-ke-qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na
ko-to-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1/[[4]]

The ratified entry in Ep 539. 13 describes *we-te-re-u* as *i-je-re-u* and relates to a holding of *ke-ke-me-na* land with an amount equal to the sum of the two separate proposals. *wo-jo *35-to* is wholly obscure.

Notable are the 'leases' of land from the *ka-ma-e-we* in Ep 539. 5 and 7. In both instances there is a reference to the obligation to *wo-z-*. In the second case the slave of the priestess is not performing this obligation, which presumably rested upon the prime holder, whose name may be tentatively restored as *po-to*]*-re-ma-ta*. On the last entry relating to an *e-to-ni-jo* of *ke-ke-me-na* plots with a large amount of *pe-mo*, see below.

The verb has the form *e-ke* throughout this text.

94. Ep 704 (*Docs.* 135)

o-pe-to-re-u qe-ja-me-no e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so pe-mo WHEAT 2/5/0

u-wa-mi-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke-qe i-je-re-ja ke-ra to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/1/3

e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 0/4/0

ki-ri-te-wi-ja o-na-to e-ko-si ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 1/9/0

·5 *e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o da-mo-de-mi pa-si ko-to-na-o*

ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-to e-ke-e to-so pe-mo WHEAT 3/9/0

ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro e-ke ke-ke-me-no o-pe-ro-sa du-wo-u-pi wo-ze-e o-u-wo-ze [[*to*]]

to-[*so pe-mo* WHEAT]4

All the 'proposals' are extant: Eb 294 (*o-pe-to-re-u*), Eb 416 (*u-wa-mi-ja*, with the wording *e-ke-qe i-je-*[*re-ja ke-ra o-*[*na-to*]), Eb 409 (with the designation simply *i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na*), Eb 321 (where we may perhaps read *ki-ri-te-wi-ja e-ko-si-*[*qe*]), Eb 297 (see below), Eb 338 (*ka-pa-ti-ja*, where the phraseology is *e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-no ko-to-no dwo o-pe-ro-sa-de wo-zo-e* (sic) *o-wo-ze*).

This text has a normal ratified proposal only in l. 3 (= Eb 409). The first entry (= Eb 294) records the holding of a *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* without mention of *o-na-to* or *pa-ro da-mo* and the description *qe-ja-me-no* is obscure. The second entry has the 'prospective' *e-ke-qe* and the phrase *i-je-re-ja ke-ra* (the γέρας of the priestess) is in apposition with *o-na-to*. l. 4 records the joint holding of a religious corporation, the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* (see p. 128). The terms used with regard to the holding of the *e-ri-ta*, the priestess, in l. 5 are of great interest and importance. The formulation must be contrasted with the version of the proposal in Eb 297.

95. Eb 297 (*Docs.* 140)

i-je-re-ja e-ke-qe e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o

ko-to-no-o-ko-de ko-to-na-o ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-ta e-ke-e WHEAT 3/9/3

Ep 704. 5–6

e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e

te-o da-mo-de-mi pa-si ko-to-na-o ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-to e-ke-e

Both versions agree in recording the declaration (*εὔχετοι*, see p. 51) of the priestess that the holding is an *e-to-ni-jo* for the god(dess); but in the first version a counter-declaration is made by the *ko-to-no-o-ko* to the effect that the tenures are *o-na-ta* of a number of *ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o* (gen. plur.). In the second version the counter-declaration is made by the *damos*. This corresponds to the position of the *ko-to-no-o-ko* as a variety of *damos* land holder (see above). The *damos* takes up the protest on behalf of its tenant(s). What is important is that the palace archivist duly records the conflicting statements. Thus not only are plots of land held 'from the *damos*' just as plots of *ki-ti-me-na* land are held from individual *telestai*, but here the *damos* makes representations as a corporate body in disputing the tenurial status of land held by or on behalf of the god. This implies an organ to act as its mouthpiece and to defend its interests. The fact that the palace records the conflicting claims must surely imply some instance of adjudication, although the substitution of *e-ke* for the *e-ke-qe* of the 'proposal' is ominous.

The final entry relating to the holding of *ka-pa-ti-ja* the 'key-bearer' (a religious office) states that she has two *ke-ke-me-na* plots (*ke-ke-me-no* dual, see p. 46) and that, being obliged to '*wo-z-*' in two (*du-wo-u-pi*, see p. 50), is not '*wo-z*-ing'. The same verb recurs otherwise only in connexion with *ka-ma* holding (see above).

A number of tablets show totalling formulae. Of interest is the way the entries are grouped, for they seem to follow the order and arrangement of the register.

96. Eb 236 (*Docs.* 149)

ka-ma-e-we o-na-ta e-ko-te ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o wo-zo-te to-so pe-mo WHEAT 30/2/3

'*Ka-ma* holders having leases of plots of shareland with obligation to occupy: so much seed.'

97. Eb 901 (*Docs.* 151)

o-da-a_2 ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o o-na-ta e-ko-si ko-to-ne-ta to-so pe-mo WHEAT 3

'Whereas *ktoina* holders have leases of plots of shareland: so much seed.'

98. Eb 317 (*Docs.* 142)

o-da-a_2 i-je-re-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe e-qe-ta-qe we-te-re-u-qe o-na-ta to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 21/6

'Whereas the priestess and the key-bearer(s) and the count(s) and *we-te-re-u* (have) leases: so much seed.'

99. Eb 847

o-da-a_2 e-qe-si-jo do-e-ro e-ko-si o-na-ta [[*ku-su-pa_2*]] *to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 1/3/4

'Whereas the slaves of the count(s) have leases: [[sum total]] so much seed.'

Another totalling tablet appears to summarize the seed for *te-re-ta*, *ka-ma-e-we*, and *te-o-jo do-e-ra* in respect of all their holdings.

100. Ec 411 (*Docs.* 150)

ku-su-to-ro-pa_2 pa-to [*pe-mo-to*] *te-re-ta* WHEAT 44
ka-ma-e-we WHEAT 58/5/0

Edge:
te-o-jo do-e-ra[

'Sum total of all (seed): servicemen . . . *ka-ma-* holders . . .

Edge:
'slaves of the god['

A fact of some significance emerges from this grouping. The personnel of known religious functions figure in Eb 317, which reflects a similar grouping in the register (Ep 539). The *te-re-ta* are not included, which is one more indication that they are not in this class. In Ec 411 they are grouped with the *ka-ma-e-we* and, as we have seen, in their guise of *ko-to-no-o-ko* on the *damos* land they also precede the *ka-ma-e-we* in the register.

The place of the *te-re-ta* in the social structure is indicated by the important tablet Er 312.

101. Er 312 (*Docs.* 152)

wa-na-ka-te-ro te-me-no
to-so-jo pe-ma WHEAT 30
ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no WHEAT 10
Vacat

.5 *te-re-ta-o to-so pe-ma* WHEAT 30
to-so-de te-re-ta MAN 3
wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo
to-so-jo pe-ma WHEAT 6
Vacat
'*Temenos* of the *Wanax*,
So much seed: WHEAT 30
Temenos of the Commander: WHEAT 10

Of the service-men, so much seed: WHEAT 30
So many service-men: MAN 3
Uninhabited cult-land,
So much seed: WHEAT 6.'

This text lists the *te-me-no* of the *wanax*, the *te-me-no* of the *lawagetas*. Then a new paragraph lists the *pe-ma* of the *telestai*, followed by their number (3). From the quantities (30:10:30) it would appear that each *te-re-ta* accounts for ten units, this being also the amount for the *lawagetas*. The *temenos* of the *wanax* is three times as great. The interpretation of the last entry is uncertain. *e-re-mo* certainly looks like *ἐρῆμον* 'deserted, empty', but the allowance of *pe-ma* suggests that this is cultivable land and the word is perhaps to be understood as 'sacred land free of habitations'. *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* has been connected with the Attic *ὀργεῶνες*, 'members of a religious association', and in particular with the form *ὀργῑόνας* (accus. plur.) in *h. Apoll.* 389. However, there are morphological difficulties. The base of the word is *worgāwōn*; the *h. Apoll.* form is an itacistic spelling of the Ionic *ὀργηόνας*. Thus the expected Mycenaean form of the derived adjective would be written *wo-ka-wo-ne-jo*. A word *ϝοργιών* 'place of the *ὄργια*' might be hazarded, but there remains the uncertainty about the *scriptio plena* (see p. 27). However, we shall perhaps not be far wrong in determining the *e-re-mo* as 'cult land' of some type.

The scribe shows two peculiarities (no other text except Er 880 is in his hand): he writes *pe-ma* for *pe-mo* and twice has written

to-so-jo for *to-so*. I suspect he is rendering the palatized *s'* we expect as the intermediate stage **totyos* > *tosjos* > *tossos*. (See Addendum.)

Er 312 bears a partial resemblance to Un 718, which may conveniently be discussed here.

102. Un 718 (*Docs.* 171)

ṣa-ra-pe-da po-se-da-o-ni / do-so-mo
o-wi-de-ta-i do-so-mo to-so e-ke-ra$_2$-wo
do-se WHEAT 4 WINE 3 BULL 1
tu-ro$_2$ TU+RO$_2$ 10 *ko-wo* *153 1
me-ri-to LM 0/0/3
Vacat
o-da-a$_2$ da-mo WHEAT 2 WINE 2
RAMS 2 TU+RO$_2$ 5 *a-re-ro* A+RE+PA 0/0/2 *153 1
to-so-de ra-wa-ke-ta do-se
RAMS 2 *me-re-u-ro* FLOUR 0/6
WINE 0/2 *o-da-a$_2$ wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo ka-ma*
WHEAT 0/6 WINE 0/1 TU+RO$_2$ 5 *me-ṛi-*[*to*] 0/1/1

'Contribution of the *sa-ra-pe-da* [fem. gen. sing.] to Poseidon: *E-ke-ra$_2$-wo* will give so much contribution to the *o-wi-de-ta* (plural):

WHEAT 4 WINE 3 BULL 1
CHEESES 10 SKIN+KO (?) 1
HONEY 0/3/0

Whereas the *damos*: WHEAT 2 WINE 2
RAMS 2 CHEESES 5 UNGUENT (?) 0/2/0 SKIN+KO (?) 1.
The *lawagetās* will give so much:
RAMS 2 FLOUR (?) 0/6/0.
WINE 2. Whereas the cult *ka-ma*:
WHEAT 0/6/0 WINE 0/1 CHEESES 5 HONEY 0/1/1.'

For *dosmos* cf. Arcadian ἀπυδοσμός 'sale'.

sa-ra-pe-da(*s*) : genitive singular (cf. dual *sa-ra-pe-do* in following text).

o-wi-de-ta-i: dative plural. The nominative *o-wi-de-ta* occurs on the sealing Wa 731 along with the word *do-so-mo*. They are presumably the functionaries who receive the contributions on behalf of the god, cf. the Es series (pp. 221 ff.). In *Documents* the suggestion is made that *o-wi-de-ta-i* = *ὡς ϝιδέσθαι* 'as far as can be seen'.

a-re-ro is presumably an error for *a-re-pa* = *ἄλειφαρ*.

meleuron = later *μάλευρον* (Alcaeus, etc.).

The points which the two texts have in common are the mention of the *lawagetas* and the adjective *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo*. The circumstances are entirely different. In particular the *da-mo* here contrasts with *te-re-ta* in the preceding text. It is inadmissible to equate these tenurial opposites (see above), and the *ka-ma* with the *e-re-mo*, and then draw the conclusion that the name of the *wanax* is *Ekhelāwon* (see *Docs.* p. 265). This is in any case invalidated by Un 219, which mentions *e-ke-ra-⟨wo⟩-ne*, *wa-na-ka-te*, and *ra-wa-ke-ta* separately, and all the basis is removed if Er 312 and 880 are to be combined in one document (see below).

What emerges from the above is that the *sa-ra-pe-da* is land sacred to Poseidon. Occupants include *Ekhelawon*, the *damos*, the *lawagetas*. Part of the 'estate' is constituted by a *ka-ma*. All occupants owe dues to the god and they are paid to the *o-wi-de-ta*. This word might be the semantic equivalent of the Knossian *u-wo-qe-we* *ὑϝοϙ^{w}ήϝες* 'overseers, inspectors' (see p. 183):

E-ke-ra$_2$-wo also appears in Er 880 which I restore thus:

103. Er 880 (*Docs.* 153)

e]-*ke-ra$_2$*-[*wo ki-*]*ti-me-no e-ke*
sa-ra-pe-do-[*qe pe-*]*pu$_2$-te-me-no*
to-so-[*de pe-ma*] WHEAT 30 [+22?]
to-so-de [ ]-*to pe-ma* WHEAT 42
·5 *to-sa we-je-*[*we*] 1100 [+]
to-sa-de su-za [ ] 1000 [+]
Vacat
ku-su-to-ro-pa$_2$ to-so pe-ma 94

This text is in the same hand as Er 312 and also uses the spelling *pe-ma*. The two texts are thus likely to be parts of one document.

If this is the case, then the entries relate to a single locality with landholdings in the possession of the *wanax*, the *lawagetas*, three *te-re-ta*; then orchard-land with two *ki-ti-me-na* plots of *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* and a smaller holding, the *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo*. Of interest is the size of the holding of *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*. Conceivably his chief estate was in this locality. His name occurs adjacently to the *lawagetas* in PY An 724. 5 and adjacently to *we-da-ne-wo*, another notability, in An 610. 13, with the same entry MAN 40.

There are two WHEAT entries, so that *ki-ti-me-no* is likely to be dual (cf. *ke-ke-me-no*). The other entries relate to trees, the second being figs (*su-za* = *συκίαι*, see p. 36). *we-je-we* occurs in a TREE context in KN Gv 863 and 'vines' has been suggested. For *sa-ra-pe-do* cf. *sa-ra-pe-da* in the preceding text. This word may also be dual in view of the two entries. The suggestion has been made that it is a proper name *Sarpedon*, but this ignores the context and the relationship to *sa-ra-pe-da*.

I translate:

'E. has two *ki-ti-me-na* plots and two planted *sa-ra-pe-da*: so much seed . . . , so many vines . . . , so many fig-trees . . . . Sum total: so much seed . . . . '

104. Eq 213 (*Docs.* 154)

o-wi-de a-ko-so-ta to-ro-qe-jo-me-no a-ro-u-ra a$_2$-ri-sa
a-ke-re-wa o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 8
o-da-a$_2$ e-ri-no-wo-to o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 10
o-da-a$_2$ ko-tu-ṿọ o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 20
.5 *o-da-a$_2$ po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo o-te-pe-o-jo o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 6
o-da-a$_2$ ko-no o-ro-jo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 40
ὡς Fίδε Ἀλξοίτας τροq^{w}ε(j)όμενος ἄρουραν Ἄλισας(?)

'Thus (what) A. saw when having the ploughland of Alisa (?) turned (i.e. cultivated)' or 'when making a tour of the ploughland . . . .'

This records an inspection by the important personage *a-ko-so-ta* (*Ἀλξοίτας*) with reference to *a-ro-u-ra* (ploughland). The individual items show a place name in the genitive followed by

the word *o-ro-jo*, which must therefore 'govern' the genitive. We conclude that the inspection concerns the *o-ro-jo* of each of the places named. *a-ke-re-wa* is the sixth of the 'Nine' and the other places are presumably in the same locality. *Po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo o-te-pe-o* is presumably connected with the goddess Potnia. The last item is by far the largest, 40 units, and the word preceding *o-ro-jo* is not obviously genitival in aspect. I take *ko-no* to be κοινόν. Thus the official inspects a group with three 'secular' units, one with a divine connexion, and a much larger 'common'. Where was the last? The answer may lie in the word a_2-*ri-sa* of the introductory formula. This combinatory analysis would suggest that a_2-*ri-sa* is the name of a geographical area (cf. Ἀλείσιον) comprising three secular places (perhaps royal estates?), one assigned to Potnia, and a much larger 'commune'. Such a distribution—royal–divine–common—accords with the above analysis. This leaves open the question of the precise significance and etymological identification of *o-ro-jo*. οἰρών (Cypriot) district has been suggested, but this requires an *ad hoc* spelling rule, and if *a-ke-re-wa*, etc., is sufficient identification in other tablets, why should the scribe add the word 'district' here? And what is the 'common district'? We note that the word occurs in connexion with an inspection of grain-stocks. If we take the word *o-wi-de* literally, then *o-ro-jo* may be the place where the wheat was stored: = 'granary'?

to-ro-qe-jo-me-no may be causative, 'causing to turn', i.e. 'plough up'. Another possibility (*Docs.*) is that it is equivalent to στρωφάομαι: cf. ἐπὶ . . . δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε στρωφᾶται (Hesiod, *Op.* 528). This would have the advantage of linking up with *ku-su-to-ro-pa*$_2$, ξυστροφά (for *pa*$_2$ = *qa* see p. 39), the root being **streg*^{w}*h*.

THE PYLOS Ea SERIES

The Ea series refer to a different group of personalities and presumably a different locality. Notably absent are the 'slaves of the gods'. As owners of *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* we find *ta-ra-ma-ta*, (Ea 821), *sa-ke-re-u*, a priest (Ea 756), *ko-do*, a shepherd (Ea 71), *mo-ro-qo-ro*, a shepherd (Ea 817), and *qo-u-ko-ro*, which may be a proper name or 'the cowherd' (Ea 781).

ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na are ascribed to *su-qo-ta-o* (gen. sing. or plur., Ea 480, 776) *qo-qo-ta-o* (Ea 305, 757, 802, 819). Ea 270 records a *ko-to-na* of *qo-qo-ta-o pe-re-qo-no-jo*, which shows that *qo-qo-ta-o* is in the singular. The mutilated Ea 809 appears to record an *o-na-to* of the *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* of the 'Commander's Charioteer' (*ra-we-ke-si-jo-jo a-mo-te-wo*). An unspecified *ko-to-na* is ascribed to *me-ri-te-u* in Ea 771, etc., and in Ec 481, which belongs to this set. Ea 801 books a *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na a-no-no ku-ru-no-jo me-ri-te-wo*, whence it emerges that *me-ri-te-u* is some kind of title. Ea 922 refers to yet another *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na-no-no* (sic!). So far *a-no-no* appears to be restricted to *ke-ke-me-na* land (see p. 199).

The tenancies are complex. *ta-ra-ma-ta*, who has a large *ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na* (Ea 821) (and is possibly the owner of the quadrupeds being watched over by *qo-te-ro*, the goat-herd, Ae 108, and by *ke-ro-wo*, the shepherd, Ae 134), has an *o-na-to pa-ro da-mo* (Ea 778) and even a minute *o-na-to pa-ro ko-do po-me-ne* (Ea 825).

The complex tangle of tenancy arrangements may be further illustrated in the person of *ke-re-te-u*. In Ea 304 he has an *o-na-to* from *sa-ke-re-u* (the priest); Ea 305 records an *o-na-to* of the *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na* of the cowherd (*qo-qo-ta-o*); in Ea 806 we again have him as tenant of a *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*.

Further tenancies are recorded in Eq 59.

105. Eq 59 (*Docs.* 147)

] WHEAT 6/0/0

ke-re-u e-ke o-na-to ke-ke-me-⟨na⟩ ko-to-na WHEAT 2/4/0

ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na su-qo-ta-o WHEAT 1/8/0

ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to pa-ro da-mo WHEAT 3/0/0 *pa-ro ra-wa-ke-si-jo* [ ] WHEAT 2/0/0

.5 *ke-re-te-u e-ke e-ne-ka i-qo-jo* WHEAT 5/0/0

Vacat

du-ni-jo e-ke o-na-to pa-ro da-mo WHEAT 1/6[

Rev. Tallying with total WHEAT 137/0/0.'

'K. has a lease of a plot of shareland:

K. has a lease of a plot of the swineherd:

K. has a lease from the *damos*:

K. has a lease in respect of Hippos:

D. has a lease from the *damos*:'

All three principals appear in the Ea series, *ke-re-u* in Ea 827, *du-ni-jo* Ea 811.

The *i-qo-jo* in respect of which K. has so large a holding is not a 'horse' but the *i-qo* who receives cyperus in Fa 16. He is presumably a god Hippos (see p. 220).

The question arises whether the Ea set plus Eq 59 do not refer to a single locality like *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* above. We may add to the negative indications, such as the absence of slaves of the gods and personnel designated as *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, positive indications such as the frequent description *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* (Ea 132, 782, 814, 822, 823, Eq 59. 4). Of particular significance is the mention of the 'Commander's Charioteer' (Ea 421, 809), and we may recall once again the Hittite evidence for this as a position of exceptional trust and intimacy: 'I have sent D. the chariot driver. He is not the least of men. Since boyhood he has mounted the chariot with me' (Tawagalawas Letter). The evidence suggests that this set may refer to holdings within the competence of the *ra-wa-ke-ta*; the fact that the only divinity mentioned is *i-qo* may also have its significance. The connexion *ra-wa-ke-ta*+*i-qo* would parallel that between *wa-na-ka* and *po-ti-ni-ja*, for we shall argue below that the Mycenaean *wanax* bears the same title as the Young God who is son and husband of the Mother Goddess (see p. 249).

We must now attempt to locate the territory involved. There are two hints. In Xa 565 the important personage *ke-re-te-u* is further described by the addition of the place-name *ti-no* (not 'of the shore', as *Docs.*). To this we may add the evidence that there was a *du-ni-jo* in the same place: Fn 79. 3 records issues of provisions to *du-ni-jo ti-ni-ja-ta*, this being the ethnic derived from *ti-no*. (For the allative form *ti-no-de*, see p. 247.)

The size of the estate is indicated by the tallying on the reverse of Eq 59: WHEAT 137.

The picture adumbrated in the above texts is quite unlike

anything in the Hellas of post-Mycenaean times. It recalls rather the theocratic states like that of the temple of Olba: 'the ancient dynasty of the Teucrids was still ruling in the temple state of Olba at the very end of the Seleucid period . . . the high priests and their colleagues continued to be the lords and masters of all the inhabitants of the temple itself, the temple town, and the temple villages. All these were ἱερόδουλοι, "slaves" of the god or goddess, and all were required to work for their divine master or mistress, as attendants of the temple (a term that included singers, musicians, and dancers), as temple prostitutes, as artisans and artists, as tillers of the soil or in charge of cattle and poultry'. (M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* i 505–6; cf. further T. R. S. Broughton in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* iv 641 ff.)

W. K. C. Guthrie (*BICS* 6. 1959. 43 f.) in his discussion of the term *te-o-jo do-e-ro* (*do-e-ra*) points out that temple-slavery is not confined to the Orientalism of the Hellenistic world, but that 'Traditions both mythical and historical take it back into earlier Greece, especially in connection with Delphi'. Of particular interest is the reference to Plato, *Laws* 12. 946. b–c, where it is decreed that 'the appointment of the ἐνθυνταί of Magnesia is to take the form of dedication to Apollo and the Sun'.

In a society so organized it would be unreal to draw a distinction between lay and secular functions. The *e-qe-ta*, with their distinctive patronymic designations (see pp. 151 ff.), were likely to have been men of high rank, and they presumably accompany the detachments enumerated in the *o-ka* tablets as representatives of the king. It can hardly be doubted that religious functions fell to them as well. Hence their grouping with religious functionaries in Eb 317 (p. 213).

THE PYLOS Es SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 275–81; AH 8)

Another set of tablets (Es) refer to the holdings and deliveries of thirteen men. Es 650 lists them with the formula *e-ke to-so-de pe-mo*. Another, Es 644, records their several deliveries (*do-so-mo*) 'annually' (*we-te-i we-te-i*). The other tablets of the set record the

do-so-mo of each of the men (1) to Poseidaon, (2) to **34-ke-te-si*, (3) to *we-da-ne-u*, and (4) to *di-wi-je-u*.

The proportions of *do-so-mo* to one another and to holdings as measured in *pe-mo* are not constant and this may reflect differences of status and estimated yield. The figures reduced to the second largest unit are:

Tenant	*pe-mo*	*Annual*	*P.*	**34*	*W.*	*D.*	*Total do-so-mo*
K.	60	7	15	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	27
A.	70	$9\frac{1}{2}$	23	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$
S.	10	2	5	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	8
Op.	40	?	17	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	21+
Ai.	10	?	6	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	7+
W. d.	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	3	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$4\frac{5}{6}$
W.	20	$3\frac{1}{3}$	8	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$13\frac{1}{3}$
K.	3	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	3
A.	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	8
R.	14	[$2\frac{1}{3}$]	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{5}{6}$(?)
O.	12	$2\frac{1}{3}$	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{5}{6}$
P.	12	$2\frac{1}{3}$	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{5}{6}$
K.	12	$2\frac{1}{3}$	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{5}{6}$

It appears likely that these 'recipients' are cult personnel attached to the cult of Poseidon. *we-da-ne-u*[1] is one of the cattle 'owners' (see p. 165). In the 'rower' text An 610. 14 he follows *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo-no*. In Un 1193 he is credited with 3 DA of land at *a-ke-re-we*. In Na 856 SA 10 are entered against *we-da-ne-wo* (gen.) at *a*$_2$*-ki-ra*. A similar entry appears in Na 1041 for the place *ko-ro-jo-wo-wo*. For *di-wi-je-we*, see p. 175. (See Addendum.)

In *Docs.* p. 279 **34-ke-te-si* is taken as the dative plural of ἀλκτήρ 'protector'. But the value *ai* or a_3 for *34 is now seen to be most unlikely (see p. 22). Note that their *do-so-mo* is identical in amount with that of the two individuals following. For a similar phenomenon in the religious sphere see below on Fn 187 (p. 232).

106. Es 650 (*Docs.* 167)

ki-ri-ti-jo-jo ko-pe-re-u/ *e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 6

a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo *e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 7

[1] A. Heubeck suggests that this stands for *Werdaneus*, < *werdo* 'sacrifice'.

	se-no		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1
	o-po-ro-me-no		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 4
.5	*ai-ki-wa-ro*	*a-te-mi-to* *do-e-ro*	*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1
	we-da-ne-wo	*do-e-ro*	*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 0/4
	wo-ro-ti-ja-o		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 2
			e-ke	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 0/3
	KA-RA-I	*a-ne-o*	*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1/5
	Rev:				
	ru-ko-wo-ro		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1/4
	o-ka		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1/2
	pi-ro-ta-wo		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1/2
	ku-da-ma-ro		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT 1/2
.5	*pi-ro-te-ko-to*		*e-ke*	*to-so-de* *pe-mo*	WHEAT [[?]]

The initial word in the genitive case is likely to be the date; see below on *e-me-si-jo-jo* (KN E 843, p. 233).

a-te-mi-to: Ἀρτέμιτος.

107. Es 644 (*Docs.* 168)

	ko-pe-re-wo *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/7
	a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/9/3
	[*se*]-*no* *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/2
	o-po-ro-me-no *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT [nn]
.5	*ai-ki-wa-ro* *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT [nn]
	we-da-ne-wo *do-e-ro* *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/1/2
	[*wo-ro-ti-ja*] *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/3/2
	[*ka-ra-i*] *do-so-*[*mo*] *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/0/3
	[*a*]-*ne-o* *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/2/3
.10	[*ru-ko-wo-ro* *do-so*]-*mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	[WHEAT nn]
	[*o-ka* *do*]-*so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/2/2
	pi-ro-ta-wo *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-*[*we*]-*te-i*	WHEAT 0/2/[ ]
	ku-da-ma-ro *do-so-mo* *we-te-i-we-te-i*	WHEAT 0/2/[ ]

we-te-i-we-te-i: ϝέτεϊ ϝέτεϊ 'annually'.

108. Es 647

o-po-ro-me-no po-se-da-o-ne do-so-mo	WHEAT 1/7/0
**34-ke-te-si do-so-mo*	WHEAT 0/1/2
we-da-ne-we do-so-mo	WHEAT 0/1/2
di-we-je-we do-so-mo	WHEAT 0/1/2

V

RATIONS (F)

RATIONS AT PYLOS

THE Fn series at Pylos, characterized by the ideogram BARLEY, often accompanied by FIGS and OLIVES, consist largely of proper names and occupational designations in the dative, with a sprinkling of allative forms in *-de*.

PY Fn 187 is typical with *po-si-da-i-jo-de* (l. 2), *pa-ki-ja-na-de* (l. 4), as opposed to *ka-ru-ke* (l. 3), *te-qi-ri-jo-ne* (l. 12), *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* (l. 15), *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* (l. 18). This text is of importance in testifying to the normality of Mycenaean Greek in making the distinction between personal datives of recipients and allatives of places. This makes suspect interpretations which rest on an 'allative' rendering of allegedly datival place-names (see p. 28).

Fn 50 is of particular importance for the interpretation of the word *pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja*.

109. Fn 50 (*Docs.* 91)

a-ki-to-jo pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja BARLEY [
ke-ko-jo pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja BARLEY [
a-ta-no-ro pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja BARLEY 0/[nn
me-za-ne BARLEY 0/0/2 *ai-ki-a$_2$-ri-jo* ⟨BARLEY⟩ 0/0/1[+
me-ri-du-⟨ma⟩-te BARLEY 0/0/3 *mi-ka-ta* BARLEY 0/0/3
di-pte-ra-po-ro BARLEY 0/0/2 *e-to-wo-ko* ⟨BARLEY⟩ 0/0/2
a-to-po-qo BARLEY 0/0/2 *po-ro-du-ma-te* BARLEY 0/0/3 (?)
o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we BARLEY 0/0/2 *i-za-a-to-mo-i* BARLEY 0/0/3
ze-u-ke-u-si BARLEY 0/0/4
Vacat
**85*-[*ke-i*]-*ja-te-wo do-e-ro-i* BARLEY 0/1/0
mi-jo-[*pa$_2$*] *do-e-ro-i* BARLEY 0/0/3

a-pi-[*e-ra*] *do-e-ro-i* . BARLEY 0/0/3
[.]-*ẉọ*[. . . . . *do-e-ro*]-*i* BARLEY 0/3/0

Further light has been thrown on this text by the new finds of 1957 (*AJA* 62. 1958. 181–91).

110. An 1281

[*po-*]*ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*
[. .]-*mo o-pi-ke-de-i*
ạ-ka re-u-si-wo-qe MAN 2
**85-ke-i-ja-te-we* ⟦*i-qe* MAN nn⟧
o-na-se-u ta-ni-ko-qe MAN 2
me-ta-ka-wa [*po*]-*so-ro* MAN 2
mi-jo-pa$_2$ [.]-*e-we-za-no* MAN 1
a-pi-e-ra to-ṭẹ-u MAN 1
[*po*]-*ti-a-ke-ja po-ti-ni-ja re-si-wo* MAN 1
**85-ke-i-ja-*[*te-we* . .]-*ro* MAN 1
mi-jo-pa$_2$ *ma-ra-si-jo* MAN 1
me-ta-ka-wa ti-ta-ra MAN 1
a-pi-e-ra ṛụ-ḳọ-ro MAN 1

3. *a-ka* JC and LRP: *pa-ka* Ma L.
8. *to-ṭẹ-u* JC, LRP or *to-ze-u* Ma L.
9. [*po*]-*ti-a-ke-ja* LRP: [*po*]-*ti-a-ke-e* Ma L.

This tablet consists of two paragraphs each headed by a reference to *po-ti-ni-ja*. On *potnia iqeja* = Potnia Hippeia, see Glossary .The second goddess is identified, as so often (see p. 239), simply by the place-name or an adjectival derivative [*po*]-*ti-ja-ke-ja* (for the place in the Further Province cf. An 298, An 610. 11). The entries take the form of datives of recipients followed by proper names in the nominative. The tablet thus presumably records the allocation of men from the establishments of the goddesses in question to *o-pi-ke-de*, **85-ke-i-ja-te-u*, *me-ta-ka-wa*, *mi-jo-pa*$_2$, and *a-pi-e-ra*. It will be seen that three of these occur juxtaposed in Fn 50 11–13, where they are in the genitive followed by *do-e-ro-i*. Four of the nominatival names recur in the Jn series as names of

bronze-smiths: *re-u-si-wo*, *po-so-ro*, *o-na-se-u*, *ma-ra-si-jo*. Now the ration list Fn 50 includes craft-designations such as *e-to-wo-ko*, *a-to-po-qo*, *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* (he who is in charge of the τεύχεα), and *ze-u-ke-u-si* (dative plur.). Another designation is *di-pte-ra-po-ro*. This links up with yet another new text Ub 1318 (see p. 328), which lists the issue of *di-pte-ra* of various kinds, and here again the name **85-ke-i-ja-te-we* occurs three times in the dative. Moreover, the purpose of the skins is designated by a noun in the dative, such as *pe-di-ro-i* 'for sandals'. The *ze-u-ke-si* of l. 4 must surely link up with the *ze-u-ke-u-si* of Fn 50, who are those concerned with the ζεύγεα.

This word leads us to Fn 1192, another ration list with a striking cluster-resemblance in its entries to Fn 50. (See Addendum.)

111. Fn 1192

ze-u-ke-u-si i-po-po-qo-i-qe BARLEY 1/7/3
te-ra-wo-ne BARLEY 0/0/5
to-wa-no-re BARLEY 0/6/4 OLIVES 1
e-to-wo-ko-i BARLEY 0/4/1
.5 *a-ki-to* BARLEY 0/2/3 OLIVES 1
ai-ki-a_2-ri-jo BARLEY 0/1/4

i-po-po-qo-i has been etymologized as *hippophorboi(s)i* (V. Georgiev).

a-ki-to is the 'owner' of a *pa_2-si-re-wi-ja*, and this entry recurs along with *mi-jo-pa_2 do-e-ro-i* in Fn 867; this is headed *i-qe*[], which should probably be restored *i-qe*-[*ja*].

We are now in a position to delimit the semantic sphere of *pa_2-si-re-wi-ja*. The general context emerges as 'manufacture', and the names point to the Jn series. If we now ask what kind of documents have appended paragraphs listing *do-e-ro* of the craftsmen concerned, the answer is again the Jn series (see pp. 279 ff.). In the Jn series, again, we find the *pa_2-si-re-u* mentioned apparently as the person responsible for a group of 'secular' smiths. Apart from this the only mention of a *pa_2-si-re-u* is in Jo 438. 20 (p. 288), where a person *a-ke-ro* has recorded GOLD in a quantity which puts him on a level with the *po-ro-ko-re-te* (see pp. 287 f.). The evidence

from Knossos points in the same direction. In K 875 the context is *di-pa a-no-wo-to* (see p. 363). KN As 1516 is a list of men, and *pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja* occurs twice as a kind of paragraph heading (*Docs.* 171). Thus there is nothing in the evidence available which would take us outside the semantic field 'craftsman'. It would be unwise on present testimony to credit *pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja* with any other meaning than 'manufacturing unit' or even 'industrial establishment' of which a *pa$_2$-si-re-u* is in charge. If we link up etymologically with βασιλεύς, we should remain fully aware of the semantic gap to be bridged, though parallels for such a development (e.g. steward, constable) are not far to seek. 'Retinue of a *basileus*' would in any case be a misleading translation.

It remains to add that two of the Jn series (Jn 310. 14, 431. 16) add a paragraph listing 'bronze-smiths of Potnia' (*ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, see p. 279). It would appear, then, that An 1281 lists the allocation of craftsmen from the establishments of the two Potnias indicated in the paragraph headings to the persons whose names occur in the dative; Fn 50 and 867 give us a glimpse of the issue of rations, while Ub 1318 records the provision of raw materials. Here we may study another vexed word.

ke-ro-si-ja is also preceded by proper names in the genitive in An 261 and 616, and the word has been identified 'etymologically' as *gerousia* 'council of elders'. However, one of the persons concerned, *a-pi-qo-ta*, is a *pa$_2$-si-re-u* at *a-pe-ke-i-jo* (Jn 431), where we have just found the 'bronze-smiths of Potnia'. Another of the group, *a-pi-jo*, is mentioned in the bronze-smith text Jn 725. 14, where the preceding word is rather *po-ti-ni*]-*ja$_2$-we-jo* than Bennett's]-*nu-we-jo*. This same tablet (l. 5) lists *o-tu-wo-we* (nom.), which is likely to be another spelling of *o-ta$_2$-we-o* (gen., An 261. 2); *o-to-wo-o* occurs on An 261 (r. 7) and is adjacent to *a-pi-jo-to* (gen.). Different persons may have the same name, but this cluster-resemblance can hardly be accidental. Thus the common factor in these *ke-ro-si-ja* personalities appears on present evidence to be 'bronze'. There is no other evidence for the statement (*Docs.* p. 172) that 'these four [scil. *o-ta$_2$-we*, *a-pi-jo*, *ta-we-si-jo*, *a-pi-qo-ta*] are *basilewes* or local chieftains, and the list records some of their counsellors'. *ke-ro-si-ja*, on the available testimony, appears rather

as a craftman's establishment, perhaps at a lower level of organization than the *pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja*. The syllables on this diagnosis could represent a derivative of †χείρων. The 'craftsman' context now established for this group of texts, the latest of which were found in what appears to have been an important workshop of the palace, with records relating to allocations of men and materials, gives greater plausibility to the suggestion (Mühlestein) that *i-za-a-to-mo-i*, which is bracketed by *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* and *ze-u-ke-u-si*, stands for *hikwia-arthmoi(h)i* 'chariot-body assemblers'. Chariot parts enter largely into the workshop records: WHEELS (Sa 1264, etc.), *i-qi-ja-i*, *a-mo-si*, etc. (An 1282, see p. 327), *a-ni-ja*, *te-u-ke-pi*, etc. (Sb 1315), *a-ko-so-ne* etc. (Va 1323). On the spelling *-za* (= *kja*) for *-q^{w}ia* see p. 37. *a-to-po-qo* (Fn 50. 7) evidently = ἀρτοπόᾳ^{w}ῳ 'to the baker', and this takes us out of the 'chariot' context. *di-pte-ra-po-ro* (l. 6) links up with the *di-pte-ra* recorded in Ub 1318; as a craftsman designation it can hardly be 'hide carrier'; the second component *-po-ro* presumably conceals a verb appropriate to a technical processing of 'hides'. *e-to-wo-ko* in Fn 50. 7 (plur. *e-to-wo-ko-i* in Fn 1192. 4) is likely to be an 'armourer', ἐντοϝοργός.

More difficult are *me-ri-du-⟨ma⟩-te* and *po-ro-du-ma-te*, which were encountered above (An 39, p. 135) in a similar association with craft-designations, especially with *mi-ka-ta*, *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, and *e-to-wo-ko*. That the two words are compounds with a common element *-du-ma-te* is evident. This makes it likely that *po-ru-da-ma-te* (An. 39, rev. 1) is an aberration for *po-ro-du-ma-te* (ibid. 2). It is hardly likely that these craftsman designations have anything to do with the high official *du-ma* (see on An 192, p. 288, and On 300, p. 374), except on the assumption of some semantic development parallel with our *steward* and *constable*. In An 424 *me-ri-du-ma-te* are bracketed by *ra-pte-re* and *da-ko-ro*; the former term again links up with a workshop text Sb 1315: *ra-pte-ri-ja a-ni-ja*. An 427 lists *da-ko-ro*, *me-ri-du-ma-te*, *a-to-po-qo*, and *pu-ka-wo*. An 594 begins with a man's name *ma-ri-ti-wi-jo*, and then lists 10 *pu-ka-wo*, 4 *me-ri-du-ma-te*, and 1 *mi-ka-ta*, In An 207 *me-ri-da-ma-te* is bracketed by *ku-ru-so-wo-ko* = χρυσοϝοργοί and *to-ko-so-wo-ko* = τοξοϝοργοί. It is such bracketing that makes it

difficult to accept the suggestion (ML) that *me-ri-du-ma-te* and *po-ro-du-ma-te* are respectively 'superintendents of honey' (*μελι-*) and 's. of sowing (*σπορο-*)'. On the other hand, the fact that *da-ko-ro-i* are listed on the same line as *a-ti-mi-te* in Un 219. 5 (see p. 259) and are followed by *di-pte-ra-po-ro-i*, shows how the religious and craft associations are inextricably combined. Once again the analysis points to a temple economy.

Yet there is one factor not hitherto taken into account which enables us to draw a dividing line between *me-ri-du-ma-te*, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, *mi-ka-ta*, on the one hand, and the craftsman designations on the other. The former have ration status 3 and the latter status 2, with the *do-e-ro* in status 1. See below for the figures and pp. 96 ff. for the general discussion. If our general conclusion is correct that in Fn 50 we have indications of different daily 'wage rates' for various categories of persons calculated in barley, we may compare a text relating to disbursements to similar categories in the Theban necropolis. I owe it to the kindness and courtesy of Mr. H. James that I can quote from his forthcoming book The *Ḥeḳanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*. (See Addendum.)

(*Document XIV* (*Limestone ostracon in the Metropolitan Museum*)

(1)	Day 24: *fk3*-cakes which the steward Iniotef gave:	
(2)	⟨The overseer of⟩ craftsmen, Sebekḥotpe	10
(3)	⟨ „ „ „ ⟩ miners	10
(4)	⟨ „ „ „ ⟩ gangmen (?)	5
(5)	The assistant	2
(6)	of this tomb	
(7)	The draughtsman	6
(8)	Carvers—4	12
(9)	Quarrymen—8	16
(10)	Sculptors(?)—5	10
(11)	Men	25
(12)	Total	96

Note. Line 6 is written in an odd position in the middle of the ostracon and it probably refers to all the people mentioned in the text. This is a not unusual Egyptian graphic device which saves the writer from repeating the same common tag with each entry in a list.

Fn 187 is similar in appearance to Fn 50 but its background is evidently different. Among its entries there occur *po-si-da-i-jo-de* (l. 2) 'to the Posidaion' (see p. 264), *pa-ki-ja-na-de* (l. 4) 'to *Pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*'; both are known as religious centres (see Tn 316, pp. 261 ff.). After each there is an entry *ka-ru-ke* 'to the *karux*', which is presumably the title of an official at the shrine. The word recurs in l. 16 and l. 21. *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (written as one word) 'the Potnia of *u-po*' again shows the religious background of this text. *te-qi-ri-jo-ne* (l. 12), *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* (l. 15), and *ka-ru-ke* occur as adjacent entries in Un 219 (see p. 259), and this text too has entries such as *a-te-mi-te* 'to Artemis' (l. 5), *po-ti-ni-ja* (l. 7), which suggest a religious context. (See Addendum.)

The comestibles booked in Fn 187 sometimes include FIGS (ll. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 14, 19) in addition to BARLEY. The allocations vary in amount: 0/1/3 appears to be a standard allocation for a *karux* (see below). What is peculiar is that this amount appears also against the *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* (l. 15). This suggests that what is booked here is not, strictly speaking, 'rations' but some allocation having a religious background.[1] It is notable that the allocation of *upojopotinija* is BARLEY 0/4/0 FIGS 0/4/0. This is precisely the entry for *po-te-re-we* (l. 4). Is this a god? The entries immediately following are *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* and *ka-ru-ke* with the 'normal' ration of BARLEY 0/1/3; both are perhaps attached to the tendance of *po-te-re-u*.

112. Fn 187

a-pi-te-ja [BARLEY 2/0/0] FIGS 2/0/0
po-si-da-i-jo-de BARLEY [0/1/0] FIGS 0/1/0
ka-ru-ke BARLEY [ ] FLOUR
pa-ki-ja-na-de BARLEY 0/1 [ ] FIGS 0/1/0
ka-ru-ke BARLEY 0/1/3 FIGS 0/1/3
de-do-wa-re-we BARLEY 0/1/0
ku-ri-na-ze-ja BARLEY 0/2/0 FIGS 0/2/0
u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja BARLEY 0/4/0 FIGS 0/4/0

[1] Below it is noted that the allocations are all multiples of 3 'choenices' (see p. 233).

	o-pi-tu-ra-jo	BARLEY 0/3/0
.10	**85-to-*34-ta-ra*	BARLEY 0/1/0
	a-ma-tu-na	BARLEY 0/1/0
	te-qi-ri-jo-ne	BARLEY 0/0/3
	u-do-no-i	BARLEY 0/3/0
	po-te-re-we	BARLEY 0/4/0 FIGS 0/4/0
.15	*a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*	BARLEY 0/1/3
	ka-ru-ke	BARLEY 0/1/3
	i-so-e-ko	BARLEY 0/2/⟦3⟧
	po-si-da-i-je-u-si	BARLEY 0/1/3
	**34-ke-ja*	BARLEY 0/1/3 FIGS [0/1/3]
.20	*a-ro-ja*	[BARLEY 0/1]/3
	ka-ru-ke	[BARLEY 0]/1/3

Some observations may be made on the barley ration allocations. In Fn 79 all the amounts when reduced to the third lowest DM unit ('choenix') are multiples of 5: 40, 30, 5 (this being allocated to *du-ni-jo ti-ni-ja-ta*, see p. 220), 40, 40, 40, 5, 15, 10. The same is true of Fn 1192: 45, 5 (*te-ra-wo-ne*), 40, 25, 15, 10. This suggests that the basic ration here is five 'choenices'. The identifiable personalities are of high social status. On the barley standard they have status 5 (see pp. 96 ff.).

In Fn 50 the basic ration varies between 2 and 3 such units, and it is noteworthy that the *me-ri-du-ma-te* (dat. sing.), the *mi-ka-ta*, and the *po-ro-du-ma-te* have the higher allocation. The 'slaves' share amounts of 6, 3, 3, and 18 respectively. Since *do-e-ro-i* could also be dual, we have the option of fixing the 'slave' allocation as 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ units, but 1 is more likely. (See Addendum to p. 230.)

In Fn 324 we see reflected the dual standard 2 and 3 that is observed in Fn 50: 15, 12, 6, 12, then eleven allocations of 8 with one aberration of 18, presumably an error. In line 10 a new paragraph begins, and though the tablet is much damaged, it is evident that here, too, 3-unit men are listed before 2-unit men; and the final paragraph has 1-unit entries, which may influence

the above choice between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 unit for the 'slaves'. In Fn 187 the figures are 120, 6, 6, 9, 6, 12, 24, 18, 6, 6, 3, 18, 24, 9, 9, 12, 9, 9, 9; that is they are all multiples of three. The text is of a religious character. *te-qi-ri-jo-ne* is the sole entry with the basic amount, and he recurs in Un 219, again in a religious context.

We recall here the rations entered in the Knossos Fs series (see below), where we find for the most part allocations comprising *inter alia* BARLEY 6, FIGS 3 (in 'choenices', see p. 12). Here again in a religious context we observe the basic factor 3. It would appear that in this curious social structure religious personnel have ration status 3. In this ration class, we find, as we saw, *me-ri-du-ma-te*, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, and *mi-ka-ta*, which may therefore have some bearing on their classification. (See Addendum.)

The very large amount booked against *a-pi-te-ja*, the first entry of Fn 187, suggests that this is a collective allocation. It is sufficient for 40 persons at the basic scale of 3 'choenices' per person which appears to hold good for this tablet. Thus *a-pi-te-ja* may be a district name corresponding to *a-pi-te-wa*, which is attested in An 519. 8 and Na 1021.

RATIONS AT KNOSSOS

Monthly rations appear to be recorded in a number of texts from Knossos. In E 749 the entries are simply masculine ethnics: *pa$_2$-ra-jo*, *ru-ki-ti-jo*, *ti-ri-ti-jo*, *su*]*-ri-mi-jo*, *pa$_2$-mi-jo*, *u-ta-ni-jo*, and *pu-si-jo*. The only two unbroken wheat entries are 25 and 12/5/0, a significant relationship. The first would be a monthly ration for fifty men and the latter for twenty-five men on the above scale. Of still greater interest is E 668, where the *ru-ki-ti-jo* have 246/7/0, the *tu-ri-si-jo* 261/0/0, and the *ra-ti-jo* 30/5/0, corresponding to a ration strength of 490+, 522, and 61 adult men on the above scale, with correspondingly greater numbers if boys are included on the ration scale $\frac{1}{5}$ of a man. E 777 gives wheat entries relating to *ko-no-si-ja ki-ri-te-wi-ja* (this word in Pylos relates to a land-holding corporation of religious women, see p. 211), *a-mi-ni-si-ja*, *pa-i-ti-ja*, with *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* on the reverse. The WHEAT entry is in each case preceded by MOON 1, which is interpreted as 'month 1', see above. The tablet is broken, but the amount is

100+ in the first three entries, nothing being preserved of the last. On the woman's scale (see p. 116) this would correspond to 500+ numbers of women in each place for whom the palace thus makes provision. If the texts are monthly rations we may interpret as a month name the genitive *e-me-si-jo-jo* in E 551 and E 35, while the broken word *e-me-si-jo-* also heads E 843.

E 842 is of a different character: the visible entries include *te-o-i* and *me-na* 'the Moon' (see p. 237), while *di-wo* in line 1 might on the analogy of PY Tn 316. r. 10 be completed *di-wo i-je-we*. The entries include OLIVES, BARLEY, and WHEAT.

113. KN E 749 (*Docs.* 88)

pa$_2$*-ra-jo* WHEAT 25
ru-ki-ti-jo WHEAT 21 [+]
ti-ri-ti-jo WHEAT [
[*su*]-*ri-mi-jo* WHEAT [ ]/2/3
·5 *pa*$_2$*-mi-jo* WHEAT 12/5/0
u-ta-ni-jo WHEAT [ ]
pu-si-jo WHEAT [ ]

114. E 777 (*Docs.* 89)

ko-no-si-ja/*ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* MONTH 1 WHEAT 100 [+
a-mi-ni-si-ja MONTH 1 WHEAT 100 [+
pa-i-ti-ja MONTH 1 WHEAT 100 [+
Rev.
a-ze-ti-ri-ja WHEAT [ ]

115. E 843

e-me-si-jo-[*jo*]
pa-na-so WHEAT 100 [
ta-ra-qo WHEAT [
ta-u-pa-me-we WHEAT [
·5 *a-ro-ja* [

4. *ta-u-pa-me-we* JC, MV: *ta-u-pa-du-we* Bennett.
5. *a-pa-ja* JC.

VI

RITUAL OFFERINGS

A LARGE number of texts record offerings to the gods and their human attendants and representatives. The data recorded may include (1) the date in the form of the month, (2) the name of the recipient usually in the dative, (3) the place where the shrine is, usually with the allative suffix *-de*, (4) a description of the offering, (5) the name of the festival.

THE KNOSSOS F SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 303 ff.)

One group of such texts, the KN Fp series, which were found along with the remains of their wooden container, forms a set. Each tablet begins with the name of a month and it has been suggested that they form part of a ritual calendar. It seems more probable, however, that these texts are simply store-room dockets accounting for the disbursement of oil, as is shown by the totalling formula in Fp 1 (see below on the similar Pylos series). The following categories of data are recorded.

Dates

The month names appearing on the Knossos Fp (= OIL) series are *a-ma-ko-to* (Fp 14), *de-u-ki-jo-jo* genitive (Fp 1), *di-wi-jo-jo* genitive (Fp 5), *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* (Fp 6+), *ra-pa-to* (Fp 13), and *wo-de-wi-jo* (Fp 16+). Above we have suggested the addition of *e-me-si-jo-jo* (see p. 234). In the majority of instances the word *me-no* (= *μην(ν)ός*) is added but it is written smaller and higher. The month name may thus be syntactically dissociated and be in the 'neutral' nominative as well as in the strictly correct temporal genitive. *Δίϝιος* is evidently derived from the divine name (cf. *Δῖος*). *Λάπατος* is known from an inscription of Orchomenos (Cauer–Schwyzer 667.3). On the Pylian months see below (p. 248).

Recipients

di-ka-ta-jo di-we 'to Dictaean Zeus' (Fp 1+); *pa-de* (Fp 1);

pa-si-te-o-i, written as one word 'to all the gods'[1] (Fp 1+); *qe-ra-si-ja* = Thērasia? (Fp 1+) (this might mean 'the Huntress', or like *Ἀθηναία*, etc., it might be a toponymic; cf. *Θήρα Θηρασία*. But the name of the island may itself be derived from that of the goddess; another suggestion (Furumark) connects the name with *τέρας*); *e-ri-nu*, cf. Demeter Erinys, (Fp 8); *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* 'the priestess of the winds' (Fp 1+; VC quote Hdt. vii 178: *Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται*; Pausanias iv. 35. 8 mentions a temple of *Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀνεμῶτις*); *pi-pi-tu-na* (Fp 13); *a-re* (Fp 14); *pa$_3$-ti* (Fp 15); *si-ja-ma-to* (Fp 48).

Destinations

da-da-re-jo-de 'to the ?Daidaleion' (Fp 1); *a-mi-ni-so* (Fp 1); **47-da-de* (Fp 1); **47-ku-to-de* (Fp 13); **85-ri-mo-de* (Fp 13); *di-ka-ta-de* (Fp 7); *u-ta-no* (Fp 13). Here, too, the 'neutral' nominative may stand for the strictly correct allative form.

116. Fp 1 (*Docs.* 200)

[?]-*de-u-ki-jo-jo me-no*

	di-ka-ta-jo/di-we	OIL 0/1/0
	da-da-re-jo-de	OIL 0/2/0
	pa-de	OIL 0/1/0
.5	*pa-si-te-o-i*	OIL 1/0/0
	qe-ra-si-ja	OIL 0/1[
	a-mi-ni-so/pa-si-te-o-i	OIL 0/1[
	e-ri-nu	OIL 0/0/3
	**47-da-de*	OIL 0/0/1
.10	*a-ne-mo/i-je-re-ja*	OIL 0/0/4
	Vacat	
	to-so	OIL 3/2/2

'In the month of *de-u-ki-jo*.
For Dictaean Zeus:
To the Daidaleion:
For Pa-de (??):

[1] Cf. Pausanias v. 15. 1: *ἔστιν οὖν βωμὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ* (cf. v. 14. 8).

For all the gods:
For *Qe-ra-si-ja*:
Amnisos: for all the gods:
For Erinys:
To **47-da*:
For the priestess of the winds:
So much:'

117. Fp 13 (*Docs.* 202)

*ra-pa-to 'me-no'/*47-ku-to-de* OIL 0/0/1 *pi-pi-tu-na* 0/0/1 **85-ri-mo-de* OIL 0/0/4 *pa-si-te-o-i* 0/1/0 *qe-ra-si-ja* 0/1/0 *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* OIL 1/0/0 *u-ta-no/a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* 0/1/2
'Month of Lapatos. To **47-ku-to*. For *Pi-pi-tu-na*. To **85-ri-mo*. For all the gods. For *Qe-ra-si-ja*. For the priestess of the winds. *U-ta-no*: for the priestess of the winds.'

In the above texts the sole commodity booked is oil, which, it may be surmised, was intended for ritual anointing. The Fs set found along with them are not dated and they list amounts of five or six foodstuffs in a constant order: BARLEY, FIGS, FLOUR, OIL, WINE, HONEY. These are standard ritual foodstuffs.[1]

118. Fs 3

BARLEY 0/1/0 FIGS 0/0/3
A-JU-MA-NA-KE me-na FLOUR 0/0/1 OIL 0/0/0/1

For the combination of a major and minor entry cf. Fs 11 (*QE-SA-MA-PA*$_2$+*ta-mi-te-mo*) Fs 4, (*A-RO-DO-RO-O*+*wa-ke-ta*).

F 953 and F 955, as Meriggi has suggested, may be the ends of a single tablet which begins with the month name *wo-de-wi-jo-jo*. The destinations]-*ri-jo-de* and *a-mi-ni-so-de* are preserved. As recipients we have *pa-de-i* (cf. *pa-de* above) and again *pa-si-te-o-i*. *pa-sa-ja* is new, but presumably a deity. The commodities recorded are the 'spices' *ko-no* (see p. 272) and KO (= coriander). We note here again the ideogram MA, used in measuring 'spices', which is often confused with the ideogram for WOOL (see p. 239).

[1] On the amounts see above, p. 233.

119. F 953 and F 955 (*Docs.* 203)

.1 *wo-de-*[*wi*]*jo-jo* / *me-*[*no*]*-ri-jo-de*

.2 *ko-no* MA 3 KO [ ] 1 *pa-de-i ko-no* MA 2 KO 0/1/0

.3*a*] *pa-si-te-o-i*

.3*b* *pa-sa-ja ko-no* ?[ ] *a-mi-ni-so-de* MA 2 KO 0/4/0

The ideogram after *a-mi-ni-so-de* has the extra stroke that distinguishes the WOOL sign (an error?).

'Month of *Wo-de-wi-jo* [ ] . . . to]*-ri-jo*. Ginger-grass: . . . . coriander: [ ] . . . For *Pa-de*,: ginger-grass, coriander. For *Pa-sa-ja*: ginger grass [. . .] to Amnisos for all the gods: ginger grass, coriander.

THE KNOSSOS Gg SERIES

The Gg series records offerings of jars of honey. The word *me-ri* occurs alongside an amphora surcharged with the syllabic sign *A*. Traces of dating are observable in] *me-no* (Gg 704), and possibly *me-na* (followed by *pa-si-te-o-i* in Gg 717). Recipients include *pa-si-te-o-i* (Gg 702+), *e-re-u-ti-ja* (cf. *Ἐλευθία*, a form known, significantly, in classical times from Messenia and Laconia). The Cretan form was different: *Εἰλειθυία*. The Mycenaean name is open to an attractive etymological interpretation consistent with the known functions of the divinity. It is to be connected with *ἐλεύθερος*, which in its turn links up with Latin *liber* (*Liber*, the god of growth and generation, *liberi* ('children')); cf. further Skt. *rodhati*, *rohati* 'grows', Gothic *liudan* 'grow'. VC quote *Od.* xix 188–90 for the connexion of E. with Amnisos.

The name of the goddess occurs in KN Od 714, 715, and 716 with the entry WOOL 1. This, however, is more likely to be the ideogram MA, so often confused with WOOL, so that what is booked is one unit of a ritual 'aromatic' and not a woollen garment (as *Docs.* p. 310).

Another divinity of the Gg series is *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, interpreted as *Λαβυρίνθοιο πότνια* (on *da* for *la* see LP 4. 40).

120. Gg 702 (*Docs.* 205)

pa-si-te-o-i / *meri* AMPHORA 1

da-pu$_2$*-ri-to-jo* / *po-ti-ni-ja* '*me-ri*' AMPHORA 1

'To all the gods honey: one amphora.
To the Lady of Labyrinthos, honey: one amphora'.

For the interpretation of *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* as a place see next text.
We list here for convenience KN V 52, which consists of two pieces not actually joined (*Docs.* 311).

121. V 52 (*Docs.* 208)

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja 1[. . .]
e-nu-wa-ri-jo 1 *pa-ja-wo-*[*ne*? 1] *po-se-da-*[*o-ne* 1?]

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja has no word-divider (cf. *pa-si-te-o-i*, *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*). The scribes seem to have been reluctant to divide a divine name. The case of the first component is ambiguous; but *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, *ne-wo-pe-o po-ti-ni-ja* favour the interpretation as genitive singular. The goddess will thus be called after the place of her shrine—'The Lady of Athana'. The name Ἀθηναία (Ἀθηνάα, Ἀθηνᾶ) is itself a toponymic descriptive.[1] *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* = Ἐννάλιος. This, too, may be a toponymic adjective if we are right in diagnosing *e-no-wa-ro* (An 654. 14) as a place-name. Ventris read *e-ṇwa-ri-jo* also on PY An 724: *e-to-ni-jo e-nwa-ri-jo* 'the *e-to-ni-jo* (this denoting a divine holding of land, see p. 212) of Enyalios'.

A number of texts included in the KN Od series appear to have the ideogram MA rather than WOOL. Od 666 lists amounts with an accuracy of weight inappropriate to wool.

122. Od 666

.a	*to-so o.* MA 14
.b]*KE-ME-NO*	**85-u-te a-pe-i-si*
Rev.:	
]*ke-re-wa*	MA 9/1/0/6
Edge:	
O-MU-KA-RA	MA 3/0/2/2

[1] See most recently F. Schachermeyr, *Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands*, 232 f., and LP 13. 567.

The first entry relates to an amount owing (*o.* = ὄφελος) from the *ke*]-*ke-me-no* land (cf. *ke-ke-me-na* X 664, a tablet from the same group in the Eighth Magazine). **85-u-te* may stand for *sjāwetes* 'this year'; cf. *za-we-te* = *kjāwetes* (p. 305). If this identification is correct, the Knossian form will have advanced farther towards the later (Doric) σᾶτες. The verb *a-pe-i-si* requires determination within the indicated semantic limits. The context is given as a deficit and the adjoining sentence must be a comment on this fact. Consequently, the sole available etymological equivalent for the syllabic group, ἄπεισι, must be endowed with an appropriate meaning: 'this year so much will come off'. Note the more advanced Knossian rendering of the dipthong *ei*.

The entries on the reverse and the edge refer to places connected with the said *ke*]-*ke-me-no*: *A*]-*ke-re-wa* (*vel sim.*), and Omykla (?). Thus in Knossos too we find named localities associated with a *damos* territory (see p. 218). Note the minute accuracy of the amounts recorded. (See Addendum.)

THE PYLOS Fr SERIES (1955)

(EB 8: LP *MLS* 15 Jan. 1958; *Trans. Phil. Soc. 1958.* 1–35; JC *MLS* 15 Jan. 1958)

No tablet dealing with oil had been found in the Archives Room and the Annexe until the excavations of 1954–6 brought to light such texts from four different parts of the palace. The chief text (Fr 1184) from Room 48 deals with the issue of oil for the manufacture of unguents (see pp. 269 ff.). Those found in 1955 have yielded precious information about Mycenaean divinities and cult.

123. Fr 343+1213

e-ti-we

po]-*se-da-o-ne re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* OIL[

'For Poseidon, festival of the Spreading of the Couch, oil perfumed with *e-ti-* : [.'

124. Fr 1194

]-*de* OIL+A 0/0/1 OIL[

'To ?, almond ?? OIL 0/0/1.'

125. Fr 1198

]UNGUENT 2/1/5

'Unguent 2/1/5.'

126. Fr 1200

]*pa-ko-we a-e-ti-to*[

'Oil perfumed with salvia but without *e-ti-*[.'

127. Fr 1201

]*ku-pa-ṛo-we to-so*[ ]34/2/0

'Oil perfumed with cyperus so much . . .] 34/2.'

128. Fr 1202

pa-ko-we

me-tu-wo ne-wo ma-te-re te-i-ja OIL+PA 5/1/4

'At the festival of the New Wine, to the Divine Mother, oil perfumed with salvia: wild olive ?? OIL 5/1/4.'

129. Fr 1203

ku-pa-ro-we wo-do-we OIL+PO 1/1/2

'Oil perfumed with cyperus and roses: palm ?? OIL 1/1/2.'

130. Fr 1204

ti-ri-se-ro-e wo-do-we OIL 0/0/0/1

'To the Clan Ancestor ?, oil perfumed with roses: OIL 0/0/0/1.'

131. Fr 1205

a-pi-qo-ro-i we-ja-re-pe OIL+PA 0/2/4

'To the two Handmaidens, oil for anointing garments: wild olive?? OIL 0/2/4.'

132. Fr 1206

po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja to-so qe-te-jo OIL+PA 5/0/4

'To the Lady of Aswos, so much to be paid??: wild olive OIL 5/0/4.'

133. Fr 1207

]-*so-de* OIL+A 0/0/3 *wo-do-we* 0/0/1[

0/0]/1

'To ?: almond?? OIL 0/0/3/, rose-perfumed: 0/0/1.'

134. Fr 1208

wo]-*do-we* OIL+PO 3/2/4

'Rose-perfumed palm?? OIL 3/2/4.'

135. Fr 1209+1211

pa-ki-ja-na-de e-ti-we OIL 0/0/? [

'To *Pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*), oil perfumed with *e-ti-*: OIL 0/0/?'

136. Fr 1215

wa-na-ke-te wa-na-se-wi-jo we-a-re-pe
sa-pe-ra OIL+RA

'To the King, at the festival of Wanassa, oil for anointing garments, *sa-pe-ra*: OIL+RA (=from radishes??).'

137. Fr 1216

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i pa-ko OIL+PA 1/0/2

'To the gods of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*), salvia: wild olive?? OIL 1/0/2.'

138. Fr 1217

e-ra$_3$*-wo pa-ko-we we-ja-re-pe* [
re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo
pa-ki-ja-na-de OIL+A 0/0/1

'Oil perfumed with salvia, for anointing garments, at the festival of the Spreading of the Couch, (sent), to *Pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*): almond?? OIL 0/0/1.'

139. Fr 1218

e-ra$_3$*-wo we-ja-re-pe po-ro-*[*wi-to*
di-pi-si-je-wi-jo OIL+A 0/1/0

'Oil for anointing garments, Navigation month, festival of the Thirsty (Dead): almond?? OIL 0/1/0.'

140. Fr 1219

wa-no-so-i po-se-da-o-ne OIL+A 0/0/2

'To the Two Queens (and) Poseidon: almond?? OIL 0/0 2.'

141. Fr 1220

ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro pa-ko-we OIL+PA 0/0/4
di-pi-si-jo-i wa-na-ka-te OIL+PA 0/1/0

'Country-side of *Ro-u-so*, oil perfumed with salvia: wild olive?? OIL 0/0/4.'

'To the Thirsty (Dead) and to the King: wild olive?? OIL 0/1/0.'

142. Fr 1221

po-ro-wi-to wa-na-se-wi-ja OIL+A 0/1/0

'Navigation month, festival of Wanassa; almond?? OIL 0/1/0.'

143. Fr 1222

OIL+PA 0/0/1

wa-na-so-i to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo

'To the Two Queens, festival of Lamentation (?): wild olive?? OIL 0/0/1.'

144. Fr 1223

ti-no-de e-ra-wo pa-ko-we we-a-re-pe OIL+A 0/2/0

wo-do-we-qe we-a-re-pe OIL+A 0/2/0

'To *Ti-no*, oil perfumed with salvia, for anointing garments: almond ?? OIL 0/2/0 and rose-perfumed oil, for anointing garments: almond?? OIL 0/2/0.'

145. Fr 1224

pa-ko-we e-ti-we

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no po-se-da-o-ne OIL+PA 0/0/0/2

'In the month of *Pa-ki-ja-ni-jo*, to Poseidon, oil perfumed with salvia and *e-ti-*: wild olive?? OIL 0/0/0/2.'

146. Fr 1225

e-ra$_3$-wo u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja

we-a$_2$-no-i a-ro-pa OIL+A 0/1/0

'Oil, for the Lady of *U-po*, unguent for garments; almond?? OIL 0/1/0.'

147. Fr 1226

ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro te-o-i pa-ko-we OIL+PA 0/0/3

'Country-side of *Ro-u-so*, for the (two?) gods, perfumed with salvia: wild olive?? OIL 0/0/3.'

148. Fr 1227

wa-na-ka-te wa-na-so-i OIL+PA[ ]/1/1

'To the King and the Two Queens: wild olive?? OIL 0/1/1/.'

149. Fr 1228

wa-na-so-i e-re-de OIL 0/0/1

'For the Two Queens, to Helos: OIL 0/0/1.'

150. Fr 1230

pi-jo-de OIL+A 0/0/1

'To Phia?: almond?? OIL 0/0/1.'

151. Fr 1231

po-ti-ni-ja di-pi-[*si*]*-jo-i* [
ke-se-ni-wi-jo[ ] OIL 0/1/0

'For Potnia (and) the Thirsty (Dead), at the festival the Banquet: ( ) OIL 0/1/0?'

152. Fr 1232

di-pi-si-jo-i po-ro-wi-to pa-ko-we OIL+PA 0/1/0

'For the Thirsty (Dead), Navigation month, oil perfumed with salvia: wild olive?? OIL 0/1/0.'

153. Fr 1233

]*pa-ki-ja-na-de* OIL+PA 0/0/1

'To *Pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*): wild olive?? OIL 0/0/1.'

154. Fr 1235

wa]*-na-so-i wa-na-ka-te pa-ko-*[*we*] OIL+PA 1
wa-na-so-i po-ti-ni-ja pa-ko-we OIL+PA 0/0/3

'For the Two Queens (and) the King, oil perfumed with salvia: wild olive?? OIL 1/0/0.'

'For the Two Queens (and) Potnia, oil perfumed with salvia: wild olive?? OIL 0/0/3.'

155. Fr 1236

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja OIL+PA 0/1/1

'Country-side of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*(*s*), for the Lady of *U-po*: wild olive?? OIL 0/1/1.'

156. Fr 1240

e-ra$_3$*-wo pa-ko-*[*we*
di-pi-si-jo e-qo-me-[
OIL+A 0/0/1

'Oil perfumed with salvia, for the attendants?? of the Thirsty (Dead): almond?? OIL 0/0/1.'

157. Fr 1242

a-ro-pa [
e-ra$_3$*-wo e-ṭi-*[*we*

'Unguent, oil perfumed with *e-ti-*: [.'

158. Fr 1244

me-ki-to-de[

'To *me-ki-to* . . . [.'

All the texts show the ideogram long since diagnosed as OLIVE OIL. They were all found in conjunction with storage vessels (see *AJA* 59. 1955. 35 and 60. 1956. 98 f.). Six of the texts show the word *e-rai-wo*[1] (Fr 1184, 1217, 1218, 1225, 1240, 1242) and a seventh the alternative spelling *e-ra-wo* (Fr 1223).

The ideogram sometimes appears in its plain form but more frequently it carries a surcharged syllabic sign (PA, A, WE) or an adjoined sign (*po*). One text (Fr 1215), according to Bennett (working from photographs), shows merely the sign RA used as an ideogram. But autopsy has shown that the vertical line of RA branches out upwards to the left to give a characteristic form of the OIL sign. We should therefore add OIL+RA to the surcharged forms. (See Addendum.)

Bennett (and others) have sought to find the meaning of the surcharged signs in certain correlations with the accompanying syllabic text. Of frequent occurrence are words ending in *-we*: *pa-ko-we*, *wo-do-we*, *ku-pa-ro-we*, *e-ti-we*. There is general agreement that these are adjectives in *-wen* and designate the type of perfume.

[1] For *rai* as the value of *33, see p. 19.

Now *pa-ko-we* invariably correlates with OIL+PA, and it appears self-evident that the surcharged sign is simply an abbreviation for the accompanying adjective. But *pa-ko-we* is found also with OIL+A (1217, 1240), and this type of oil is actually listed on one tablet (1223) with quantities both of *pa-ko-we* and of *wo-do-we* oil. *wo-do-we*, again, is found in conjunction with OIL, OIL+A, and OIL+*po*. The last form of the ideogram appears with a double perfume *wo-do-we ku-pa-ro-we* in 1203. There is thus imperfect correlation between the surcharged signs and the adjectives denoting the type of perfume. Another explanation must be sought.

Theophrastus, in discussing the various oils used as vehicles for perfumes and unguents (*de odoribus* 14 ff.), observes that oils differ in their receptivity according to their density and fattiness. While he gives pride of place in his own time to oil from *balanites Aegyptiaca* because of its low degree of fattiness, he goes on (15–16) ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν μάλιστα χρῶνται τῷ ὠμοτριβεῖ τῆς φαυλίας (wild olive) . . . φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ [ἐν] τῷ χρίσματι τὸ ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν ἀμυγδάλων. It is perhaps not accidental that the two sources of oil, φαυλία and ἀμύγδαλα, which Theophrastus here mentions consecutively have initial syllables which would be written PA and A in Linear B. If, then, these surcharged signs indicate the type of oil used as a vehicle, this provides us with an explanation of the plain sign: the absence of surcharged sign has a positive significance and this form of the ideogram then indicates OLIVE oil, which Theophrastus has to paraphrase τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν. There remains OIL+*po*. To hazard a guess at this we must make a choice among the words for known sources of myrepsic oils in antiquity: perhaps φοινίκινον? φοινίκινον μύρον is mentioned by Antiphanes (106. 4).

Descriptions of the oil

The oil is perfumed and described by adjectives in *-we(n)*: *ku-pa-ro-we* 'cyperus-(scented)'; *wo-do-we* = ϝορδόϝεν 'rose-scented'; *pa-ko-we* = σφακόϝεν 'salvia-(scented)'.

e-ti-we has been linked (M. Lejeune) 'etymologically' with ἔρτις· κρημνός (Hesychius) and the explanation is further explained

by another Hesychian gloss *κριμνούς· λευκάς τινας βοτάνας*. *a-e-ti-to* appears to mean 'having no *e-ti-t-*', the final consonant belonging to the stem of the basic noun (type *ἀ-θέμιτ-ο-ς*).

The word *e-rai-wo* (*ἔλαιϝον*) occurs 'superfluously' in Fr 1217, 1218, 1225, 1240 (spelt *e-ra-wo* in Fr 1223). *a-ro-pa* (Fr 1225, 1242) = *ἀλοιφά*. The phrase *we-a_2-no-i a-ro-pa* is self-evidently 'unguent for robes'. The basic verb is *wes* 'clothe' (Latin *vestis*). The sign a_2, as so often, stands where etymologically we should expect an aspirate. The phrase can hardly be separated from the frequent descriptive word *we-ja-re-pe* (*we-a-re-pe*), and I prefer Bennett's interpretation as *we(s)aleiphes*. No new spelling rule is involved: on the use of the palatalized signs to represent aspirates see pp. 37 ff. For the meaning Bennett quotes Theophrastus, *de odoribus* 69: *θαυμαστὴν δ' ὀσμὴν λαμβάνει τὰ ἱμάτια εἰς ταῦτα ⟨*sc. *μύρα ἐκ τῶν ἀρωμάτων⟩ τιθέμενα*.

A new set of texts provides an opportunity of testing previous interpretations and the methods by which they were arrived at. Analysis of texts of this category previously known had yielded the following categories of data: (1) recipients in the dative case, (2) destinations in the allative form, (3) indications of date in the form of month names in the genitive case (see above). Since these morphological categories occur in the present set, the first step must be to interpret the entries within this simple syntactical framework and then to devise procedures of verification for the religious picture which emerges from this strict philological method. We proceed accordingly.

Destinations

The place-names are all previously known. *pa-ki-ja-na-de* (see p. 232). *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro* (Fr 1236) is paralleled by *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* (Fr 1220, 1226), known also from PY Un 47. 1 and Vn 10. 4. Since in the last text material for the chariot workshop is to be provided by the wood-cutters, I am inclined to see in the *a-ko-ro* (*ἀγροί*) the 'wasteland' of the places concerned. *ti-no-de* (Fr 1223) proves conclusively that *ti-no* is a place-name (see p. 220). *e-re-de* may be connected with *e-re-i* (Helos) on the assumption that the lative *-de* is added to the *e*-grade of the stem: *Heles-de*. For *pi-jo-de*

the only connexion with a previously known Pylian place-name is *pi-*82*, long ago interpreted by the writer as *pi-ja(i)* = *Phia(i)*. The spelling alternation *jo* × *ja* is paralleled in the ethnic *e-pi-jo-ta-na* (Aa 95), *e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja* (Ad 687); cf. *qe-ra-si-ja / qe-ra-si-jo* (KN Fp 16). Another instance of *o* × *a* is to be seen in these texts in *wa-no-so-i* × *wa-na-so-i* (see below, and p. 123).

Dates

po-ro-wi-to (Fr 1221, 1232) is the 'neutral' nominative (see p. 236) of the same month name *po-ro-wi-to-jo* as occurs at the head of the 'calendar' in Tn 316 (see p. 261 ff.). We have interpreted it as *Plowistos*, the 'sailing month' (see further below, p. 254). *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* presents the full date formula familiar from Knossos (see above, p. 236). The name is evidently theophoric: see below on *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i*. *me-tu-wo ne-wo* is now read as two words. If it is the name of a month it may perhaps be in the 'neutral' nominative, to judge from the form of the adjective. In that case we must either postulate a new noun **μέθυον* as a by-form of *μέθυ*, or assume a mistake of congruence on the part of the scribe and read (with Bennett) *ne-wo-⟨jo⟩*. As Bennett argues (p. 20), a month of 'the new wine' points to the spring of the year (cf. the festival *Pithoigia* at the Anthesteria): Bennett compares further *νεοηνία* (*leg.* *νεοοινία*) *ἑορτὴ Διονύσου*. Below we shall argue that this is, in fact, the name of a festival and in the genitive plural.

Recipients

These are in the dative case and distinct from the destinations (see p. 225). Self-evident is *ma-te-re te-i-ja* = *Ματρεὶ θείᾳ* (Fr 1202), though who the 'Divine Mother' was is uncertain.[1] *po-se-da-o-ne*, who remained the Arcadian god *par excellence* down to classical times, needs no further comment (on his name see below, p. 255). *te-o-i* (Fr 1226) are nameless gods (plural or dual), presumably sufficiently identified by the 'destination' *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*. On the anonymous pair of divinities *thea* and *theos* in the Eleusinian cult see A. Persson, *Prehistoric Religion*, 150.

a-pi-qo-ro-i is likewise dativa l in appearance. A. Evans (*PoM*

[1] See below for further discussion.

ii 340) has suggested that the Minoan Dia was associated with a pair of handmaidens often accompanying the goddess in religious scenes. The syllabic groups etymologize satisfactorily as *Ἀμφι-q^{w}όλοιϊν*.

di-pi-si-jo-i looks like *Διψίοι(h)ι*: on a possible interpretation as 'The Thirsty Ones', see below.

pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i (Fr 1216) are simply 'The gods of *Pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*' (cf. the *te-o-i* of *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*). I take it as an abbreviated version of *pa-ki-ja-na-de te-o-i*. We may compare **47-so-i* (KN Fh 357. 1) and the corresponding allative form **47-so-de* (KN Fh 351); but the former reading is suspect.

wa-na-so-i (spelt *wa-no-so-i* Fr 1219) falls easily into this category. It is the dative dual of *wanassa* (see p. 47). *Wanassa* is known as the name of the Cypriot goddess identified with Astarte, and a *basileus* of Paphos was her priest: *Τιμοχάριϝος βασιλέϝος τᾶς ϝανάσσας τῶ ἰϝερέος* (Cauer–Schwyzer 681. 2; cf. 681. 4). For Arcadia we have evidence for two 'Great Goddesses'; cf. Pausanias, viii. 37. 9: *ταύτην μάλιστα θεῶν σέβουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Δέσποιναν, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν Ποσειδῶνός φασιν εἶναι καὶ Δήμητρος* (see Nilsson *GGR* i 448 ff.).

wa-na-ka-te. The designation 'The Queen' is widespread in the ancient Near East as the cult title of the Mother Goddess (LP 20. 6). In the vegetation cult 'The Queen' is closely linked with a youthful consort who dies and is resurrected. In many languages he is called simply 'The Lord' (e.g. Adonis). *Wanax* appears to be the Mycenaean correspondent. This identification agrees with the conclusions reached by analysis of post-Mycenaean usage of the cult-title *ϝάναξ* (BH 2). *Wanax* appears in conjunction with the 'Two Queens' (Fr 1227, 1235). Such a combination is depicted on the well-known ivory from Mycenae. C. Picard (*Relig. préhellénique*, 83), in commenting on this representation of the Mycenaean 'divine family', recalls the 'Deux Déesses éleusiniennes avec l'enfant divin, Dionysos *parapaizon*'. He compares also 'les idoles jumelées minoennes entre lesquelles se montre symboliquement une tête de taurillon' (on the significance of *qo-u-ka-ra* 'tête de taurillon' in Ta 711 see below, p. 341). Perhaps even more germane to our interpretation of 'The Lord (and) the

Two Queens' are the remarks of G. Mylonas (*Ancient Mycenae*, 65): 'A group which can serve as a parallel to the ivory of the Palace, but in terracotta, was found by Tsountas in tomb No. 79 of Mycenae. The terracotta group is composed of two female figurines of the well-known *Φ* type, attached to each other at the side and bearing on their connected shoulder a seated child.'

Another example was found in 1954 in the cemetery of Voula. Again, like the ivory, these twin female figures and the child may be representations of our *wanassō* and *wanax*.

po-ti-ni-ja is preceded by a noun in the genitive *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (Fr. 1225, 1236; cf. Fn 187. 8). This and other similar genitives I interpret as names of cult centres, such divine titulature being a commonplace (see *Gnomon* 39. 1957. 567 with the reference to Schachermeyr, and *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* above). *a-si-wi-ja* is similarly to be interpreted as a toponymic adjective (E. Townsend-Vermeule compares Zeus Asios, = 'of Asos' (in Crete), and Athena Asia).

Po-ti-ni-ja in this set always appears unqualified. This may refer to the local Potnia, who needs no further specification (see below on Tn 316). However, 'The Lady' or 'The Mistress' likewise recurs as a religious title in the ancient Near East for a particular divinity (LP 23. 9 f.), and we cannot exclude the possibility that a goddess of a particular type may have been designated as Potnia. A possible candidate is the Minoan-Mycenaean counterpart of the Peloponnesian Artemis, closely associated with the Arcadian great goddesses and Poseidon (Nilsson, *GGR*, i 451). Nilsson identifies her with the Minoan-Mycenaean *πότνια θηρῶν*, ibid. i 285 ff.

Festivals

The remaining words are *wa-na-se-wi-jo*, *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*, *ke-se-ni-wi-jo*, *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, *to-no-e-ke-re-ri-jo*. The first two are evidently derivatives from the nouns of datival appearance which feature as 'recipients': *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i*. *wa-na-se-wi-ja* was previously attested from Ta 711. 2. 3, where I interpreted it

as an adjective from *wanassa* describing the *qe-ra-na* = 'decorated with Wanassa' (see p. 353). The last two are characterized by the suffix *-te-ri-jo*. This is found with festival names of the type *Anthesteria*, *Plunteria*, etc. We interpret the whole group tentatively as names of festivals in the genitive plural.[1] A severe test will be imposed since we shall expect the festivals to be those of the Mesopotamian vegetation cult which the previous analysis has disclosed.

re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo was 'etymologically' interpreted by Bennett (*Docs.* 407) as λεχεστρωτήριον. The interpretation there attributed to him 'for bed coverings' cannot be right, and he has since retracted it. λέχος στρῶσαι means 'make up, prepare the bed'. Now H. Frankfort (*Divine Kingship*, 295 ff.) quotes a Sumerian hymn (*Sumerian Religions Texts*, No. 1, Col. V): 'A couch has been set for My Lady . . . Put it for My Queen on that couch. On its . . . the blanket is arranged for her, a blanket delighting the heart, to make the bed good.' Theocritus at a much later date (xv 127) writes ἔστρωται κλίνα τὠδώνιδι τῷ καλῷ apropos of the embraces of the divine pair. Thus a festival 'The Preparation of the Couch' fits admirably into our context. Bennett, who subsequently propounded a similar view, quotes further *IG* 2^2. 1328 στρωννύειν θρόνους δύο ὡς καλλίστους referring to the Atthideia conducted by the Orgeones of the Great Mother in Athens (Bennett, 1958, 31). He has not seen that this reference to the *two* θρόνοι may explain the mysterious *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* of Fr 1217, for the first part of the compound[2] is the expected dual of λέχος, λέχεε, which would be written *re-ke-e*. *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* (ξενϝίων) may be interpreted as 'The Entertainment, Banquet'. A. S. F. Gow (*ad* Theocr. xv 265) writes: 'in front of the couch are tables bearing a lavish display of food.' According to Frankfort, 'the union of god and goddess vouchsafed prosperity for the year to come and was followed by a banquet which cast the spell of abundance

[1] The *wa-na-se-wi-ja* (Fr 1221) is in the 'neutral' nominative; cf. *po-ro-wi-to-jo*, *po-ro-wi-to*.

[2] The surprising form of the compound may be explained by the loose cohesion of components in Mycenaean as attested by the occasional use of the word-divider (see LP 4. 43).

which the rite, objectivating the seasonal forces, attempted to inspire'.

to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo. The analysis is evidently *to-no-* (noun) *e-ke-* verbal root+suffix *-tērio(n)*. The only word which the lexicon offers to fit *-e-ke-te-ri-jo* is *ἐγερτήριον. στονο-εγερτήριων* 'the Raising of the Lamentation' would fit our context admirably, since lamentation everywhere forms a major theme of Tammuz rituals. Bennett's 'Drawing of the Throne' evokes no such confirmatory echoes, and so cannot claim preference.

Thus far the method of interpretation has been to assign the separate data to semantic categories simply determined by their morphological characteristics[1] and to seek for verifications of the items thus diagnosed in accounts of Mycenaean religion based on the 'picture book' represented by Mycenaean-Minoan artefacts and on later survivals in post-Mycenaean Greece. We now propose to integrate the items thus elucidated, for evidently they must represent merely different aspects of the total religious events which gave rise to the disbursement of the oil. Insistence on the integration of the separate data recorded in these texts affords an internal type of verification, where each interpretation is a check on the others. The method may be seen at its most complex in the discussions on the entry *di-pi-si-jo-i*. The sole anchor in later Greek for this is the dative plural of *δίψιος*. Bennett also takes it thus, but he prefers to regard this dative as locative. The noun he takes as referring to attendants of some god, and he translates 'Among the Dipsioi for Wanax'. I prefer to take the dative in its normal Greek function of indicating the recipients and I originally suggested (LP 20) that 'the Thirsty Ones' might be a personification of parched nature.

W. K. C. Guthrie, however, has adduced evidence (*BICS* 6. 1959. 49 f.) which makes it plausible to take the 'thirsty ones' as 'the dead'. The texts offer an opportunity of devising a form of verification for this attractive suggestion.

Fr 1232 reads *di-pi-si-jo-i po-ro-wi-to pa-ko-we* OIL+PA. Now,

[1] We give a further example of the neglect of this principle. KN Fh 353 reads *ra-ma-na-de de-ma-si* OIL 0/1/0. Again we have a contrast of allative form in *-de* for the destination and dative *de-ma-si* for the recipients. VC translate the latter word 'in leather bottles' (*Docs.* p. 390).

as we have seen, *po-ro-wi-to* was diagnosed as the name of a month. It occurs in the present texts also in association with *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* (Fr 1218) and *wa-na-se-wi-ja* (cf. *wa-na-se-wi-jo* Fr 1215). Bennett, who also recognizes 'festivals' as a category of entries, takes *wa-na-se-wi-ja* as an adjective referring to the type of offering: 'the Wanasseian'. As a consequence he is forced to adopt another explanation for *wa-na-se-wi-jo* in Fr 1215, where he takes the word as the name of a shrine in the locative, despite the evidence which leads us to expect an allative form. It is, however, possible to operate with greater economy of hypotheses strictly within the established schema, with which Bennett is in agreement. *wa-na-se-wi-ja* / *-jo* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*, as we have seen, can be regarded as derivatives from the corresponding words in the dative, which we took 'economically' again to be recipient divinities. Thus both derivatives can be accommodated easily within the established category of festivals, and there is no difficulty about the alternative forms in *-ja* / *-jo* since they are merely nominative and genitive respectively of *Wanassewija* neuter plural, 'Festival of Wanassa'. The strict and most 'economical' philological interpretation thus yields a complex of facts which, to be plausible, must have internal coherence and be capable of verification by reference to external evidence bearing on Mycenaean religion.

The proposed 'Festival of the Thirsty (Dead)' immediately recalls the Anthesteria (Nilsson, *GGR*[2] i. 111 ff., 167, 549 ff., 561 ff., Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 93–123), which we may now set in parallel with our tentative findings. The first day was the Pithoigia, the festival of the opening of the casks. It can hardly be an accident that in Fr 1202, as we saw, we have the date formula *me-tu-wo ne-wo*. Above the morphological difficulties were noted; but a festival name is likely to be in the neuter plural, and if this is the case here, we need no longer be troubled by the reading (genitive of the date) or indeed of the possible absence of the word-divider. A 'Festival of the New Wine' fits remarkably well into the context suggested by the experimental determination of the meaning of *di-pi-si-jo-i*.

The second day of the Anthesteria was taken up by a *hieros*

gamos between Dionysos and the wife of the Archon Basileus. Deubner observes that it was usual among the Greeks for the priests and priestesses to play the part of the divinities in the cultus. Consequently the Basilinna may well have been the representative in the cultus of the Mother Goddess. At any rate authorities are agreed that the festival on the day of the Choes was an authentic *hieros gamos*. Once again we must decide whether it is an accident that the entry *re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (Fr 343, 1217) in these texts readily interprets as λεχεστρωτηρίων, which again I take as genitive plural meaning 'at the Spreading of the Couch' and referring to a *hieros gamos*.

After the sacred wedding at the Anthesteria followed drinking and revelry, which as elsewhere doubtless symbolized the blessings and bounty which the wedding rite was intended to procure. Here, too, our texts offer an appropriate word *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* (Fr 1231, this time in association with *po-ti-ni-ja di-pi-si-jo-i*), which again may be genitive plural of ξένια 'The Banquet'. We note that the festival for the dead began on the evening of the Choes (Nilsson, *GGR* i 167), this technically marking the beginning of the third day of the Anthesteria, the Chytroi. Thus there are no difficulties in the way of accepting the interpretation of *di-pi-si-jo-i* as 'to the thirsty (dead)' or to taking the derivative *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* as the genitive plural of the name of the corresponding festival.

Before approaching the final step in this procedure of verification we summarize the provisional results. On the Mycenaean side the most 'economical' mode of interpretation has yielded a complex of religious events: The new Wine—The Spreading of the Couch—The Banquet—The Festival of the Thirsty (Dead). Guthrie's interpretation of the last item enables us to set these entries in parallel with the successive phases of the Attic Anthesteria. What of the linkage with *po-ro-wi-to*? Since the interpretation of this word was suggested early in 1954 before the recovery of the present set of texts, this will again function as a 'prediction' which now faces verification. It read '*Πλωϝιστός*, the month when navigation becomes possible again . . . ' (*Eranos* 53. 1955. 11, previously *MLS* 26 v 54). Thus the final step in our verification

must be simply to ask whether a month of this name and meaning is appropriate to the complex of rites which our interpretation of the syllabic groups has suggested. It will perhaps suffice to quote the words of Nilsson apropos of the Anthesteria: 'The epiphany of Dionysos in spring became a festival of the resumption of navigation because he came from over sea . . .' (*GGR* i 550).

There is thus satisfactory integration between the various items of our interpretation and a high degree of parallelism between the general picture which has emerged and the Attic Anthesteria. The verificatory experiment suggested by Guthrie's interpretation of *di-pi-si-jo-i* allows us to suppose that this set of tablets was concerned with the issue of holy and precious oil on the occasion of a group of festivals with components similar to those of the Anthesteria. These findings also support those scholars who have followed Thucydides (2. 15. 4; see Deubner, op. cit. 122 f.) in ascribing a high antiquity to the rites of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις*. This designation now assumes a new significance in the present context, which has indicated a close parallelism between his rites and those of the Mycenaean Peloponnese. Nilsson has noted the association of the Arcadian great goddesses (our *Wanassō*?) with Poseidon and Artemis and has stressed the connexion of the whole group with swamps and underground water (*GGR* i 451, 453).

This theme of underground water leads back to Poseidon and his oriental analogues. In the vegetation cult the Mother Goddess and the Young God, her son and husband, who dies and is resurrected, are associated with a god of the underground waters. In Sumerian he is called EN. KI 'Lord of the Earth'. Attention was drawn in an earlier paper (LP 123. 24) to names of similar meaning in other oriental languages and religions. Thus Hurrian has *Irbitiga* and from Canaanite sources we know of a title *Baʿal Arṣ* 'Lord of the Earth' applied to Aliyan, likewise connected with underground waters (Dhorme, 1949, p. 362). Recently J. G. Macqueen (*Anatolian Studies*, 1959. 171 ff.) has suggested that the Hattic *Wurunkatte* may be so interpreted. Stressing the connexion of these Hattian gods with underground water he writes (p. 175[15]): 'Is there, for instance, any connection between EN. KI

"Lord of the Earth" and Wurunkatte, whose name is usually translated "King of the Land", but may well be "King of the Earth"?' However, for the student of Mycenaean contacts with the Orient, Canaanite Ugarit is of the greatest significance. The prominence of Poseidon in the Linear B texts and his close association with 'Queens' and again with 'The Lord' or 'The King' give new plausibility to P. Kretschmer's interpretation of *Posei-dā-ōn* as 'Lord (*posei*, fossilized vocative of invocation as in *Iu-piter*) of the Earth'. The trinity of terms The Lord—the Queen(s)—The Lord of the Earth in Mycenaean cult now presents such a striking parallel to the corresponding oriental titles that we must conclude that they owe their genesis in Greek to translation. This corroborates a brilliant observation by F. Schachermeyr (1950, 19) that the non-Greek post-position of the genitive in *Posei-da(s)* argues a 'calque' translation from a non-Greek source. The translation will have been effected into a Greek dialect which used δᾶ as its word for 'earth'. That this was Cypriot is suggested by ἐνδαίδες, the title of the Nymphs (Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i 202; further LP 23. 7 ff., 24 ff.).

The picture of an Aegean Oriental religious κοινή which emerges from our analysis is consistent with previous findings by students of Minoan-Mycenaean religion (see LP 20 for discussion and references, to which add the article by Guthrie cited above). Within this framework, if it is established, we may venture to set other parallels. F. Schachermeyr (*Poseidon*, 31) apropos of the invocation of Poseidon as *wanax*, 'which is to be understood in a chthonic sense', notes his connexion with Medusa, whom he identifies with Demeter Erinys of Arcadia. Medusa, he argues, was originally thought of as a mare, and this figure appears elsewhere as the Melaina of Phigaleia and the Boeotian Melanippe. 'The name Medusa belongs to the category of camouflaged names of underworld deities, whose names were not known or they were unwilling to pronounce, like Despoina, Kore, "the Great Goddesses", and also like *Wanax*, etc.' The combination of a horse-god with The Queen (for this is the meaning of *Μέδουσα*) is peculiar, and it can hardly be an accident that such a combination is also known among the gods of Kaniš. Apropos of the Horse God

A. Goetze writes (*Kleinasien*[2] 134): 'A divinity "The Queen" is frequently associated with Perwas [this is the name of the Horse God].'

One final entry in the above texts may now be reconsidered as a point of methodology. *ma-te-re te-i-ja* is self-evidently 'to the divine mother'.[1] Guthrie (op. cit. 40) takes her to be the Earth herself, and he dissociates the entry from the later mythological figure Theia, daughter of Gaia, quoting with approval the dictum of Wilamowitz that she was unknown in the cultus. It is, however, possible to point to yet another exactly equivalent cult title from Anatolian sources. Macqueen (op. cit. 255) calls attention to the *šiwanzanniš* (^{SAL} AMA. DINGIR ^{LIM}) 'mother of god', the title of a priestly office which was 'vitally linked to the queenship of the Hittite Empire'. He argues further (p. 186): 'the close connection between the queen and the Sun-goddess . . . suggests that it was primarily she who was the Sun-goddess's "mother of god" while the other "mothers of god" were priestesses of other deities, or minor priestesses under the queen.' The question now arises whether it is legitimate, in view of the other coincidences of titles between the two religious spheres, to equate *ma-te-re te-i-ja* with *šiwanzanniš*. The alternative is to dismiss this as yet another coincidence. The vital fact is the complex 'cluster resemblance' of which *ma-te-re te-i-ja* is merely one component. Scholars who reject the likelihood of accidental resemblance will be inclined to see behind this Mycenaean title the figure of the queen of Pylos. Was her secular title *wanassa*, and was she the earthly counterpart of the goddess *wanassa* as the king was of *wanax* the Young God? (See Addendum.)

Finally it is within this context of a religious κοινή that *te-o-jo do-e-ro* and *te-o-jo do-e-ra* find their explanation. They may be the Mycenaean counterpart of the Babylonian *shirku*, feminine *shirkatu*. Dhorme (op. cit. 213 f.) writes: 'C'est à tort qu'on a traduit par "esclave du temple". En réalité, comme indique le verb *sharâku* "donner", le *shirku* est un "oblat". . . . Ils étaient offerts à la divinité par leurs maîtres, soit par leurs parents.' Thus

[1] Cf. Pausanias' description of Messene, iv. 31–36: θεῶν δε ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστί. καὶ οὗ μάλιστα ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς θεῶν . . . .

doeros (δόελος) may well be a derivative of the root *dŏ* 'give' and the term one more 'calque' based on foreign models.

MISCELLANEOUS

159. Un 2 (*Docs.* 97)

pa-ki-ja-si mu-jo-me-no e-pi wa-na-ka-te
a-pi-e-ke o-pi-te-ke-e-u
BARLEY 16/4 CYPERUS (?) 0/1/3 0. 0/0/5
FLOUR 1/2 OLIVES 3/2 *132 0/2 ME 0/1
FIGS 1 OX 1 RAMS 26 EWES 6 HE-GOATS 2 SHE-GOATS 2
PIG+SI 1 SOWS 6 WINE 20/1 *146 2

The recipient of this magnificent offering is more likely to be the divine than the earthly *wanax*. VC assume that *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* is a mistake and identify him with the *o-pi-te-u-ke-u* who appears in humble craftsman company in An 39. 4. 9, Fn 41. 14, 50. 8. The core of our word is, however, a neuter *s*-stem *te-ko(s)*. The identification as *'Επιστεγεεύς* finds some support in the *"Ηρως 'Επιτέγιος* who is conjoined with the *Ἄνακε* (see LP 20. 28 ff.). If we interpret as 'He who is in charge of the *στέγος*', the edifice of the *wanax* here referred to may be similar to that discussed by Persson (op. cit. 139): 'Hyakinthos lay buried under an altar-like edifice . . . a low bronze door beside the altar enabled the worshipper to send down parts of the sacrificial animals to the dead during the festivals.'

The participle *mu-jo-me-no* was interpreted by Chadwick (JC 10. 125) as *μυιομένῳ* (*ἐπὶ ϝανάκτει*) 'at the initiation of the Wanax'. The syntax, involving a non-Greek gerundival construction, is difficult, and 'initiation' can hardly apply to the god *wanax*. Another possibility now presents itself. There are a significant number of instances where *r* and *j* interchange (LP 4. 36 f.). If we choose this, the only other possibility which the dictionary offers, the contextual and syntactical difficulties disappear: *μυρόμενος ἐπὶ ϝανάκτει* 'making lament over the Wanax'. But an interpretation which relies on a dubious spelling rule is unsatisfactory. In the circumstances the verb is best identified as *μυιόμενος*. What the precise religious significance was in Mycenaean

times is hard to tell. If, however, 'initiation' involved a process of rebirth, it is not impossible that the operation designated by the verb may have been concerned with the resurrection of the dead *wanax*. If so, this text will fit into the complex of festivals just discussed. The operative verb *a-pi-e-ke* may be one more example (*ἀπύ*+aorist) of the ritual verb *i(j)e-* discussed below (p. 265). If so, the post-Mycenaean equivalent is the denominative *ἀφιερόω*, which is used, appropriately enough, in connexion with Lato and Apollo (*OGI* 746. 2). I translate: 'At *Pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*, *performing some religious operation* over the Wanax, the guardian of the *Stegos* consecrated (the following offerings).' [See Addendum]

Un 219 lists names in the dative against which are booked commodities of various kinds indicated by syllabic signs many of which are encountered in the Ma texts (see pp. 300 ff.): *tu-wo* = *thuos*, O, PE, KA, TE, U, MA, RA, KO, ME, WI, KE. The recipients are both (*a*) gods and (*b*) their associates: (*a*) *pa-de-we* (cf. KN *pa-de*), *a-ti-mi-te*, *wa-na-ka-te*, *po-ti-ni-ja* (both on l. 7), *e-ma-a_2*; (*b*) *e-ke-ra-⟨wo⟩-ne*, *ka-ru-ke*, *te-qi-⟨-ri⟩-jo-ne*, *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, *da-ko-ro-i*, *di-pte-ra-po-ro*, *a-ka-wo-ne*, *ra-wa-ke-ta*. All these are discussed elsewhere (see Glossary).

160. Un 219

e-ke-ra-ne tu-wo 2 O. 4[
pa-de-we O. 1 *pa-de-we* O. 1
ka-ru-ke PE 2 KA 1 O. 6
te-qi⟨-ri⟩-jo-ne O. 1 *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* KA 1
a-ti-mi-te O. 1 *da-ko-ro-i* O. 1
di-pte-ra-po-ro RA 1 O. 3 *ko-ro-*[ ] 1
wa-na-ka-te TE 1 *po-ti-ni-ja*[
e-[*ra*] U 1 *e-ma-a_2* U 1 PE[
a-ka-wo-ne MA 1 *pa-ra-*[ ] 2
ra-wa-ke-ta MA 1 KO 1 [ ] ME 1 O. 1 WI 1
KE 1

Vacant 6

8. *e-*[ ]*-u* Bennett: *e-*[*ra*] U 1 L.R.P. (See Addendum.)

An 35

The first paragraph of this text deals with *to-ko-do-mo* (see p. 131). The second appears to deal with an entirely different subject. It was perhaps intended to break off the lower half, which reads:

a-ta-ro tu-ru-pte-ri-ja o-no MA+RU 2 SHE-GOATS 4 *146 3 WINE
10 FIGS 4.

Another text of similar formulation is:

161. Un 443+998.

ku-pi-ri-jo tu-ru-pte-ri-ja o-no MA+RU 10 *146 10
po-re-no-zo te-ri-ja MA+RU 3
]*do-ke ka-pa-ti-ja* BARLEY 1 *te-ri-ja* WHEAT 2
MA+RU 5

ka-pa-ti-ja we know from the E series as a religious official, the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, while the compound word *po-re-no-zo* recalls dimly the phrase *po-re-na a-ke* of Tn 316 (see p. 266). (See Addendum for new reading.)

The ideogram MA+RU is that often confused with WOOL: (see pp. 237 ff.) and occurs in 'aromatic' contexts. The word *o-no* is of frequent occurrence in the KN Fh series, often in conjunction with *ku-pi-ri-jo*, and *ku-pi-ri-jo* occurs along with *ku-pa-ro* (Ga 517) and *ko-ri-ja-do-no* (Ga 676). The 'aromatic' affinities are thus apparent. *tu-ru-pte-ria* fits morphologically into the 'festival' words. *o-no* appears in other contexts. Ua 158, recording quantities of *146 WHEAT and FIGS, begins *ke-do-jo o-na*, which appears to be the plural of *o-no*. In KN Fh 348 *o-no* appears in parallel with *qe-te-o*, which occurs again in the new Pylos texts Fr 1206, 1241 (*qe-te-jo*). The phrase *qe-te-a*$_2$ *pa-ro du-ni-jo* occurs in PY Un 138. Thus *o-no* and *qe-te-jo* appear to be technical names for offerings. As a pair in semantic 'opposition' they etymologize well as *ὦνον* and *q*^{w}*ειτέον*, although the latter involves the abandonment of the etymological connexion of the Greek verbal adjective with the Sanskrit *-tavya*. But there is no evidence in Greek for the digamma, and the two gerundival formations may be parallel: the Greek

based on the verbal noun in *-tei/ti*, and the Sanskrit on *-teu/-tu*. 'Purchase' and 'payment' are peculiar names for offerings except in the context of a ritual 'gift-exchange' machinery. This is well established for Vedic India, and the *do ut des* principle lies at the basis of Roman transactions with the gods (see LP 10 *passim*).

However, against the above interpretation we must set the fact that it dissociates the second paragraph of An 35 from the craftsmen listed in the first; that the amounts of wine and figs show the 6:8 ratio discussed above (p. 14); and that the amounts 180:240 'choenices' are exactly divisible by the number of craftsmen (12), so that the amounts represent rations for 20 days.

162. Tn 316 (*Docs.* 172)

Obv.:

po-ro-wi-to-jo

PU-RO { *i-je-to-qe pa-ki-ja-si do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe* / *a-ke po-ti-ni-ja* GOLD CUP 1 WOMAN 1

ma-ṇa-sa GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1 *po-si-da-e-ja* GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1

ti-ri-se-ro-e GOLD CUP 1 *do-po-ta* GOLD CUP 1

Vacat

PU-RO 7–10 Vacant

Rev.:

PU-RO { *i-je-to-qe po-si-da-i-jo a-ke-qe wa-tu* / *do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke* / GOLD CUP 1 WOMEN 2 *qo-wi-ja* [. .] *ko-ma-we-te-ja*

PU-RO { *i-je-to-qe pe-re-*82-jo i-pe-me-de-ja-⟨jo?⟩-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe* / *do-ra-qe pe-re-po-re-na-qe a-⟨ke⟩ pe-re-*82* GOLD + BOWL 1 WOMAN 1 / *i-pe-me-de-ja* GOLD + BOWL 1 *di-u-ja* GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1 / *e-ma-a_2/a-re-ja* GOLD CUP 1 MAN 1

PU-RO
i-je-to-qe di-u-jo do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke
di-we GOLD BOWL I MAN I *e-ra* GOLD BOWL I WOMAN I
.10 *di-ri-mi-jo / di-wo i-je-we* GOLD BOWL I?
Vacat

PU-RO Vacant

Obv.: *PU-RO* is uncertain. Only the lower part of the signs is visible and the external lines of the first sign have a concave appearance markedly different from those on the reverse, while the right-hand line reaches too far up to allow room for the top of *pu*.[1]

PU-RO is written large enough to encompass the whole paragraph in each case and this fact must be utilized in the interpretation.

We translate: 'Navigation Month

PYLOS? A ceremony of consecration was held[2] at *Pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* and gifts were brought and the *po-re-na* were purified. For Potnia: GOLD BOWL I WOMAN I.

For *Ma-na-sa*: GOLD BOWL I WOMAN I, For Posidaeia: GOLD CUP I WOMAN I.

For the Clan Ancestor: GOLD CUP I. For the House Lord: GOLD CUP I.

PYLOS? Blank.

Rev.:

PYLOS: A ceremony of consecration was held[2] in the shrine of Poseidon and the town was purified, and gifts were brought and the *po-re-na* were purified:

GOLD CUP I WOMAN 2 (decoration) Bull . . . with foliage.

PYLOS: A ceremony of consecration was held[2] in the shrines of the Dove Goddess and Iphimedeia and Diwia and gifts were brought and the *po-re-na* were purified. For the Dove Goddess: GOLD BOWL I WOMAN I.

[1] In the blank part of the obverse the scribe has practised certain signs, notably *mi* and *re*. In the bottom right-hand corner *ti-mi-to* is clearly legible.

[2] Or 'sacrifice was made' (see below).

For Iphimedeia: GOLD BOWL 1. For Diwia: GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1.

For Hermes Areias: GOLD CUP 1 MAN 1.

PYLOS: A ceremony of consecration held (or: sacrifice was made) in the shrine of Zeus and gifts were brought and the *po-re-na* were purified.

For Zeus: GOLD BOWL 1 MAN 1. For Hera: GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1.

For *Di-ri-mi-jo* son of Zeus: GOLD BOWL 1 [ ].'

(*Docs.* 284–9; LP 5; CG. 1. 35 ff., 3. 225, 4. 151).

The ideograms refer to GOLD[1] VESSELS in conjunction with MEN and WOMEN. The divine recipients are (recto) *po-ti-ni-ja* (Obv. 3) at *pa-ki-ja-si*; *ma-ṇa-sa*, evidently a feminine divinity, *po-si-da-e-ja*, a feminine counterpart of *po-se-da-o(n)*. *ti-ri-se-ro-e* has been brought into connexion (BH 1) with the τριτοπάτορες, 'divinities worshipped at Athens, to whom prayers were offered ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων' (*LSJ* s.v.); cf. τριτοπατρῆς 'divinities worshipped by γένη'. The formation τρισ-ηρως is peculiar, but the meaning 'Clan Ancestor' is compatible with that suggested for the adjacent entry *do-po-ta*, 'House Lord', a variant form of **de(m)spotā-s*, perhaps having the zero grade *dm̥s*—with the Arcado-Cypriot representation of the sonant nasal as *o* (see p. 41). On the reverse a recipient *po-se-da-o(n)* is to be understood from the *po-si-da-i-jo(n)* of the formula (see below).

Next comes a triad of feminine divinities *pe-re-*82*, *i-pe-me-de-ja*, and *di-u-ja* = *di-wi-ja*. The first is plausibly Πελείαι 'The Dove' (see p. 20). Iphimedeia is regarded by S. Eitrem as an important chthonian deity; the myths connected with her point to Anthedon, Naxos, and Caria as her place of origin (*RE* ix 2022 f.). A goddess Διρία is known from Pamphylia.

e-ma-a$_2$ = Ἐρμά(ι)āι. It is uncertain whether *a-re-ja* is a separate divinity in asyndetic juxtaposition or an epithet; cf.

[1] The GOLD ideogram has two distinct forms. The more elaborate form is topped by a triangle with two vertical bars. This is lacking in the ideogram which appears after *po-si-da-e-ja* and *do-po-ta*.

Δία τὸν Ἄρηα, *Ἰνυάλιον τὸν Ἄρηα*, *Ἀθάναν τὰν Ἄρειαν* (Cauer–Schwyzer, 665). At all events the offering includes a man, so that the god(s) in question are presumably male. To account for *a-re-ja* we must posit a nominative *Ἀρήας* or *Ἀρείας*, a formation parallel to *Ἑρμάας*. This latter form lies behind the contracted Ionic *Ἑρμῆς* and the Homeric *Ἑρμείας*, where *ει* stands for *η*, as so often in Homer (cf. *θείομεν*, etc.). Noteworthy is his inclusion in the same paragraph as the triad of feminine divinities. *di-we* *Διϝεί* and *e-ra* *Ἥραι* are joint occupants of the *di-u-jo* (see below). Their subordinate role is indicated both by their position in the list and by a less elaborate form of gold cup. The same paragraph also embraces *di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we*, which is possibly a divine name with following title or, less probably, two divine names in asyndetic juxtaposition. VC emend to *i-je-⟨re⟩-we*. This is unnecessary since *i-je-we* is the expected dative of *i-ju(s)* 'son' (so Ventris) and *Διὸς υἱός* is a divine title in later Greek used especially of Apollo: e.g. *Il.* 1. 21 *ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα* (see L. A. Stella, *Numen* v. 1958. 26). *di-ri-mi-jo* has no etymological parallel in attested divine nomenclature.

The interpretation of the recurrent formula with its triad of co-ordinated verbs *i-je-to . . . pe-re . . . a-ke* is still disputed. The words after the *i-je-to* are all names of cult places: *pa-ki-ja-si*, *po-si-da-i-jo*, *pe-re-ja(i)-jo*, *i-pe-me-de-ja-⟨jo⟩*, *di-u-ja-jo*, *di-u-jo*. The word formation is of the familiar type *Ποσιδαῖον*; note, however, *Δίϝιον* <*Διϝ-*. No shrine is mentioned for *e-ma-a*$_2$; perhaps because he was the god of the wild country? The 'son of Zeus' is apparently accommodated in the *di-u-jo* along with Zeus and Hera, for the adjacent *PU-RO* brackets him along with the other two.

The case is ambiguous with the exception of *pa-ki-ja-si*, locative-dative. This rules out the identification of *i-je-to* as some part of *ἵημι* 'send'.[1] VC agree that the phrase means 'something was

[1] An elaborate attempt at interpretation of this text based on the identification of *i-je-to* as some part of the verb *ἵημι* despite the case inflection evident in *pa-ki-ja-si* is that of C. Gallavotti (CG 1). He dissociates this from the parallel *po-si-da-i-jo*, etc., and takes the latter as referring to offerings to Poseidon, etc. This involves a fundamental point of methodology: in parallel formulae we must arrange items which occur in the same place 'in depth' and determine the morphology of the

done (in *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*, the Posidaion, etc.).[1] But we can go farther: this 'something' was evidently an action of a religious nature since it concerns shrines and is associated with gifts to gods. The genitive *po-ro-wi-to-jo*, which heads the whole document, is the key to its nature. The text must be interpreted within the general framework of the other month-headed texts. As we have seen, these record offerings, and this is evidently true also of this text. Since, however, the verb itself has not survived into post-Mycenaean Greek, the problem is to see whether there are traces in later Greek of a verb *i-je-* with some technical religious meaning. Such a verb has long been known to philologists. It underlies the adjective ἱερός, which combines the two notions of 'quickened' and 'quick', both deriving from the basic meaning of the root **isə-* 'imbue with supernatural vigour, quicken'. This operation can be applied to gods, men (especially warriors), and things. The root underlies further ἰαίνω, ἴαμαι and it may be detected in the first component of the heroic names Ἰάνασσα and Ἰάνειρα. Latin *īra*, again, is brought into connexion with the same group (Ernout–Meillet s.v.): it is the 'berserk fury', the ἱερὸν μένος of the warrior (see LP 5, with previous literature, and especially T. Burrow's definitive study of the Indo-Iranian material in *Bull. School Or. and Afr. Stud.* 17. 1955. 326 ff., which has put the existence of the verb beyond doubt). It may be surmised that the operation recorded in the shrines concerned was a 'requickening', a 'recharging' possibly connected with the New Year festival (see pp. 254 ff.). Whether this precise meaning be accepted or no,[2] the now agreed interpretation 'something (religious) *was*

ambiguous items by reference to the unambiguous (see p. 28). On this principle *po-si-da-i-jo*, etc., cannot be safely diagnosed otherwise than as dative-locatives. This precludes the identification of *i-je-to* as 'send', quite apart from the difficulties raised by the medio-passive form. We recall that *i-je-si* in Cn 3 also occasioned difficulties of interpretation when taken as 'they send'.

[1] Chadwick has formally renounced the version preferred in *Documents*. He writes (*MLS* 27 v 59): 'No tablets can be proved to constitute orders; no imperatives are certainly identified. Tablets record events, past, present or future . . . . Therefore this is more likely a record of performance than a calendar.' Since he accepts *po-ro-wi-to-jo* as the name of a month this accords completely with our diagnosis of 1954 that this is a dated record of religious events.

[2] In view of the later connexions with 'sacrifice' an interpretation 'sacrifice was made' is also possible: cf. on *a-pi-e-ke* (p. 259), and especially *i-je-si* (p. 174).

done' has implications for the syntactical diagnosis of the co-ordinated verbs *pe-re* and *a-ke*. VC's interpretation (now abandoned) of these verbs as imperatives would make this document unique among the month-headed texts which form the general framework of our interpretation. It would be difficult to admit any explanation which disrupts the syntactical congruence of the co-ordinated verbs. There is no difficulty about *pe-re*, since an aorist passive *-φρη* is attested for post-Mycenaean Greek in compounds such as *εἰσφρῆναι*, *ἐπεισφρείς*, cf. imperative *ἔκφρες*. H. Pedersen and I have independently concluded that Latin *frētus* 'relying on' (lit. 'supported by') is the passive participle of *fero* (*Eriu* 16. 1952. 5; *Gnomon* 29. 1957. 574). Thus there is no difficulty about *do-ra-qe pe-re* = *δῶρά τε φρῆ* 'gifts were brought'.

The co-ordinated *a-ke* must likewise be aorist passive and in line 1 the subject is *wa-tu* = *ϝάστυ* 'the town'. The verb can thus hardly be identified with *ἄγω*, nor is this suggested in *Documents*, the verb being separated from the *a-ke* of the other entries, where it is translated 'bring (those to carry them)'. In the first line of the translation the verb is simply left blank, since evidently 'bring the town' would be nonsensical. *ἄγη* would yield an appropriate sense: 'the town was purified'. *ἀγ-* is an ancient ritual verb, and it survives in its root form in the participle *ἁγνός*. *ἄζομαι*, 'I reverence' is also connected (**jagjomai*), and again we find a corresponding ritual word in Sanskrit: *yájati* 'reverence' (by sacrifice and prayer), substantive *yajñá-* 'worship, sacrifice'.[1] The meaning 'the town was purified' offers no contextual difficulties. On the contrary, we read that 'the removal of guilt' and 'the renewal of powers' were the negative and positive aims of the New Year festival. We quote *exempli gratia* from F. M. Cornford's *Principium Sapientiae* some expressions of these well-known facts: 'It was, in a literal sense, the making of a New Year, the removal of guilt and defilement of the old year, and the ensuring of security and prosperity for the coming year' (p. 237); '. . . the annual ritual, the purpose of which is the renewal of powers, both in universal nature and in the human society . . .' (p. 257, W. K. C. Guthrie's summary). As we have seen, the date *po-ro-*

[1] T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, 101, 150.

wi-to-jo connects this text with the fertility ceremonies reflected in the Fr series. The recurrent formula contains verbs for which we had long diagnosed the appropriate meanings 'renewal of power' (*i-je-*) and 'removal of defilement' (*a-ke*) before the evidence of the 1955 texts made us aware that the wider context was a New Year festival. Here, too, from a methodological point of view, the diagnoses of early 1954 may be regarded as 'predictions' now facing verification by reference to the new material.

po-re-na-qe, the subject of *a-ke*, has no satisfactory 'etymological' explanation. It is, however, unlikely that *a-ke* is a different verb from that in the first line, so that the meaning must be '*X* were (or was) purified'. The suggestion 'pollutions' connects the word with the family φορύνω, φορύσσω, φορυτός—all concerned with 'defilement', but the morphological analysis of *φορενα is unclear. The same difficulty afflicts interpretations which identify *po-re-na* as 'those who carry them' (*Docs.*), but this also involves the postulation of two different verbs *a-ke* in adjacent entries.

qo-wi-ja [. . .] *ko-ma-we-te-ja*. This has been added by the scribe as a sort of marginal note after the ideogram. I take it as a description of the cup offered to Poseidon: 'decorated with BULL [ ] FOLIAGE' (see below, pp. 362 f. for discussion of alternative suggestions).

The general picture which emerges from this text is that PYLOS, which precedes each entry[1] and divides it into paragraphs, has two main religious centres:

(1) The 'town' with the *Posidaion* as its main shrine and a number of subsidiary shrines.

(2) The holy place of *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* with the chief deity Potnia. *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* is the locale of the great land series discussed above, dealing with terrain which we have seen cause to attribute to the *wanax* himself. If we are right in our general diagnosis of the *wanax* as the earthly embodiment of the divine *wanax*;[2] if, as elsewhere in this religious κοινή, he is the husband of the goddess;

[1] This reading is dubious on the obverse connected with *pa-ki-ja-si*.

[2] Cf. W. K. C. Guthrie (Cornford, *Principium Sapientiae* 257): 'One, at least, if not the only, starting point of anthropomorphism is the divine man, the king who also represents the god.'

if, too, the Mycenaean palace was simultaneously the temple of the presiding divinity as is widely held;[1] if, finally, the building where these records have been found is the residence of the *wanax* and the administrative centre of the Pylian kingdom; then it would follow that the palace was close to *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* and that the associated *wastu*, presided over by Poseidon, is to be sought elsewhere, but at no great distance, of course. On this hypothesis, too, we can explain why the document begins with *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*; and the minor deities grouped with Potnia at *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)*[2] become more intelligible. In particular, the 'clan-ancestor' and the 'house-lord' are referable to the royal kin and the royal house. We have already seen that 'the kin' *par excellence* is most reasonably understood as the royal great-family, for which we have analogues among other Indo-European peoples, particularly the Hittites and the Germanic peoples.

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz (*Glaube* i 118): 'In Athen wohnte Athena im Hause des Erechtheus; der war kein alter König, sondern Poseidon Erechtheus.'

[2] In LP 3. 9 we drew attention to *Od.* 6. 291 ff., which sites the *temenos* of Alcinous near the grove of Athena. For the location of *pa-ki-ja-ne(s)* close to Pylos, see pp. 65 ff.

VII

AROMATICS AND UNGUENTS

THE ingredients used in ancient unguents and perfumes and the process of manufacture are described in Theophrastus, *de odoribus* (see summary in R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iii 28 ff.). Of interest to the interpretation of the following texts is the comment by Theophrastus that various parts of the plants may be used: flowers, fruits (καρπός), leaves, shoots, bark, wood, and roots. Heating (ἕψησις) of the oil and the various ingredients took place in a water-bath to avoid burning. Both Theophrastus and Pliny mention the use of wine and honey in making perfume and unguents. 'The wine, perfumed wines, water or honey added also determine the final consistency' (Forbes, p. 34). Noteworthy is the use of compound perfumes 'to impart a pleasant odour to clothes' (op. cit., p. 33). This explains the Homeric phrase εἵματα θυώδεα (*Od.* 5. 264). For the conjunction of woollen cloths and perfumes in the Mycenae tablets see LP 22, where an explanation of the 'boiling' is suggested.

PYLOS

163. PY Gn 1184 (*Docs.* p. 217)

ko-ka-ro a-pe-do-ke e-ra$_3$-wo to-so e-u-me-de-i OIL 18

pa-ro i-pe-se-wa ka-ra-re-we 38

The first entry is self-evident:

Κώκαλος ἀπέδωκε ἔλαιϝον τόσσον Ἐϋμήδεϊ.

ko-ka-ro: appears in Fg 374 as an *a-re-po-zo-o* = ἀλειφοζόος 'unguent boiler' with an entry WHEAT 1 FIGS 1.

E-u-me-de likewise is designated *a-re-po-zo-o* in Ea 812. The same occupational description occurs in the next text.

164. Un 267 (*Docs.* 103)

o-do-ke a-ko-so-ta

tu-we-ta a-re-pa-zo-o

tu-we-a a-re-pa-te [[*ze-so-me*]]
ze-so-me-no [[*ko*]]
ko-ri-a$_2$*-da-na* CONDIMENT 6
ku-pa-ro$_2$ CONDIMENT 6 *157 16
KA+PO 2/5/0 WINE 20 ME 2
MA+RU 2 MUST(?) 2

The introductory sentence reads:

'How (thus) *a-ko-so-ta* gave to Thyestes the unguent boiler aromatics (*θύεα*) for him to boil (*ζεσσομένωι*) in the unguent.'

The following entries name the *θύεα*. Coriander and cyperus[1] are well known as ingredients of ancient unguents (see Forbes, op. cit.). For the wine and honey see above.

The ideogram transcribed above as MA+RU has been confused (see *Docs.* p. 224) with WOOL (see below). In Un 249 it appears along with the word *wi-ri-za*.

165. Un 249 (*Docs.* 104)

po-ti-[*ni-*]*-ja-we-jo*
pi-ra-jo a-re-pa-zo-[*o*] *ku-pa-ro*$_2$ CONDIMENT 2/5/0
wi-ri-za MA+RU 2 *157 10

Here again we have an 'unguent boiler' described as 'belonging to Potnia'. Iris root is among the ingredients of ancient unguents, and it is conceivable that *wi-ri-za* stands for *ϝιρίδια* 'iris (root)'. On the importance of *Iris illyrica* as a source of perfume see H. Lorimer (1950) 74 (with lit.) In any case MA+RU again has 'aromatic' affinities and can scarcely be WOOL. For the remaining ideogram *157, which contains the sign WI, see p. 301.

One point remains in Gn 1184. The *ka-ra-re-we* received from *i-pe-se-wa* are shown by KN Uc 778 to be stirrup jars resembling those found by A. J. B. Wace in the 'House of the Oil Merchant' at Mycenae. Professor Householder draws my attention to *χλαρόν· ἐλαιηρὸς κώθων* Hesych. The Mycenaean word could represent *χλαρῆϝες*.

[1] According to Theophr. *de odor.* iii 28 *κύπειρον* was imported from the Cyclades.

AROMATICS AT MYCENAE

(*The Mycenae Tablets* ii, ed. E. L. Bennett, 1958; *Docs.* pp. 225 ff.)

A group of texts found in the 'House of the Sphinxes' at Mycenae in 1954 book aromatics and 'spices' in connexion with a group of men.

166. Ge 602 (*Docs.* 105)

.1 *jo-o-po-ro a-ro-*[2-3] *-mi-jo / pe-se-ro*

.2 *pu*$_2$*-ke ma-ra-tu-wo* DM 0/0/0/1[

.3 *pe-ke-u ku-mi-no* DM 0/0/0/? [*ma-ra*]*-tu-wo* DM 0/0/1 *sa-sa-ma* DM 0/0/0/2 *sa-pi-ḍẹ* 6

.4 *ka-e-se-we ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra*[ ] [*sa*]*-sa-ma* DM 0/0/1 *ma-ra-tu-wo* DM 0/0/1 *sa-pi-ḍẹ* 6

.6 *ke-po ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* WT 0/?/ [ ] *mi-ta* PE 2 *ko-no a-po-te-i*[

.6 [ ] DM 0/0/0/1 DM 0/0/0/2 DE 1 CUP 1

NB. DM = dry measure, WT = weight.

167. Ge 603 (*Docs.* 106)

.1 *ke-po ko* CONDIMENT DM 0/2 *ka-na-ko re-u-ka* DM 0/0/1 *da-ra-*[..]*-ta-qe* 20 [*ka*]*-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* WT 0/1 [?] *ka-ra-to* CUP 1

.2 *pu-ke-o ko* DM 0/2 *ku* DM 0/0/2 *ma* DM 0/0/0/2 *sa* DM 0/0/0/2 *ko-no* 10 *e-ṇẹ-me-na* 1 *ka-na-ko* WT 0/1 CUP 1

3 *i-na-o ko* DM 0/2 *ku* DM 0/0/1 [[*mi* 20]] *ko-no* 10 E 1 *ka-na-ko e-ru-*(*ta-ra*) WT 0/1

.4 *ṛạ-ke-da-no ko* DM 0/2 *ku* DM 0/0/2 [erased?] *ko-no* 12 Ẹ [1] CUP 1

.5 *a-ke-re-wi-jo ko* DM 0/2 *ku* DM 0/0/1 *ma* DM 0/0/1 *no-ko* (sic) 10 DE [1] CUP 1

.6 *pe-ke-u ko* DM 0/2 *ku* DM 0/0/1/2 *ma* DM 0/0/1 *ko-no* 10 E 1 *ka-na-ko* WT 0/2 CUP 1

.7 *pu-wo ko* DM 0/2 *ku* DM 0/0/2 *ma* DM 0/0/? *ko-no* DE 1 CUP 1

Rev.:

pe-[ ] 2

168. Ge 604 (*Docs.* 107)

.1 *ke-e-pe o-pe-ro ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* [ ] DE 1 *ku* DM 0/0/1

.2 *i-na-o-te o-pe-ro ku* DM 0/0/1 *sa* DM 0/0/1 *ko-no* 2 *se-ri-no* WT 0/2 CUP 1

.3 *ra-ke-da-no-re o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra* WT 0/1 *ma* DM 0/0/1 *sa* DM 0/0/1

.4 *a-ke-re-wi-jo o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra* WT 0/3

.5 *pu-ke-⟨o o⟩-pe-ro{ro} ka-na-ko* WT 0/1 *ma* DM 0/0/0/2 *sa* DM 0/0/0/2 *ka-da-mi-ja* [ ]

The 'spices' involved are *ko-ri-ja-da-na* 'coriander'; *ku-mi-no* (also spelt *ku-mi-na*) 'cummin'; *ma-ra-tu-wo* = μάραθον 'fennel'; *sa-sa-ma* 'sesame'; *ka-na-ko re-u-ka* and *ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* = κνᾶκος 'safflower?' white and red respectively. The latter is calculated by weight while the former is entered according to dry measure. VC quote Hesychius: κνηκόν· τὸ κροκίζον χρῶμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθους· ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ καρποῦ, τὸ λευκόν.

ka-ra-ko: γλάχων (Boeotian) = Attic βλήχων 'pennyroyal'.

ko-no (also spelt *ko-i-no*) = σχοῖνος (cf. σχοῖνος εὔοσμος Theophr. *CP* 6. 18).

se-ri-no = σέλινον 'celery'.

The following initial syllables are used as abbreviations by one scribe: *KO*, *KU*, *MA*, *SA*, *MI*. *ka-na-ko* and *ka-da-mi-ja* are spelt out to avoid confusion; the same holds good of *ko-no*.

There is some loose consistency about the order in which the materials are listed. *ko-ri-a*$_2$*-da-na* is invariably mentioned first and in the greatest quantity. It is followed by *ku-mi-no*. *ma-ra-tu-wo* tends to occur next and *sa-sa-ma* follows. While it is not possible to apply everywhere the criterion observed by Bennett apropos of Ge 606 (op. cit., p. 100), where the order is (1) those measured by dry measure, (2) those measured by weight, and (3) miscellaneous such as '? bunches', the order of entry is not random.

The following substances are never 'owed': *ko-ri-ja-da-na* and *ka-na-ko re-u-ka*. *ka-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* appears to be in the shortest

supply, followed by *ma-ra-tu-wo*, *sa-sa-ma*, and *ku-mi-no* in that order. This need reflect no more than the stock position of the house in question, but the frequency of coriander in the 'spices' texts of Pylos, Knossos, and Mycenae is not without its significance for our restoration *ko-ri-*[*ja-do*]*-no* in Nn 831 below.

In the introductory formula of Ge 602 *pe-se-ro* is written smaller than the preceding words and this suggests a syntactical break. *pe-se-ro* occurs as the first entry of this group of names in Ge 605 and he is evidently one of the group. Since the record of 602 is one of 'owing', it would be best to take *pe-se-ro* as the first entry, which is in effect NIL. The scribe saves himself space by using the vacant space of the first line, but indicates the separateness of the entry by reducing the size of the signs. We can thus interpret the formula as 'how (thus) I owed (*ὤφλον*)'.

My early restoration *a-ro-*[*ma-ta*] is apparently excluded by the shape of the break. The last word may well be *do*]*-si-mi-jo*. *do*]*-si-mi-ja* occurs on another tablet of this set.

169. Ge 606

do]*-si-mi-ja*
a-ke-re-u-te
ka-na-ko
CONDIMENT+KO DM 0/2/0 KU DM 0/0/1 *re-u-ka* DM 0/0/1
ma-ra-tu-wo DM 0/0/1 *sa-sa-ma* DM 0/0/4
e-ru-ta-ra WT 0/3
mi-ta PE 2
ko-i-no DE 1 [?*sa-pi-de*] 11

This evidently lists deliveries of 'spices' due from a place *a-ke-re-u*, which recalls the Pylian toponymic. *mi-ta* is measured by PE (as in Ge 602, 5, 605. 6). DE occurs in Ge 602. 5, 603. 5, always after *ko-*(*i*)*-no*. It alternates with E (e.g. Ge 603. 4, 6), which is apparently an abbreviation of *e-ne-me-na* (ibid. 2). Bennett has argued that DE and E are not units of measurement. Are they containers of some kind? This has been suggested for [?]*ka-ra-to* (Ge 603. 1) = *κάλαθος*? (Bennett). The most frequent container word is *sa-pi-de*, for which an interpretation *σαρπίδες*

'boxes' has been suggested. Whether this be acceptable or not, the 'spices' connexion of *sa-pi-de* is unmistakable. The word recurs in PY Vn 19, where the visible entries are 200[+], 80, 60, 40. The places against which they are entered are *pi-*82*, *me-ta-pa*, *pe-to-no*, *pa-ki-ja-ne*, and we may confidently restore the rest of the 'Nine'. In view of the 'aromatic' affinities of *sa-pi-de*, the predominance of coriander, and the possible restoration *ko-ri-*[*ja-do*]*-no* in Nn 831 (see below), the possibility suggests itself that SA is the abbreviation for *sa-pi-de*, which then would be containers of standard size for the delivery of such substances. MY 606, with its *do-si-mi-ja* from *a-ke-re-u*, would provide a parallel for the Pylian set. This would strengthen the possibility of the interpretation of *ri-no* in Nn 228 as 'linseed' (see below, p. 310). On the problem raised by the issue of 1 SA apiece to the men on coast-watching duties, see p. 312.

This leads to the consideration of Go 610.

170. MY Go 610

*Me-ta-*47-wa*	*134	0/2/0
A-ko-ro-ta	*134	0/2/0
Ka-sa-to	*134	0/1/0
Pu-i-re-wi	*134	0/1/0

Rev.:

RI

The text records issues to four men of quantities measured in wet measure of a liquid designated by the rare ideogram *134. This is known from KN U 5592 and occurs also in Linear A (L 44) 'in two tablets from Haghia Triada either immediately before or after the sign (L 82) which in Linear B (*131) is transcribed as WINE' (Bennett, *MT* ii 101). Bennett is unable to add any more precise identification. Chadwick suggests milk. But the RI on the reverse should not be ignored. It fits remarkably well with our identification of RI as linseed, and with our suggestion that the Pylos Ma and Na series are concerned with raw materials for unguents and perfumes.

INSCRIBED VESSELS

(A. E. Evans, *PoM* iv. 2. 737 ff.; Carratelli (1945) 462 f. and 603 ff.; G. Björck, *Eranos* 52. 1954. 120–4)

Vessels inscribed in Linear B script have been found at Eleusis, Mycenae, Orchomenos, Tiryns, and Thebes. During excavations in the Mycenaean Palace at Thebes Keramopoullos recovered no fewer than twenty-eight stirrup jars (*ka-ra-re-we*) from a store room, all with Linear B inscriptions. Those consisting of three words have been studied by Björck.

171.

C.	I = E. 1	*ka-u-no*	*o-du-ru-wi-jo* *wa-na-ka-te-ro*
C.	II = E. 9	*e-u-da-mo*	*wa-to* *ri-*82-ta-o*
C.	III = E. 2, 3	*a-re-me-ne*	*wa-to* *re-u-ko-jo*
C.	IV = E. 4	*a-re-zo-me-ne*	*wa-to* *re-u-ko-jo*
C.	VI = E. 5, 6	*pi-pi*	*wa-to* *ja-ro-no*
C.	V = E. 14 and 7	*e-wa-ko-ro*	[*wa-to*] *ka-ma-ti-jo-jo*
C.	XIII = E. 8	[	] [ ][*du*]-*ni-jo-jo*

C. VI: *su-ro-no*, Bennett, *Index*; *ja-ro-no* G. B.

The formulaic structure is evident. It consists of (1) masculine proper name, (2) place-name, and (3) name in the genitive, with the exception of *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, which, however, is functionally equivalent to a genitive, 'of the *wanax*'. The place-names pose a problem, for they are Cretan. In fact *o-du-ru-wi-jo* and *wa-to* occur adjacently in KN Ch 902. 2, 3 (see p. 182): *o-du-ru-wi-jo*/*ko-re-te*, *wa-to*/*ko-re-te* (see p. 183). Now in l. 5 of this same text we find another Cretan place-name *pa*$_3$*-ko-we*. This name is read on a stirrup jar from Tiryns (Ti II). Yet another Cretan place-name of frequent occurrence *da-*22-to* is painted on a stirrup jar from Eleusis:

*da-*22-to*
da-pu$_2$*-ra-zo* *wa*.

Finally, we have an example from the 'House of the Oil Merchant' at Mycenae (Z. 202) *e-ra ka-ta-ro*. In view of the preceding

it can hardly be an accident that *e-ra* is a place-name abundantly testified in the KN tablets, while Fh 357. 2 records an offering sent *e-ra-de*.

The personal names may now add their slight weight. *da-pu$_2$-ra-zo* (E I) recalls *du-pu$_2$-ra-zo* (KN V 479. 1, Dw 1173). *a-nu-to* (TH X, etc.) recurs in KN As 1516. 12; *ta-de-so* (TH VIII) in KN Df 1285 and X 1409; while *ta-*22-de-so* recalls *ta-mi-de-so* (KN Dl 944), *ri-*82-ta-o* finds its sole echo in *ri-ja-ta* (KN X 1411), and the *ka-ta-ro* of the Mycenae jar now has its Knossian counterpart in the new text X 8101 (= *SM* ii 04–94) which lists men's names, *ka-ta-ro* among them. Even a minor point of orthography points in the same direction. *e-wa-ko-ro* is thus spelt in Th V and KN V 1005; PY Jn 431. 23 has *e-u-wa-ko-ro*. This evidence would, of course, be negligible except for its association with the clear group of Cretan place-names on the mainland stirrup jars. We must now attempt an estimate of the significance of the inscribed Cretan place-names. In view of the small number of inscribed vessels which chance has preserved to us from presumably a vast number we can hardly attribute the preponderance of these names in so many sites to mere chance selection. Prudence suggests that the sample reflects conditions in the whole original stock, that is to say the great majority of such inscribed vessels bore Cretan place-names. Since, again, it is highly improbable that all the different places were exporting mainly to Crete, the facts strongly favour the conclusion that the provenance of these vessels was Crete. In view of the association of *ka-ra-re-we* with unguent boiling it is reasonable to suppose that the stirrup jars contained perfumed oil. The information contained in the above three-group inscriptions might be interpreted as (1) supplier, (2) place, and (3) manufacturer. *wa-na-ka-te-ro* might then signify 'made in the palace unguent kitchen'. Both Marinatos (1958) and myself (*Gnomon* 1959. 433) have independently reached the conclusion that the 'House of the Oil Merchant' was in fact the unguent kitchen of the palace at Mycenae. The 'spices' texts give us a glimpse of deliveries of aromatics from a locality (*a-ke-re-u-te*) and again of issues to a group of men. At Pylos the Ma and the Na and Nn series, we shall suggest, are documents relating

to the delivery of similar substances. In Gn 1184, Un 249, and Un 267 we glimpse the issue of materials to the unguent boilers, one of whom is designated *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*. The large number of places concerned in the Pylian deliveries emphasizes the importance of this activity. It may well be that in the evidence assessed in this chapter we have some clue to the puzzle of the source of the wealth enjoyed by Mycenaean Greece. It has often been emphasized that Greece is not a productive land, but that she had a virtual monopoly of olive oil. Lorimer (1950), p. 56, writes: 'Oil, however, had been a staple product of Crete in her great days and had certainly been exported. . . . Mycenae may have had some amount of trade in it and in wine. The vast numbers of stirrup-vases which she sent abroad did not go empty. Specimens of small size may have contained perfume; one such is reported from Mycenae found with the clay stopper of the spout in place. When this was removed a strong though evanescent fragrance was perceived.' Above we have quoted opinions bearing on the wide consumer-interest in such products. The manufacture of unguents and perfumes from the olive oil of Greece may have had an economic importance analogous to that of spices in medieval Europe.

A number of the KN O series refer to spices. An *a-pu-do-si* of *po-ni-ki-jo* is booked against the ethnic *pa*$_3$*-ko-we-i-jo* in Og 424 (cf. Og 396, 397, 426, 427, 834). *ri-no* LB 1 appears on the fragmentary Og 5778, and this is yet another indication of the nature of this commodity. On the suspect WOOL entries of the Od series, especially Od M 26 *wi-ri-za* WOOL, see above.

Another 'spice' tablet of interest for Mycenaean religion is Fa 16.

172. PY Fa 16

i-qo CYPERUS+O 8/2/1

The 'aromatic' entry suffices to show that *i-qo* is no common horse. F. Schachermeyr (1950), p. 18, had already suggested that the Arcadian Poseidon Hippios was once Poseidon Hippos. We may therefore more reasonably take *i-qo* as the name of a god Hippos. This has suggested a new possibility for the entry *e-ne-ka i-qo-jo* apropos of the largest holding of *Ke-re-te-u* (see p. 220),

where the explanation 'K. holds this on account of the horse' lacks plausibility (see *Docs.* p. 260).

If *i-qo-jo* is here, too, the god Hippos, this has repercussions on the *e-ne-ka ti-mi-to* and *e-ne-ka o-pa* KN As 821 (*Docs.* pp. 168 f.), for *ti-mi-to* is most plausibly 'etymologized' as Themitos. For the vowel change we may compare *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* × *te-mi-ti-ja*, the two versions of the name of the first of the Pylian 'Seven'. The place-name has been interpreted (LP 3. 48) as 'in the ἄγος of Themis', where ἄγος has the sense τέμενος attested in ἄγεα· τεμένεα and ἀγέεσσι· τεμένεσι, (Hesychius). The adjacent *o-pa* would then likewise be the name of a divinity, and so distinct from other occurrences of *o-pa* (e.g. on sealings and the chariot tablets), with which it is merely homonymous (see p. 184). Themis is the oracular earth goddess (Hirzel, *Themis*, etc.; Weniger in *RE* s.v.). As an associated deity 'Ομφά would be plausible: a goddess 'Ομφαίη occurs in Emp. 123. 3.

The other *e-ne-ka* phrases are *do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo* (Ae 303, see p. 127), where the religious context is likewise clear; *e-ne-ka a-no-pa$_2$-si-ja* (Ea 805, a land-holding text parallel with *e-ne-ka i-qo-jo*). *e-ne-ka* thus appears in religious contexts and seems to have the meaning 'in the service of' *vel sim.* In KN As 821 '*e-qe-ta-e* (dual?) in the service of Themis', 'shepherd in the service of Ompha',[1] has perhaps greater plausibility than 'two followers on account of tribute' and 'shepherd on account of dues' (see *Docs.* p. 168). The religious affinities of the *e-qe-ta* are apparent in the grouping of functionaries *i-je-re-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe e-qe-ta-qe we-te-re-u-qe* (Eb 317, see p. 213) and the general 'temple economy'. (See Addendum.)

[1] On the religious character of the *e-qe-ta*, see p. 142. For the possibility that *o-pa* may be the 'palace workshop' see p. 319.

VIII

METALS (J)

THE PYLOS Jn SERIES

Docs. pp. 352 ff.

This series is characterized by the ideogram *140. The texts record allocations of this commodity to men described as *ka-ke-we*, while the totalling entry takes the form *to-so-de ka-ko*. The operative words are easily recognized as χαλκῆϝες and χαλκός. *140 therefore = BRONZE, and this proves compatible with the complex introductory formula of Jn 829 relating to the issue of *140 for the purpose of making points for spears, etc. (see below).

The tablets are divided into paragraphs each with its separate heading. The first begins with a place-name (e.g. *a-ke-re-wa* Jn 310) followed by the phrase *ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te*. The word ταλασία is first attested from the time of Xenophon and Plato as a shortened form of ταλασιουργία 'wool-spinning'. If the Mycenaean word is derived directly from τάλαντον (so *Docs.* p. 352), as appears likely, with the meaning *pensum*, then the quantity of the second vowel of ταλᾰσία rules out identification with the classical word, which cannot be derived from ταλανσια, which would proceed to ταλᾱσία.

The second paragraph is headed *to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*, followed by names without any allocation: the meaning is evidently τοσοίδε ἀταλάσιοι χαλκῆϝες 'so many smiths without *pensum*'.

The next paragraph of Jn 310 begins *to-so-de do-e-ro* followed by names without allocation. These are evidently the 'assistants' of the bronze-smiths (see also above on Fn 50, p. 227).

The fourth paragraph of Jn 310 lists *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te*. This gives us another category of smiths, 'those belonging to Potnia', as distinguished from the 'secular' smiths. We have seen above that Eq 213 provides evidence of an establishment of *po-ti-ni-ja* in the area of *a-ke-re-wa* (see p. 218). We may now add the testimony of the new tablet An 1281 (1957) with its

lists of personnel divided into paragraphs headed *po-ti-ni-ja* (see p. 226). These indications add to the evidence for a temple economy in Mycenaean Greece. The establishments of the various *Potniai* included bronze-working among their activities. For smiths as fathers of women in divine service, see p. 128.

In a number of the Jn texts we find after the list of the secular (this is important) smiths, immediately before the totalling entry, a reference to a *pa$_2$-si-re-u*, not followed by an allocation: e.g. *pa$_2$-si-re-u a-pi-qo-ta* (Jn 431. 6), *pa$_2$-si-*[*re-*]*u pa-qo-*[*si-jo*] (Jn 601. 8), *e-ri-ko-wo pa$_2$-si-re-u* (Jn 845. 7, here separated by a blank line from the smiths but bracketed with the totalling entry). From this it would appear that the *pa$_2$-si-re-u* is responsible for the group of *secular* smiths in question.

The place-names recorded are *a-ke-re-wa* (Jn 310), *o-re-mo-a-ke-re-u* (Jn 320), *a-ka-si-jo-ne* (Jn 389), *ru-ko-a$_2$-ke-re-u-te* (Jn 415), *a-pe-ke-i-jo*, also in the form *a-pe-ke-e* (Jn 431), *wi-ja-we-ra$_2$* (Jn 478), *po-wi-te-ja* (Jn 601), *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (Jn 605), *e-ni-pa-te-we* (Jn 658), *na-i-se-wi-jo* (Jn 692), *a-pu$_2$-we* (together with *a-ke-re-wa*, these being adjacent places in the 'Nine', Jn 693), *pa-to-do-te* (Jn 706), and *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (Jn 750). The formula of the last text reads *a-si-ja-ti-ja ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*. The last word is interpreted by VC (*Docs.* p. 403) 'nom. plur. masc. of "active smiths" : *prāktēwes*' and they compare πρηκτήρ, etc. This overlooks the morphology of the Mycenaean word, where the hiatus in the ending *-te-e-we* reveals that the underlying word is in all probability an *s*-stem (cf. *e-re-e-u*, *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, etc.). It would be preferable to take the word as another toponymic indication giving a more precise location within the district of *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (the fourth of the 'Seven').

In Jn 832 (place *ro-u-so*), instead of the usual contrast between smiths 'having *ta-ra-si-ja*' with recorded allocations and the *a-ta-ra-si-jo* without allocations, we find two sets without allocation: (1) *ro-u-so ka-ke-we a-ke-te-re*, and (2) *a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*. The suggestion advanced in *Documents* (p. 387) 'ἀσκητῆρες, of smiths "who practise their trade", equivalent to *talasian ekhontes*?' fails to explain the absence of allocations, nor does it provide a satisfactory 'opposition' to *a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*. The word

a-ke-te-re would appear to mean 'marked out for duties' (but not yet having received their *pensa* of bronze).

The lower half of this tablet (recovered in 1958, see *AJA* 63. 1959. 130) gives data similarly arranged concerning *a-to-mo*: first *ka-ke-we a-ke-te*[followed by names and then *a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we* followed by names. Since there is complete parallelism in the two halves and *a-to-mo* occupies the same place in the formulaic structure as *ro-u-so*, it would be prudent to diagnose *a-to-mo* as a place-name and not to equate the word with *e-qe-o a-to-mo* of PY Sn 64. 8, where it in any case identifies an important personage *po-ki-ro-qo*. The word if taken as descriptive of bronze-smiths would not be appropriate to the 'officer' in the *o-ka* of *ta-ti-qo-we-u* (An 654. 12) and one who is ranked on the 'gold standard' with **85-ke-wa* and *te-po-se-u* (see Jo 438, p. 287). Jn 832 with the two place-names resembles Jn 693 with *a-pu*$_2$*-we* and *a-ke-re-wa*. We conclude here too that *ro-u-so* and *a-to-mo* are adjacent places.

Another possible place-name is *e-re-e-we* Jn 881. It occurs in the first position and it has a satisfactory -*εύς* formation of the type so common in place-names (cf. An 723). As such it could well be the district name corresponding to *Ἔλος*, which (in the locative form *e-re-i*, *e-re-e*) is the last of the 'Seven'. In this text it is followed by two words: *o-pi-ko-wo* (cf. *e-ri-ko-wo*, Jn 845. 7) and *o-pi-su-ko* followed by bronze entries. The pattern of other tablets would suggest that these were proper names, by a coincidence both beginning with *o-pi*. But *o-pi-su-ko* forms one of the official titles in Jn 829, and his entry is over four times that of *o-pi-ko-wo*. It is therefore more likely that we have in this fragmentary text an entry relating to the delivery of bronze by an *o-pi-su-ko* such as is foreshadowed by the introductory formula of Jn 829.

173. Jn 829 (*Docs.* 257)

jo-do-so-si ko-re-te-re du-ma te-qe

po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe o-pi-su-ko-qe o-pi-ka-pe-e-we-qe

ka-ko na-wi-jo pa-ta-jo-i-qe e-ke-si-qe ai-ka-sa-ma

*pi-*82 ko-re-te* BRONZE 0/2/0 *po-ro-ko-re-te* BRONZE 0/0/3

.5	*me-ta-pa*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	pe-to-no	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	pa-ki-ja-pi	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	a-pu$_2$-we	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	[*a*]-*ke-re-wa*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
.10	*ro-u̯-so*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	[*ka*]-*ra-do-ro*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	[*ri*]-*j̯o*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	ti]-*mi-to-a-ke-e*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	ra]-*wa-ra-ta$_2$*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/3/3	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
.15	[*sa*]-*ma-ra*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/3/3	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	[*a*]-*si-ja-ti-ja*	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	e-ra-te-re-wa-pi	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/2/0	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	za-ma-e-wi-ja	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/3/3	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3
	e-re-i	*ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/3/3	*po-ro-ko-re-te*	BRONZE	0/0/3

Here the entries take the form of a place-name followed by the titles *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* (see pp. 88 f.). The background to the record is indicated in the introductory formula, which is interpreted: *ὡς δώσονσι ko-re-te-re du-ma-te-qe po-ro-ko-re-te-re-qe*

κλαϝιφόροιϙε *o-pi-su-ko-qe o-pi-ka-pe-e-we-qe* χαλκὸν νάϝιον παλ-ταίοι(*h*)ίϙε ἔγχεσίϙε αἰκσμάνς 'how (thus) the *ko-re-te-re* and the *du-ma-te* and the *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* and the key-bearers and the *o-pi-su-ko* and the *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we* are to give temple bronze as points for arrows and spears'. VC quote (*Docs.* p. 352) tablets from Ur and Alalakh for similar allocations to bronze-smiths to make into dagger blades (Ur) and arrow-heads (Alalakh).

On the place-names which comprise a complete list of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven', see pp. 65 ff. On the official titles, see pp. 88 f. Note that *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we* by its hiatus indicates that the basic noun is likely to be a neuter *s*-stem *ka-po-s-*. Since the said official is in charge of these things and is consequently in a position to deliver 'temple bronze', σκάφος as a neuter corresponding to the later σκάφος (masc.) in the sense 'vessel' suggests itself as a possibility: 'those in charge of the (sacred) vessels' makes more sense in the present context than 'supervisors of hoeing' (so *Docs.*). *o-pi-su-ko* will then have some analogous temple function. 'supervisors of figs' (*Docs.*) carries little conviction. It may well be that the basic word is of Aegean origin, like ὕρχη.

There are no entries on this tablet for any of the officials mentioned except for the *ko-re-te-re* and the *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, but on the analogy of other sets introduced by a headed tablet they were doubtless entered on other tablets belonging to the set which have not survived. We have suggested above that Jn 881 contains such an entry relating to *e-re-i* (*e-re-e-we*). If this is accepted, then the contribution of an *o-pi-su-ko* will have been larger than that of a *ko-re-te*: BRONZE 0/4/2 as opposed to 0/3/3. On the comparative status of the *du-ma*, see p. 89.

We note again that the pa_2-*si-re-we* are not included in the list of officials. This accords with our assignment of the pa_2-*si-re-u* to the secular side of the bronze-making activities (see above, p. 280). Here we are dealing with 'temple' bronze, presumably of the *po-ti-ni-ja* type of establishment. The general religious background and the religious affinities in particular of the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (see p. 212) favour the connexion of *na-wi-jo* with ναϝός 'temple' rather than with ναῦς 'ship'. That this word for 'temple' goes back to 'proto-Greek' times is evident from its phonological variety in the

later Greek dialects (*νᾱϝός, ναῦος, νεώς* all from **naswos*, see C. D. Buck, *GD*³, § 54). The original meaning of the word was 'dwelling place' with a specialization towards the divine sphere, which is exactly paralleled by the use of the word *parna-* 'house' in hieroglyph Hittite in the meaning 'temple'. German *Dom* 'cathedral' (Latin *domus*) provides another parallel. The existence of Mycenaean 'temples' as special buildings is not implied. The shrines were doubtless incorporated in the normal dwelling places. A similar specialization of meaning towards the sacred side is evident in the later usage of the words *τέμενος, κτοίνα*, and *τελεστάς*.

pa-ta-jo-i: dative plural of the word *pa-ta-ja*, which occurs on a Knossos sealing (Ws 1704) with a drawing of an arrow on the reverse. Cf. *παλτόν* 'dart' (E. Sittig).

e-ke-si: *ἔγχε(σ)σι*.

ai-ka-sa-ma: *αἰκσμάνς* = *αἰχμάς*. The Linear B form is that previously deduced by the comparative method (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 493 f.).

174. Jn 310 (*Docs.* 253)

a-ke-re-wa ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te
ti-pa₂-jo BRONZE 0/1/2 *qe-ta-wo* BRONZE 0/1/2
ai-so-ni-jo BRONZE 0/1/2 *ta-mi-je-u* BRONZE 0/1/2
e-u-ru-wo-ta BRONZE 0/1/2 *e-u-do-no* BRONZE 0/1/2
po-ro-u-te-u BRONZE 0/1/2 *wi-du-wa-ko* BRONZE 0/1/2
Vacat
to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we
pa-qo-si-jo 1 *ke-we-to* 1 *wa-*[..]*-re-u* [ ]
pe-ta-ro 1
Vacat
to-so-de do-e-ro ke-we-to-jo 1 *i-wa-ka-o* 1
pa-qo-si-jo-jo 1 *po-ro-u-te-wo* 1
Vacat
po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te
i-ma-di-jo BRONZE 0/2/0 *tu-ke-ne-u* BRONZE 0/3/0
[ ] BRONZE 0/3/0 *i-wa-ka* BRONZE 0/3/0
[*to-so-de a*]*-ta-ra-si-jo pu₂-*[.]*-ja-ko* 1

Similar names recur in other tablets. For instance *ti-pa$_2$-jo* is the name of one of the *te-re-ta* in Eo 278 = En 467. 1. There is no warrant for the suggestion that the persons are identical and that their activity as smiths is a seasonal occupation (see *Docs.* p. 352).

The number of *do-e-ro* is not given despite the introductory *to-so*. It is, however, probable that the vertical strokes between the names are to be read as the numeral 1 rather than as a word-divider (so above).The last paragraph of Jn 605 (*AJA* 63. 1959. 129) lists two *do-e-ro* each of *pe-re-qo-no* and *ai-ki-e-u* and one each of *mi-ka-ri-jo* and *pu-ra-ta*. Jn 706 is differently set out, and the last paragraph, headed *to-so-de do-e-ro*, has the numeral 1 in the margin opposite names which were presumably on the missing part of the tablet.

Note that the allocations of the *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* are considerably higher and that each smith has an amount of the same order of magnitude as that required from a *ko-re-te* in Jn 829: 0/2/0–0/3/0.

175. Jn 601

po-wi-te-wi-ja ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te

wo-di-jo BRONZE 0/6/0 *to-ro-wi* BRONZE 0/8/0 *e-u-po-ro-wo* BRONZE 0/8/0

o-pa$_2$ BRONZE 0/4/0 *te-u-to* BRONZE 0/5/0 *pu$_2$-ti-ja* BRONZE 0/6/0

po-to-re-ma-ta BRONZE 0/8/0 *wa-pa-no* BRONZE 0/8/0

po-so-ro BRONZE 0/8/0 *mo-da* BRONZE 0/8/0 *pe-po-ro* BRONZE 0/4/0

o-na-se-u BRONZE 0/12[ ] BRONZE 0/8/0

ko-to-wa [ ] BRONZE 0/8 *to-*[*so*]*-de e-pi-da-to* BRONZE 0/7/0

pa$_2$-si-[*re*]*-u pa-qo-*[*si-jo*] 1

to-so-pa ka-ko BRONZE 3/12[+

Vacat

to-so-de a-[*ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*] *ti-na-jo* 1

po-so-ri[ ]*-ke i-pe-ra-ta* 1

sa-nu[ ]

e-pi-da-to: cf. *to-so-de e-pi-da-to ka-ko pa-si̯* Jn 389. 7. In both instances the amount involved is small (see below) and the total is a separate item. Apparently the entry relates to an extra distribution over and above the individual allocations. This will be the force of the prefix *e-pi*. We may compare *e-pi-qe-i-si* 'after-payment' (see p. 292). The form may be a root aorist ἐπίδαστο. The perfect *e-pi-de-da-to* occurs in Vn 20 (see p. 369).

to-so-pa: = το(σ)σος πα(ν)ς 'sum total'.

176. Ja 749

to-so-pa TALENT 34/26/0

This is the totalling tablet belonging to this set. On the values suggested in *Documents* (talent = 29 kg.) this total will represent just over 1,010 kg. of bronze. 1,500 kg., on the estimate in *Documents* (p. 356), would be sufficient for one million arrow-heads. The frequency pattern of individual allocations with Jn series is striking. In the following table the figures represent the amounts reduced to the lower unit (roughly 1½ kg.).

Amount	6	12	16	20	28	32	48
No. of allocations	52+	20	20	42+	2	9	1

In the figure under 12 units I have included the solitary 8 unit which occurs in Jn 310, which otherwise lists only allocations of 12, so that the reading appears suspect. These are *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* smiths. It is of interest that the allocations of such smiths in Jn 431 vary between 12 and 24, both figures being multiples of the minimum allocation which is also the most frequent (expressed as as 0/1/2 in the tablet).

The two amounts of *e-pi-da-to* are 24 (Jn 389) and possibly the same amount in Jn 601, although Bennett reads the figure as 7 (that is in our table = 28 of the minor units); however, the numerals are close to the edge of the tablet and the tracing (*PT* ii 60) shows the numeral 6.

Ja 1288 (*AJA* 62. 1958. 183) records an amount of bronze as 0/4/1/6, that is 17½ units as expressed above. The preceding word I read (so also Chadwick) as *ka-ra-wi-so* as against *ka-ra-wi-ne* (M. Lang). It is presumably a proper name.

It would have been a convenience in issuing such amounts of bronze if the metal had been stored in pieces of standard weight such as a πέλεκυς, a unit which is later attested as a sub-division of a talent (with a further subdivision into διμναῖα) in the Cypriot inscription Cauer–Schwyzer 679. 15.

177. Jo 438 (*Docs.* 258)

		]*te*	
	te[	]	GOLD 0/1/0
	e-re[		GOLD] 0/0/1
	po-ro-ko-re-[*te*		GOLD] 0/0/1
.5	*do-ri-ka-o mo-*[*ro-pa*$_2$		GOLD] 0/0/1
	ru-ro mo-ro-pa$_2$		GOLD [ ] 1
	ne-da-wa-ta		GOLD [
	e-ke-me-de		GOLD 0/0/?
	ro-]*-u-so ko-re-te*		GOLD 0/0/0/?
.10	*pa-ki-ja-ni-*[*ja ko*]*-re-*[*te*		]GOLD 0/0/0/4+
	a-pu$_2$*-ja ko-re-*[*te*		]GOLD 0/0/0/5
	ka-ra-do-ro ko-re-te		GOLD 0/0/0/5
	]*ko-re-te*		GOLD 0/0/0/5
	]		GOLD 0/0/1
.15	*du*]*-ma*		GOLD 0/0/0/6
	wo-no[*du*]*-ma*		GOLD 0/0/?
	qo-wo[ ] *mo-*[*ro-pa*$_2$]		GOLD 0/0/1
	a-ka-wo		GOLD 0/0/0/3
	e-re-e po-ro-ko-re-te		GOLD 0/0/0/3
.20	*a-ke-ro pa*$_2$*-si-re-u*		GOLD 0/0/0/3
	te-po-se-u ti-nwa-si-jo ko-re-te		GOLD 0/0/1
	po-ki-ro-qo		GOLD 0/0/1
	**85-ke-wa*		GOLD 0/0/1
	ti-mi-ti-ja ko-re-te		GOLD 0/0/0/6
.25	*i-te-re-wa*		GOLD 0/0/0/6
	*pi-*82*		GOLD 0/0/0/6

e-ra-te-re-wa-o ko-rè-te GOLD 0/0/0/6

a-ke-re-wa ko-re-te GOLD 0/0/0/5

Edge:

po-so-ri-jo-[*du*]*-ma* GOLD 0/0/0/?[ ]*-jo a-to-mo* GOLD 0/0/0/3

This text records GOLD in varying amounts against persons indicated by (1) their name, (2) their name and style, (3) place and official title, or (4) the place alone. In (1) are *ne-da-wa-ta* and *e-ke-me-de*; the former has an *o-ka* and the latter is his first 'officer' (An 657. 6). *po-ki-ro-qo* again figures in the *o-ka* series (An 654. 12). **85-ke-wa* occurs in a list of notables (An 192) and especially in the introductory formula to Ta 711 (see p. 354). *a-ka-wo* figures in the most distinguished company in Un 219. 9 (see p. 259).

In (2) there are a number of persons styled *mo-ro-pa*$_2$: *do-ri-ka-o*, *ru-ro*, *qo-wo-*[ ]. A *ka-da-si-jo mo-ro-pa*$_2$ is the first of the 'officers' in the *to-ro-o o-ka* (An 519. 2). There are three broken entries where the description ends in *-ma*. The analogy of On 300 suggests that this should be restored *du-ma*: e.g. *po-so-ri-jo du-ma*. *po-so-ri-jo-no* (gen.) occurs in Sn 64. 7. Finally, *-jo a-to-mo* recalls *po-ki-ro-qo e-qe-o a-to-mo* Sn 64. 8. *a-to-mo* is evidently the name of a place or function. *po-ki-ro-qo*, as we have seen, is the first 'officer' mentioned in the *ta-ti-qo-we-wo o-ka* (An 654. 12).

In (3) we have the *ko-re-te* of *ro-u-so*, *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*, *a-pu*$_2$*-ja*, *ka-ra-do-ro*, *ti-nwa-si-jo*, *ti-mi-ti-ja*, *e-ra-te-re-wa-o*, and *a-ke-re-wa*, and also the *po-ro-ko-re-te* of *e-re-e*. *a-ke-ro pa*$_2$*-si-re-u* is a unique entry, and his contribution is on the level of a *po-ro-ko-re-te*.

For category (4) *i-te-re-wa* and *pi-***82* are the sole entries. The amounts are the same as the adjacent *ko-re-te-re*. We know from Sn 64. 5 that *ku-ru-me-no mo-ro-pa*$_2$ was the *i-te-re-wa ko-re-te*. He has an *o-ka* in An 654. From the present tablet we may conclude that he was acting as *ko-re-te* of *i-te-re-wa*.

It is significant that the first paragraph of Sn 64 contains a concentration of Jo 438 personalities (see p. 143) but, with the significant exception of *ku-ru-me-no*, no identifiable *ko-re-te*. On the

importance of this for the non-military character of the *ko-re-te* office, see pp. 88 f.

The purpose of this GOLD levy, if such it be, was doubtless recorded in the formula at the head of the tablet, of which only the final syllable *-te* survives. There is nothing against the suggestion that it was intended for gold vessels offered to the gods such as are recorded in Tn 316 (pp. 261 ff.).

METALS AT KNOSSOS

Apart from J 693, which records the weight of bronze on a tunic, etc., and the fragmentary J 58 and J 58 *bis*, there is no KN evidence comparable with the above Pylos series. Weights of unknown material figure in Og 0467, which begins *jo-a-mi-ni-so-de di-do-ṣi* and then lists men's names followed by indications of weight. The amounts visible are 0/15/0 and 0/30/0. The latter figure is significant since there are 30 such units to a 'talent'. Now, as VC remark (*Docs.* p. 55), 'some commodities, like RI on Pylos Ma 03 [= 120], occasionally occur in quantities like 63, not reduced to the primary unit'. Since the BRONZE ideogram does not figure in this text, it is likely that this tablet, like others of the KN Og series, refers to deliveries of some spice (*po-ni-ki-jo*). Note *ri-no* 0/1/0 in Og 5778. (See Addendum.)

Og 1527 is also fragmentary. The only word which occurs is *mo-ri-wo-do* followed by the weight 0/3/0. There is no contexual determination for the word. VC and Georgiev have suggested an identification with a by-form, unattested, of the word for lead: μόλιϝδος for later μόλυβδος, etc. It could equally well be some kind of 'spice', with a name ending in *-ϝορδον*. Another indication is that the previous entries on the same lines are measured in the next lowest unit of weight.

IX

WOOL AND TEXTILES

(*Docs.* pp. 313 ff.)

THE KN L series are characterized by ideogram *159 = CLOTH. The word *pa-we-a* = *φάρϝεα* 'woollen cloths' is frequently associated with it. The ideogram apparently represents an upright two-beam loom such as first appears in Egyptian tomb paintings of the New Kingdom from *c.* 1580 B.C. (Singer–Holmyard-Hall (1954) 438). The vertical lines at the bottom of the ideogram vary in number: if they represent the threads of the warp (see *Docs.*), then the variation may reflect some differences of weave or density.

The ideogram is often surcharged with syllabic signs. These are, in order of frequency, TE, PU, PA, MI×PU$_2$,[1] KU, ZO. The ideogram is frequently preceded by an adjoined syllabic sign: *pe.* (see *pe-ko-to*), *o.* (= 'owing'), *mi.* (see *mi-ja-ro*), *re.*

The following words are associated with the ideogram.

tu-na-no occurs in the bottom line of the Lc series always associated with the unsurcharged CLOTH ideogram. When the WOOL entry has been preserved, the ratio of cloth to wool for this type is 1:3 (Lc 532, 558) or 3:12 (Lc 530).

It is noteworthy that in the Lc series *tu-na-no* are far fewer in numbers than the other cloth varieties. The ratios are 3:40 (Lc 525), 3:24 (Lc 526), 2:2+ (Lc 527), 3:40 (Lc 530), 1:15 (Lc 531), 1:20 (Lc 532), 1:20 (Lc 558). Some significance must attach to the regular position of *tu-na-no* in the lower (that is, the first) register, their fewness, and their small allocation of wool. Was this a garment the weaver was allowed to make for herself (himself)?

pe-ko-to is associated with CLOTH+TE and the entry is often followed by another entry of CLOTH+TE without adjoined word. The CLOTH+TE:WOOL ratio appears as 10:70 (Le 553), 4:26

[1] The adjunct *161 is a conflation, one element of which is certainly *pu*$_2$ and the other resembles *mi.*

(Lc 532, 554), 40:200+ (Lc 525). The ratio is thus in the neighbourhood of 1:7, which indicates a cloth of greater weight (owing to size, thickness, or density) than *tu-na-no*. In one case CLOTH+TE, preceded by adjoined *re.*, shows a ratio of 1:20 (L 5875).

mi-ja-ro is found written in full in L 1568 in the first entry, and it is subsequently abbreviated to *mi*, this contrasting with *pe*. The same contrast is seen in L 641, which also includes plain CLOTH+TE items.

pa-we-a accompanies the unsurcharged CLOTH ideogram. It is mostly followed in the Lc series by the word *ko-u-ra*. The only CLOTH : WOOL ratio appears in Lc 532, 16:26/2, which indicates a cloth of roughly half the weight of the *tu-na-no*. On examples for the association with *mi* × pu_2 CLOTH, see below.

The KN Lc series begin with a feminine ethnic written majuscule. Most of the underlying place-names are known from other tablets: *se-to-i-ja*, *da-wi-ja*, *e-ki-si-ja*, *e-ra-ja*, *tu-ri-si-ja*, *ja-pu_2-wi-ja*, *pa_2-mi-ja*, *si-ra-ri-ja*; *ra-su-ti-jo* is apparently masculine, but on the alternation of *ja* × *jo*, see p. 20. *a-ra-ka-te-ja* (Lc 531, 542) is thus also likely to be an ethnic; on the recurrence of the word in the PY A series, see p. 114. *ja-pu_2-wi-ja* likewise recalls the Pylian place-name *a-pu_2*; on the palatalization of the first syllable, see p. 38.

178. Lc 525 (*Docs.* 209)

wa-na-ka-te-ra CLOTH+TE 40 WOOL 200 [+]

SE-TO-I-JA *tu-na-no* CLOTH 3 WOOL [

wa-na-ka-te-ra: 'of royal type' (cf. *e-qe-si-ja* below). The cloth is of the heavy type (see above).

179. Lc 528

'pa-we-a' *ko-u-ra* CLOTH [

E-RA-JA *tu-na-no* CLOTH [

180. Lc 561

e-pi-qe-i-si

E-RA-JA CLOTH+TE 1

The first text records production by the establishment (women?) in *e-ra*. Lc 561 records a single cloth of the heavier type, the entry being glossed by the word *e-pi-qe-i-si* (so MV), which I interpret *ἐπίϙʷεισις* 'after-payment'. For the morphology of the noun compare Arcadian *ἔστεισιν* (Cauer–Schwyzer 656. 37). It is presumably a late delivery, which otherwise might have been booked as *o-pe-ro*.

181. Lc 535+538 (*Docs.* 212)

	ta-ra-si-ja	*pa-we-a* [
	ke-ri-mi-ja	*tu-na-no* [
TO-SA		*pe-ko-to* [

The tablet is evidently a totalling record. *ke-ri-mi-ja* occurs as the designation of a class of women at *Me-ta-pa*, who are listed as *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* of *do-qe-ja* (see No. **31**). *ta-ra-si-ja* on the line above should perhaps be read next and taken as = *ta-ra-si-ja* (*e-ko-sa*), for which compare the PY Jn series (p. 279). Their production is classified according to the three main types of cloth in order of weight (see above).

The Ld texts begin with the word *pa-we-a* written majuscule. The first word of the description is usually *e-qe-si-ja* or *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*. These words may be taken as designating types of cloth. In the succeeding description compounds containing colour words are prominent, e.g. *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, while what is apparently an instrumental feminine plural *e-ru-ta-ra-pi* occurs at the end. That a word 'dyed with' (*ἐρυθρᾷφι*) is to be understood appears from *ki-ri-ta e-ru-ta-ra-pi* (L 785), if this is correctly interpreted *χριστά* (on the connexion of *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* with *ke-ri-mi-ja*, see on No. **31**). Other colour designations are *po-pu-ro*$_2$ (L 758, cf. *po-pu-re-ja*, L 474) and *re-u-ka* (L 471).

A Hittite inventory (see A. Goetze, *JCS* 10. 1956. 32–38), listing mainly wool, garments, and linen, contains similar specifications: red, blue, red (dyed), and dark-red wool. A Ras Shamra text (ibid. 35) shows a contrast between 'dark red wool' and 'violet blue wool'. The two same shades also appear in the tribute paid by a king of Carchemish to Ashur-nasir-pal (Singer–Holmyard–Hall (1954) 247).

The second part of the compound, *o-nu-k-*, occurs independently as *o-nu-ka* on L 584. 2 after *pa-ro e-ta-wo-ne-we*, a personage who appears as the possessor of an *o-pa* in L 695 (on *o-pa*, see p. 319). *o-nu-ke* WOOL 5 is the entry on Od 682. 1. The compound *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* shows that the basic noun cannot refer to the dyeing of the wool since this operation could hardly produce 'variegated' wool. The analysis indicates that *o-nu-ke* form some feature of the cloth involving its colour which yet can be weighed separately as WOOL. This rules out interpretations such as 'border', 'fringe', 'band', and the like (*Docs.* p. 318). Some such meaning as 'wool-thread' (*vel sim.*) suggests itself.

182. Ld 571 (*Docs.* 214)

pe-ne-we-ta a-ro$_2$*-a* *158 1

PA-WE-A e-qe-si-ja re-u-ko-nu-ka CLOTH 25

pe-ne-we-ta: cf. dual *pe-ne-we-te* (Ld 5108). The word is found associated only with *e-qe-si-ja*-type cloths. In Ld 871 it is written majuscule: = 'possessing a *pe-no-s-* (neuter)'.

a-ro$_2$*-a*: *ἀρίο(h)α* 'of superior quality?' (see p. 50).

The ideogram *158 is found only in this series, where the numbers of *pa-we-a* are mostly multiples of five: 25 (*ter*), 30, 35, 40 (*bis*). In six instances only one is recorded; two are entered in Ld 578. Does *158 represent the container?

The Hittite inventory quoted above mentions the containers as 'a (leather) bag with straps'. Ideogram *158 has the appearance of a flat-bottomed bag screwed together at the top. We interpret the text tentatively as:

'CLOTHS: of "*e-qe-ta* type" with white threads, possessing *pe-no-s-*, of superior quality: CLOTH 25. BAG 1.'

183. Ld 573 (*Docs.* 215)

e-ru-ta-ra-pi

PA-WE-A ke-se-nu-wi-ja re-u-ko-nu-ka CLOTH 35 *158 1

'CLOTHS: of foreign type, with white *threads*, (interspersed) with red??' CLOTH 35. BAG 1.

184. Ld 871 (*Docs.* 216)

pa-ro re-wa-jo

]-*RA PE-NE-WE-TA e-qe-si-ja te-tu-ko-wo-a* CLOTH 6

te-tu-ko-wo-a: τετυχϝό(*h*)α. On a similar specification of wheels, see p. 326. The words in the top line 'from *re-wa-jo*' (proper name) indicate that the text is a receipt. The participle may thus mean 'in a finished state'. G. Björck has suggested (*Eranos* 52. 1954. 275) that *to-u-ka*, which appears five times on the reverse of Lc tablets, may be the corresponding noun τουχᾱ.

In the Le series the CLOTH ideogram is four times surcharged PA: e.g.

185. Le 178+281

WE-WE-E-A mi × *pu*$_2$ CLOTH+PA 6 *u-po-we* TUNIC+RI 2

we-we-e-a: this occurs in conjunction with the plain ideogram (L 870). But in both texts a TUNIC entry follows. It is noteworthy that the word *ki-to-pi* occurs on other Le texts again in conjunction with CLOTH+PA. This suggests that these texts record the typical outfits of apparel consisting of χιτών and overgarment. That the χιτών may thus be regarded as the 'undergarment' lends further plausibility to the interpretation of the word *u-po-we* as ὑπο-ϝες (VC compare Hesychius ὑποέστης· χιτών). But two are entered, so that we should expect the dual. There are, however, parallels for such syntactical incongruence (see p. 344). The interpretation, if admitted, yields another example of an archaic compound of the type preposition plus verbal root: cf. *par-wr̥g-*, *per-jug-*, etc. (see p. 116).

we-we-e-a is interpreted by VC as 'woollen'; cf. Attic ἐρεᾶ < ϝερ-ϝέεα. This can refer to the CLOTH+PA items, if TUNIC+RI = *ri-ta* 'linen' (see *Docs.* p. 320). But the word, written majuscule at the beginning, may subsume both the items recorded. On the adjoined *mi* × *pu*$_2$, see below.

186. Le 786

*a-*35-ka* CLOTH+PA [

]-*A*$_2$ *ke-ro-ta mi* × *pu*$_2$ *ki-*[

187. Le 787+1009

*a-*35-ka* CLOTH+PA I

]-A_2 *o-re-ne-ja mi* × pu_2 *ki-to-pi* [

*a-*35-ka*: in both examples this is the top-line, that is to say the final, entry. It appears to be the third article of an outfit. The value of *35 is uncertain: I have suggested *a-*pu_3*-ka* = ἄμπυξ (LP 4. 44), but see p. 23 for the discussion of *35.

ke-ro-ta and *o-re-ne-ja* both occupy the same formulaic 'place'. *ke-ro-ta* recurs in L 785 (p. 292), a list of cloths, where again it is followed in smaller letters by *mi* × pu_2 *ki-to-na*. *o-re-ne-ja* recurs in Ld 579, where again it occupies the first position after *PA-WE-A*, and the description includes the word *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*. In Ld 583 and 6024 it appears before *a-*ro_2*-a*, which is elsewhere the final word of the formula. In Ld 5108 it is again followed by *mi* × pu_2. Finally, L 593 shows *e-qe*]*-si-ja o-re-ne-a*. This tablet, too, is distinguished by the adjunct *mi* × pu_2 and tunic entries.

The adjunct *mi* × pu_2 occurs further with *pa-we-a* (Lc 592), *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, and *re-u-ko-nu-ka* (L 590). *mi* × pu_2 would thus distinguish cloths of lighter weight (see above on the wool ratio of *pa-we-a ko-u-ra*) used for garments including the χιτών. It is unfortunate that all three Le texts are so mutilated that only the final sign -a_2 of the first word is visible. In *KT ii pa-we*]-a_2 is restored. This assumes a spelling contrary to the constant Knossian orthography *pa-we-a*. VC's suggestion γέροντα 'old' for *ke-ro-ta* hardly forms a satisfactory contrast with *o-re-ne-ja*. This they would connect with ὠλένη; but the ending *-e-ja* cannot figure in a derivative from an *a*-stem.

In the L series we may group together in the first place those texts where the first word is a place-name written majuscule: *pa*$_2$*-ra*, *do-ti-ja*, *ko-no-so*, *a-mi-ni-so*, *e-ko-so*, *ti-ri-to*, *pa*$_3$*-ko-we*. With these belong those which begin with a feminine ethnic: *da-*22-ti-ja*, *pa-i-ti-*[*ja*. Ethnics recur in L 641 (= no. **194**).

The ideogram is often surcharged PU, which is sometimes accompanied by the word *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*. We also find an adjoined *pe*. (L 869). There is no clue to the nature of the cloth and etymological reconstructions are thus best avoided. It is, however,

apparently one of the commonest cloths, to judge from the high numbers (980 in L 5561).

The texts doubtless refer to deliveries from the dependent Knossian villages. One text appears to record the detailed breakdown for the place *da-wo*.

188. L 1568

.1a *mi-ja-ro e.pa.* 4 *e.pa.* 6

.1b *pa$_3$-po-so wa-wa-ka* CLOTH+TE 1 *ru-ki-ti-ja pe.* CLOTH+TE 1
e-pa. 12
wi-da-ma-ta$_2$ *mi.* CLOTH+TE 1

.2a *e.pa.* 12 *e.pa.* 4

.2b *po-po pe.* CLOTH+TE 1 *ta-su mi.* CLOTH+TE 1 *ko-re-wo*
e.pa. 4 *e.pa.* 8
mi. CLOTH+TE 1 *di-ju-pa-ta mi.* CLOTH+TE 1, etc.

The final entry reads (l. 6):

da-wo to-sa pa-ṭę pa-ra-ja pe. CLOTH+TE 8

On the edge is written:

*a-ze-ti-*64-ja* *ne-ki-ṛi-de*

o-pi ma-tu-we o-nu-ke WOOL 1 *o-pi-po-ni-ke-ja* [

The opposition of *pe.* and *mi.* would appear to rule out the interpretation 'dirty' for *mi-ja-ro* (so *Docs.*). But Homer uses the denominative μιαίνω of the staining of ivory with red (φοίνικι, *Il.* 4. 141), and in its transferred sense the connexion with αἷματι is predominant. The word is never used in our sense 'dirty'. It appears possible that our text preserves μιαρός in the sense 'blood-red' (see p. 292).

The superscribed items *e.pa.* are peculiar in that the accompanying numbers are 4, 6, 8, or 12. These entries may be technical specifications of the cloth, perhaps referring to the thread-count or the relationship of woof to warp. A good many of the personal names appear to be masculine, which would suggest that the craft of weaving was not confined to women. *po-po*: this name recurs as the first item of L 513 (No. **190**).

di-ju-pa-ta: διυφαντάς(?), another example of an occupational

personal name (cf. *ka-ke-u*). On the technical significance of δι-υφαίνω 'pattern-weave', see H. Blümner, *Technologie* 168.

*a-ze-ti-*64-ja*: this gives the value ri_2 to *64, but the reading is doubtful (p. 22). On *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*, see Glossary.

ne-ki-ri-de: presumably nominative plural; cf. *ne-ki-ri-si* (Od 687, see Glossary).

189. L 474 (*Docs.* 224)

PO-PU-RE-JA pu-ka-ta-ri-ja CLOTH+PU 21

po-pu-re-ja: the fact that 'deliverers' figure mainly in this first place written majuscule favours the interpretation 'dyers' rather than 'purple' referring to the cloths.

190. L 513

qe-te-o CLOTH [

PO-PO CLOTH 4 [

po-po: a proper name (see No. **188**). The delivery of 4 cloths is recorded.

qe-te-o I take as *q*^{w}ειτέον 'to be paid', that is, 'still outstanding'; cf. ἐπίq^{w}εισις above (No. **180**).

The reverse reads: *a-mi-si-ja* CLOTH 12. A mistake for *a-mi-ni-si-ja*?

191. L 520 (*Docs.* 225)

do-ti-ja	WOOL 18	*pe-re-ke*	*164 3
ka-ma	WOOL 12		*164 2
sa-mu-ta-jo	WOOL 24		*164 4

The first words are apparently proper names, the first being of the ethnic type. Ideogram *164 is a variety of the CLOTH ideogram. The ratio of WOOL : CLOTH is 6 : 1, double that of the *tu-na-no*. *pe-re-ke* conceivably names this type of cloth, but it could be taken as πλέκει, in the sense 'weaves' (the interchange of the terms for plaiting and weaving is well known). In that case we should have to understand the verb with each entry. *pe-re-ke-we* is the name of a class of men in PY Ae 574, 765; in MY Oe 130 it recurs with the WOOL ideogram.

192. L 471 (*Docs.* 223)

me-zo-e

[*PU*]-*KA-TA-RI-JA* *re-u-ka* CLOTH+PU 10

'*pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* cloths, white, of larger size.'

193. L 587+589+596 (*Docs.* 217)

po-ki-ro-nu-ka CLOTH 24 *re-u-ko-nu-ka* CLOTH 372

ko-ro-ta$_2$ CLOTH 14 *pa*$_3$*-ra-ku-ja* CLOTH 42 *po-ri-wa* CLOTH 1

Edge : [ ] *ṭọ-ṣạ* CLOTH 149

po-ri-wa: πολιϝά 'gray'.

Since three of the descriptions refer to colour, it would be wise not to depart from this category in interpreting the other words. *ko-ro-ta*$_2$ recurs in a similar context in L 598. 2 and in L 599 with *pa-we-a*. *ko-ro-to* occurs in a WOOL tablet MY Oe 106. 1, but there the word may identify the person. κλωστια is morphologically difficult and does not fit the category 'colour'. χρωστά 'coloured, dyed' does not satisfy phonetically in the final syllable, nor is the meaning sufficiently specific. We should expect a precise colour. The most frequent ancient dye not yet encountered in these texts is 'saffron': κροκια would provide the palatalized final syllable which -*ta*$_2$ demands, but one would expect a spelling *ko-ro-za*. *Non liquet!*

pa$_3$*-ra-ku-ja*: cf. *pa-ra-ku-ja* (Ld 580) qualifying *pa-we-a*. For the noun *pa-ra-ku* as the name of some ornamental material, see p. 338: '*pa-ra-ku* colour?'.

194. L 641 (*Docs.* 213)

1. *o-a-po-te de-ka-sa-ṭọ a-re-i-jo* / *o-u-qe po-* [
2. *pa-i-ti-ja pe.* CLOTH+TE 2 *mi.* CLOTH+TE 14 *da-wi-ja pe.* CLOTH+TE 1 [
3. *do-ti-ja* *mi.* CLOTH+TE 6 *pa*$_2$*-mi-ja* CLOTH+TE 1 [
4. *ko-no-so* / *te-pe-ja* *mi.* CLOTH+TE 3 *tu-ni-ja* CLOTH+TE 1 [

Vacant 2

In the introductory formulae beginning *o-*, *jo-*, the first word in

the Pylian texts is invariably a verb. In the only other Knossos example (Og 0467), however, the destination occupies this position. *jo-a-mi-ni-so-de di-do-si* . . . .

a-po-te: VC suggest ἄπωθε 'from afar', but it is difficult to see the point of this when the ethnics of the entries are by themselves sufficient indication and one of the places is Knossos itself. *a-po-te* occurs in the WOOL tablet Od 562. 3: the parallel entries are mutilated, but the endings *-no-nu-we* (l. 1)]*-si-da-jo*, taken with the verb (?) *pe-re*, admit the interpretation 'was brought from . . . ', so that the *-te* of *a-po-te* could be classed with the similar case ending found in the Pylian place-names such as *e-ri-no-wo-te*, *a-ka-re-u-te*, etc. (see p. 49). If *a-po-te* is a place-name, then this would square with the only other formula from Knossos of the above type.

a-re-i-jo is presumably the name of the person who took delivery.

X

THE PYLOS Ma SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 289 ff., *Mém.* I 65–91)

THE formulaic structure of this series is: (1) place-name, (2) six ideograms in a fixed order: *146, RI, KE, *152, O, ME. In the text these will be designated simply (as in *Documents*) *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*.

After the gross 'assessment' the majority of the texts have additional remarks relating to 'non-delivery', 'remission', 'deficit', and the like.

On the commodities indicated by their syllabic initials VC write (p. 290): 'there is no guarantee that they have the same meaning as similar syllables used as abbreviations in other contexts.' This objection can hardly apply to complex 'cluster resemblances'. The occurrence of MA, KO, [ ], ME, O, WI, in Un 219 (see p. 259), where they are booked against the *ra-wa-ke-ta* in a context also containing divine names, suggests that these are typical 'offering' commodities. In pursuit of the purpose of these lists it will be well to examine the dossier of each ideogram separately. If we find that these independent studies point in the same direction, they will provide mutual support.

We begin with *146, which has already been examined (pp. 260 f.). We found that it occurs constantly in association with MA, predominantly in offering contexts. That MA is not WOOL but an aromatic used in making perfumes has also been made plausible. Thus the reason for diagnosing *146 as some textile falls to the ground (see on the word *o-no* and Addendum).

The fourth ideogram *D* is surcharged with the syllabic sign WI. It also occurs surcharged KO in Un 718. 4, where it is accompanied by the syllabic group *ko-wo*. The ideogram has been identified as SKIN; SKIN+WI is interpreted as *wrinos* and SKIN+KO as *κῶας*. This is the etymological method applied to single initial syllables (see above on DA). Contextual analysis suggests a different answer. The unsurcharged *154 occurs in On 300, 375,

1074, and Un 592. The last, though fragmentary, shows the following entries: KO. CONDIMENT, KA+PO, KO. CONDIMENT, MA+RU, *ra-ka* *154 (see below). Thus the ideogram *154 (SKIN?) is clearly bracketed by entries referring to aromatics, for MA+RU, as we have seen, is in such a context not to be interpreted as WOOL (see pp. 237 ff.) and the preceding entries are all 'spices'. On 300 tells us nothing about the ideogram. On 375 is a mere fragment, but the syllabic adjuncts KA, PE are known from 'aromatic' contexts (see pp. 272 f.). Apart from the above texts, *152, surcharged WI, occurs only on the sealing Wr 01 and the fragmentary KN M 797, both uninformative.

?SKIN+KO occurs only in Un 718. 4 and 8. The order of the *do-so-mo* in l. 4 is CHEESES, *ko-wo* ?SKIN+KO 1. In ll. 7-8 we have WHEAT, WINE, RAMS, CHEESE, UNGUENT, SKIN+KO.

Thus there is nothing in the evidence which suggests, let alone compels, the identification of *154 as SKIN. On the contrary, the entries of Un 592, as we saw, show a definite bias towards 'aromatics'. It remains to test this diagnosis by interpretation of the accompanying syllabic groups within the framework of other similar entries on this fragmentary text. These are *ko.* and *ka+po. ko.* is, of course, the standard abbreviation of *ko-ri-ja-do-no/ko-ri-ja-da-na* (see p. 272). *ka+po* (if this is the correct order of the ligatured signs) has been interpreted as *καρπός* 'fruit' (*Docs.* p. 223, where in any case it is rightly regarded as one of the 'spices').

Now *ra-ka*, according to the established spelling rules, may stand for *ῥάξ* 'berry', the word being used also of the seed of the peony, the clove of the garlic, etc. (see *LSJ* s.v.). We have seen at Mycenae that different parts of the same plant are used by perfumers. It appears likely, therefore, that *154 stands for some kind of aromatic plant, different parts of which are used in the manufacture of perfumes. This is the differentiating function of the surcharged signs. Perhaps WI stands for 'root' as opposed to *ra-ka* 'seed' and *ko-wo* for some other part of the plant. We note that WI also forms part of the ideogram *157, which is also an unidentified 'spice' (see also *Docs.* p. 223 and above on Un 267 (p. 270)).

KE recurs in the Na series (p. 307), and we shall see that *ri-no*

'linseed' may be the substance which RI refers to. Next, O, like KU, is fused with the 'aromatic' ideogram to form *126. It is the rarest of the commodities listed and, like RI and KE, it is weighed. Finally, we have ME ('honey', see p. 270).

Another pointer to the context of 'aromatics' is the fact that *tu-wo* is the first entry in Un 219, where, as we have seen, so many of these syllabic signs recur. It is difficult to reject so complex a cluster resemblance. Thus all the indications are that this set of tablets record the assessment and deliveries from a large number of places of materials used for the manufacture of perfumes and unguents.

Finally, a small cache of Knossos tablets throws light on the contextual affinities of *146 and KE. In the 'Room of the Niche' a cluster of tablets was found, the inventory numbers being 711–26. 714, 715, and 716 record offerings of MA to Eleuthia; 713 lists an AMPHORA of HONEY (our ME); 717, again, HONEY to *me-na*, *pa-si-te-o-i*, and *e-ne*]*-si-da-o-ne*; 718 begins simply *A-MI-NI-SO*, and this connects up in these tablets with *e-re-u-ti-ja* (e.g. 705). The context is clearly substances used in offerings. Thus it is of significance for our analysis of the Ma substances that 711 rev. in the Knossos cluster registers KE 200. Of great interest, too, is the fact that *146 appears on 719 (beginning with *a-mi-ni-so*, the recipient being *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*, cf. *Ἐννοσίδᾶς*), 720 (where the first word *ze-ne-si-wo* may be the name of a month, cf. *Γενεσίων*), and the fragmentary 724, ending *me-no*, which may be the last word of the date-formula. Thus this small cluster of tablets repeats the combination of *146 and MA noted above and groups them with KE and HONEY in a clear context of offerings.

As VC point out, 'the substances in question are calculated in a fixed proportion of 7:7:2:3:1½:150'.

Eighteen places are mentioned. We list them here in the canonical order of the 'Nine' and the 'Seven'.

(1)	*Assessment*
Ma 225 *pi-*82*	28, etc.
Ma 90 *me-ta-pa*	28, etc.
Ma 120 *pe-to-no*	33, etc.

Ma 221	*pa-ki-ja-pi*	22, etc.
Ma 124	*a-pu$_2$-we*	23, etc.
Ma 222	*a-ke-re-wa*	23, etc.
	e-ra-te-i	missing
Ma 346	*ka-ra-do-ro*	18, etc.
Ma 193	*ri-jo*	17, etc.

(2)

Ma 123	*ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*	24, etc.
Ma 216	*ra-wa-ra-ta$_2$*	70, etc.
Ma 378	*sa-ma-ra*	24, etc.
Ma 397	*a-*85-ta$_2$*	24, etc.
Ma 333	*e-ra-te-re-we*	46, etc.
Ma 393	*za-ma-e-wi-ja*	28, etc.
	e-re-i	missing

Note: the presence of an otherwise unknown *a-*85-ta$_2$* in a set where we expect *a-si-ja-ti-ja* is the strongest indication that the value of *85 is *sja*. See p. 21.

As is noted above, no assessment has survived for *e-ra-te-i* in the 'Nine' or for *e-re-i* of the 'Seven'. On the other hand, we have tablets referring to *si-re-wa* (Ma 126), *e-sa-re-wi-ja* (Ma 330), *a-te-re-wi-ja* (Ma 335), and *ro-u-so* (Ma 365). *e-sa-re-wi-ja* and *a-te-re-wi-ja* appear to be formed on nouns in -εύς. An *e-sa-re-u* occurs repeatedly in the Na series, where the word is found conjoined with *ke-u-po-da*, for which the only 'etymological' proposal has been χενσπόνδας 'libation-pourer' (see pp. 306 f.). In On 300. 9 *e-sa-re-wi-ja* is listed in the Further Province between *ra-u-ra-ti-ja* and *e-ra-te-re-wa-o*. In Vn 493. 3 it is coupled with *za-ma-e-wi-ja*. *a-te-re-wi-ja* is apparently located in the district of *pi-*82*, that is to say in the most northerly part of the Hither Province (see p. 164). *ro-u-so* is also in the Hither Province (see p. 76).

The 'comments' explaining failure to achieve the total assessment are of the following types:

o-da-a$_2$ ka-ke-we o-u-di-do-si (e.g. Ma 90).

These 'non-givers' include *ka-ke-we* 'bronze-smiths' (these are

the most frequent), *kù-re-we* (see p. 153), *pe-ra$_3$-qo* (Ma 193), *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* (see p. 69).

Other tablets (e.g. Ma 123) list the actual delivery introduced by the word *a-pu-do-si* before booking what is 'not given'. In some examples *pe-ru-si-nu-wo o-pe-ro* 'last year's deficit' is entered. Finally, we have in the *a-pu-do-si* line of Ma 393 the comment after *A* 20 *a-ne-ta-de A* 1 = ἄνετα δέ 'but remitted: *A* 1'. From this we conclude that the commodity or its unit of measurement was feminine in gender. The most frequent of the 'not given' comments is *o.* = ὄφελος. (See Addendum.)

195. Ma 393 (*Docs.* 175)

za-ma-e-wi-ja A 28 *B* 28 *C* 8 *D* 12 *E* 5 *F* 600

a-pu-do-si A 20 *a-ne-ta-de A* 1 *B* 21 *C* 5 *o.*1 *D* 8 *E* 6 *F* 450

o-da-a$_2$ ma-ra-ne-ni-jo o-u-di-do-si A 7 *B* 7 *C* 2 *D* 3 *E* 2 *F* 150

ma-ra-ne-ni-jo: the non-givers may be excused their deliveries in virtue of some service being performed by them; 40 men in a 'rowers' context are entered against a place *ma-ra-ne-nu-we* in An 610. 11. One quarter of the assessment is excused.

196. Ma 90 (*Docs.* 177)

me-ta-pa A 28 *B* 28 *C* 8 *D* 12 *E* 6 *F* 600

o-da-a$_2$ ka-ke-we o-u-di-do-si A 1 *B* 1 *D* 1 *ku-re-we o-u-di-do-si A* 4 *B* 4 *D* 2 *E* 1½ *F* 100

ku-re-we: various suggestions have been made, but the fact that the *ku-re-we* are on coast-watching duties in the *o-ka* series (see p. 153) throws doubt on such etymological identifications as *skulēwes* 'leather-workers'. The word is most probably an ethnic. Note also that the *ku-re-we* are also concerned in the 'offering?' of a bull at *pi-ru-te* in Cn 3, where they are in parallel with a number of other ethnics. The scribe is hardly likely to have identified them as 'leather-workers'.

197. Ma 365 (*Docs.* 178)

ro-u-so A 17 *B* 17 *C* 5 *D* 8 *E* 4 *F*

o-da-a$_2$ ka-ke-we a$_2$-te-ro we-to di-do-si A 1 *B* ½ *F* 10

a_2-te-ro we-to: ἄτερον ϝέτος 'another year' that is 'next year'. δίδονσι will then be the present used as a future.

Ma 126 is exceptional in that it merely records a 'last year's deficit' of the place *si-re-wa*. This is followed by the word *do-si-mi-ja*, which recurs on the Mycenae 'spice' tablets (see p. 273). Above *si-re-wa* is written the word *i-na-ma-ta*. This I take to be the name of the person whose *do-si-mi-ja* was not forthcoming. For a break-down of the deliveries due from a place into the assessments of different persons in it see no. **212** (pp. 310 f.).

198. Ma 126 (*Docs.* 182)

i-na-ma-ta

pe-ru-si-nu-wa si-re-wa o-pe-ro do-si-mi-ja
A 3 *B* 1 *C* 1

199. Ma 225 (*Docs.* 180)

*pi-*82 A* 28 *B* 28 *C* 8 *D* 22 [*E* 6] *F* 600

re-u-ko-to-ro *za-we-te*

pe-ru-si-nu-wa o-pe-ro B 2 *o-da-a_2 ka-ke-we o-u-di-do-si A* 1 *B* 1 *F* 16

pe-ru-si-nu-wa: false spelling for *-wo*. On the suprascript note *re-u-ko-to-ro*, see p. 75.

za-we-te: Attic τῆτες, Doric σᾶτες have been traced to κιάϝετες (J. B. Hofmann, *EWG*, s.v.). The Mycenaean word is precisely the postulated ancestral form; on *za-* = *kja-*, see p. 37; on **85-u-te* = *sjāwetes*, see p. 240. The sentence is to be translated: 'Whereas the bronze-smiths do not deliver this year.'

Mn 456 records small quantities of *A* (= *146) against a number of place-names, in the following order: *re-*[*u-ko-to*]*ro*, *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*, *si-re-wa*, *me-te-to*, *e-wi-te-wi-jo*, *ro-u-so*, *e-ri-no-wo-te*, *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, *e-pi-qo-ra_2* (see p. 161).

XI

THE PYLOS Na SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 295 ff. *Mem.* I 127 ff.)

THIS set of texts records 'assessments' of a commodity designated SA for a large number of places. The identification of SA, which can hardly be 'flax' or 'linen' or the like, will be discussed below.

The number of units recorded against each place varies, but by far the most frequent amount is 30 (e.g. Na 106 24+6; Na 245 20+10; Na 252 24+6; Na 425 27+3). As with the Ma series, explanatory comments are added such as *o-u-di-do-si*. The word *o-pe-ro* does not occur. On the other hand, there are comments strange to the Ma series. A number of groups are said to 'have' a stated number of units: e.g. *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo e-ko-si* (Na 396, where 'they have' the whole assessment of the place *wo-no-qe-wa*). This group of 'possessors' includes *ke-ki-de* (Na 103, 514), *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* (Na 396, 405, 516, 543), and *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* (Na 928). These groups recur, as we saw, in the *o-ka* set as guard troops, and their number corresponds to the number of SA units which they are stated 'to have' in the Na series (H. Mühlestein). This fact is of importance for the determination of the nature of SA. It is difficult to understand what the guard troops would be doing on their vigil with a unit of 'flax' apiece.

More puzzling is the most frequent type of comment: e.g. *to-sa-de ka-ke-we e-re-u-te-ra* (Na 106, 252, 425, 529, 923, 941). The word *e-re-u-te-ra* (sometimes spelt *e-re-u-te-ro*) occurs with *ku-na-ke-ta-i* 'to the huntsmen', and this parallelism suggests that *ka-ke-we* is dative singular. The corresponding plural form occurs on the broken tablet Na 104: *ka-ke-u-si*. Other combinations with *e-re-u-te-ra* are *to*]*-sa-de e-re-e-wo e-re-u-te-ra* (Na 284); *e-re-u-te-ra*, with the intriguing comment *wa-na-ka e-ke* 'the *wanax* has' (Na 334); *ai-ki-de-o e-re-u-te-ra* (Na 529).

What appears to be the form of the corresponding verb, *e-re-u-te-ro-se*, occurs predominantly with the name *e-sa-re-u ke-u-po-da*

(see p. 303): *to-sa-de pe-i ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u e-re-u-te-ro-se*, with a comment on the edge *ke-ke-me-no-jo wa-te-u*, which is presumably a further description: 'the *wa-te-u* of the "shareland"' (Na 395). A similar comment occurs in Na 568: *to-sa-de na-u-do-mo o-u-di-do-si e-sa-re-u ke-⟨u⟩-po-da e-re-u-te-ro-se* 'the ship-builders do not give . . . '. *ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u* occurs again in Na 527. *ke-u-po-da* also occurs at Knossos, unfortunately on fragmentary tablets: but what appears to be the corresponding feminine *ke-u-po-de-ja* is found in KN G 820. 3, where a connexion with Potnia is discernible (see Glossary). *e-sa-re-we* (dat.) occurs as a proper name in KN As 1517. 11.

A parallel formulation to that preceding occurs in Na 924: *me-to-re e-re-u-te-ro-se to-sa. me-to-re* is known as a man's name from Knossos (Og 0467, Dx 5295).

The operative words in the above formulae have been identified as ἐλεύθερος and the derived verb ἐλευθερόω. The sense 'free' and 'to free' of a commodity has no parallel, however, in post-Mycenaean Greek. We should not, therefore, neglect the first step of connecting the words with others of similar appearance in these texts. *e-re-u-te-re* is found, as we saw, in Cn 3. 2 and Wa 917, and these officials have a religious function (see p. 174). *we-da-ne-wo*, again, is another cult personality, and he figures in Na 856 and 1041; in both these texts there is a suprascript KE which recalls the third commodity listed in the Ma set and a framed KE is now attested from the 1957 finds (see pp. 371 ff.). These convergent pointers to the sphere of cult should not be ignored in our build-up of the contextual picture.

Ng 319 and 332 list the total deliveries and non-deliveries of the Hither Province and the Further Province respectively.

200. Na 245 (*Docs.* 195)

o-u-di-do-si SA 10

e-wi-te-wi-jo SA 20 *to-sa-de ma-ra-te-we ra-wa-ke-si-jo*

ma-ra-te-we: here an appellative used of a group of men described as 'belonging to the *lāwāgetas*'. *ma-ra-te-u* is elsewhere attested as a man's name.

201. Na 568 (*Docs.* 189)

e-sa-re-u ke-u-po-da e-re-u-te-ro-se SA 50
ai-me]-*wa* SA 20 *to-sa-de na-u-do-mo o-u-di-do-si*

ai-me]-*wa*: so restored because a group of *na-u-do-mo* is listed at *ai-me-wa* in Vn 865. The gist of the comment appears to be that *e-sa-re-u* will make (or has made) available the amount 'not given' by the shipbuilders, who are presumably excused because of services being performed.

202. Na 396

wo-no-qe-wa ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo '*e-ko-si*' SA 30

wo-no-qe-wa: on the relationship to the 'district' name *wo-no-qe-we*, see p. 162. The *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* appear in the *o-ka* tablets (see p. 153). Here they have been issued with the whole amount due from the place in question.

203. Na 106

e-re-u-te-ra SA 6
e-ri-no-wo SA 24 *to-sa-de ka-ke-we*

e-ri-no-wo: on this place, see p. 161.

204. Na 248 (*Docs.* 191)

e-re-u-te-ro
ta-mi-ta-na ku-na-ke-ta-i SA 30

Nothing further is known about the place. *e-re-u-te-ro* shows one of the frequent interchanges of *a* and *o*. The text is peculiar in that it seems to imply that the whole assessment of this place has been issued to the 'huntsmen'. Was this a royal hunting lodge?

205. Na 334 (*Docs.* 194)

wa-na-ka e-ke
pi-ka-na e-re-u-te-ra SA 20

The place-name is again a *hapax*. The assessment, according to the suprascript comment, has been taken by the *wanax*.

Was this the king or the god? The scales are tilted in favour of

the latter by the new fragment Nn 1357 (*AJA* 63. 1959. 133), where the entries are:

to]-*sa-de e-ma-a*$_2$ *e-re-*[*u-te-ra*

to]-*sa-de ẹ-po-me-ne-we* [

to]-*sa-de ka-ke-we e-re-u-te-*[*ra*

to]-*sa-de ko-re-te-re e-re-u-*[*te-ra*

e-po-me-ne-u occurs on Nn 831 (see below). The mention of a god (*e-ma-a*$_2$, see p. 263) as a recipient is relevant to the interpretation of *wa-na-ka*.

206. Na 395 (*Docs.* 190)

Edge:

] *ke-ke-me-no-jo wa-te-u*

] *e-re-u-te-ro-se* SA 15

] *to-sa-de pe-i ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u*

pe-i: = *σφε(h)ί* 'to them' (see p. 50). The persons concerned were presumably mentioned on the missing left-hand portion of the tablet. The top line is written on the edge but over-laps on to the face of the tablet. *wa-te-u* is a *hapax*; it may be the title of an official. *ke-ke-me-no-jo* 'of the shareland', see pp. 186 ff.

207. Na 520 (*Docs.* 193)

] *ṭọ-ị-qe e-re-u-te-ra*

] *pu*$_2$*-te-re ki-ti-je-si* SA 30

pu$_2$*-te-re*: *φυτῆρες* 'planters'.

ki-ti-je-si: third plural *κτίενσι* of *κτείμι*, the athematic verb replaced later by *κτίζω* (cf. Sanskrit *kṣéti*). 'The planters are laying out the land.'

to-i-qe: = *τοι(h)ι* dative plural of the demonstrative stem *το-* 'and to them . . . '.

208. Na 926 (*Docs.* 196)

e-ke-de-mi a$_2$*-ku-mi-jo* SA 6

PA-KA-A-KA-RI a-ki-ti-to

pa-ka-a-ka-ri: a double place-name to be resolved into *pa-ka* (in) *a-ka-ri*.

a-ki-ti-to: ἄκτιτον, in which the root *ktei/kti* has a technical sense 'win from the waste', 'plant' (*vel sim.*): 'unplanted'.

e-ke-de-mi: ἔχει δέ μιν 'but a_2-*ku-mi-jo* has it'. The assessment is small.

209. Ng 319 (*Docs.* 198)

de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja SA 1239

to-sa-de o-u-di-do-to SA 457

210. Ng 332 (*Docs.* 199)

pe-ra$_3$*-ko-ra-i-ja* SA 200+[

to-sa-de o-u-di-do-to SA[

de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja 'places this side of *ai-ko-ra*'; *pe-ra*$_3$*-ko-ra-i-ja* 'places the other side of *ai-ko-ra*' (see p. 66).

di-do-to: δίδο(ν)τοι: 'So many are not given.'

211. Nn 228 (*Docs.* 184)

o-o-pe-ro-si ri-no | o-pe-ro

u-ka-jo SA 20 *ro-o-wa* SA 35

pu$_2$*-ra*$_2$*-a-ke-re-u* SA 10 *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*

SA 5 *di-wi-ja-ta* SA 60

.5 *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* SA 28

po-ra-pi SA 10 *e-na-po-ro* SA 33

te-tu-ru-we SA 38

This text records the 'deficit' of a number of places. The introductory sentence 'how (thus) they owe *ri-no*' is an important clue to the nature of the commodity or commodities indicated or measured by SA. Another clue is afforded by the heading, unfortunately broken, of Nn 831.

212. Nn 831 (*Docs.* 183)

ko-ri-[*ja-do-*]*no* [[*do*]]

u-re-[*u*] SA 4

a-mo-ke-re-[*we*] SA 1

e-re-e-u SA 2

.5	*qo-u-ko-ro*	SA 2
	a-ro-je-u	SA 1
	a-mu-ta-wo	SA 4
	e-po-me-ne-u	SA 4
	ko-re-te	SA 24
.10	*po-me-ne*	SA 2
	ka-ke-u [ ]	SA 1
	Vacant	4

This text is evidently the assessment of a single place with the amounts due from various persons and occupational categories. The *ko-re-te* (see pp. 88 f.) is responsible for over half the total assessment of 45 units. Others are mentioned by name: *u-re-u* (cf. Vn 865. 9, where he is a *na-u-do-mo* (cf. Na 568: *to-sa-de na-u-do-mo o-u-di-do-si*), *a-mo-ke-re-*[*we*], *e-re-e-u* (an ethnic proper name from *e-re-e*, locative of an *s*-stem *Ἔλος*), *a-ro-je-u*, *a-mu-ta-wo*,[1] *e-po-me-ne-u*. Besides these we find the typical village occupational designations: *qo-u-ko-ro* = *βουκόλω* 'cowherds' (dual, to judge from the assessment, as opposed to the *ka-ke-u*), *po-me-ne* (?dual) = *ποιμένε* 'shepherds' and *ka-ke-u* = *χαλκεύς* 'bronze-smith'. (See Addendum.)

The broken heading has been restored as *ko-ri-*[*to ri*]*-no* (*Docs.*). This is quite unparalleled as a formulaic pattern: we should expect rather (*j*)*o-do-so-si* (cf. Jn 829). Nowhere do we find a place-name as the subject in this way; nor does *ko-ri-to* figure among the numerous places of the Na series. The only word known from the Linear B tablets which fits the pattern of the surviving groups is *ko-ri-ja-do-no*. As a working hypothesis at least it would be wiser to test the possibility that SA is the unit of measurement of 'aromatics' used in the manufacture of perfumes and unguents. Among these, as we saw, are *ko-ri-ja-do-no* and *ri-no*, the second of which occurs in a heading of the series now under discussion and the first fits the broken heading. This context would account for the activities of a 'libation-pourer' (*ke-u-po-da* = *χενσπόνδας*) in providing the supplies de-

[1] *A-mu-ta-wo* is a master bronze-smith at *a-pe-ke-e*, to which place the above tablet may refer.

scribed as 'not given'. That the preparation of unguents and perfumes was among the most important activities recorded in the Linear B tablets has already been argued (see pp. 269 ff.), where we have also drawn on Egyptian parallels for the importance of the priests in this connexion. The unguent context also clears up the puzzle of the issue of one SA apiece to the troops going on active service. Finally, we note that KE recurs in the Ma series and that *ri-no* may account for the syllabic 'ideogram' RI in the same series, where it was argued that these texts, too, record the assessment and collection of aromatics. Finally, the text MY Go 610 recording amounts of the liquid *134 has RI inscribed on the back (see p. 274). It is this tentative diagnosis which offers a satisfactory 'etymological' identification of *ri-no* as *λίνον*. Flax and linseed were, of course, in antiquity as today a main source of oil (see R. J. Forbes, op. cit.). It accounts also for the giving to gods, on the one hand, and to men going on coast guard duties, on the other. By a strange coincidence one of the few references to linseed in Greek literature concerns Pylos. When attempts were made to revictual the Spartans trapped on Sphakteria, underwater divers swam across pulling bags containing *μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομμένον* (Thuc. iv. 26. 8).

Thus there are two possibilities open to us for explaining why the troops in the *o-ka* series get 1 unit apiece of this commodity recorded in the present series as SA, which is presumably some standard measurement. It could have been an emergency ration. But the significance of oil/unguent even in a military context should not be overlooked. R. J. Forbes (p. 286) in his discussion of this subject stresses the Egyptian acceptance as an obvious fact that ointments and aromatic oils were necessary for all classes. After alluding to their distribution by priests (cf. *ke-u-po-da*) he refers to army rations of unguent and records that labourers even refused to work because the food was bad and 'we have no ointment'. In Mesopotamia, too, 'there is the same relation between religion, magic and medicine, on the one side, and unguents, on the other.' The magical 'quickening' properties of anointing are too well known to require illustration. This fact may be reflected in the epithet *i-su-ku-wo-do-to* 'strength-

giving' applied to *o-no* in a KN OIL tablet Fh 348. (See Addendum.)

ko-ri[*-ja-do*]*-no* is presumably the genitive of *ko-ri-ja-da-na*, the form found elsewhere in the Mainland tablets. As in later times this was neuter plural. The genitive is governed by the word *do-so-mo*, which the scribe has begun and erased.

sa-pi-de is known from Mycenae (see p. 273) in connexion with 'spices'. The word recurs in PY Vn 19. SA could conceivably stand for *sa-pi-de*.

XII

MILITARY EQUIPMENT

THE S SERIES (CHARIOTS)

(*Docs.* pp. 361 ff.)

Of the ideograms which characterize this series *240 shows the complete chariot mounted on its undercarriage together with yoke and horse-saddles (see below). *241 shows the same assemblage less the undercarriage (seen from the side as a single wheel as in the vase-paintings and frescoes). The undercarriages were stored separately and they are inventoried in the KN So series and the PY Sa series, characterized by *243 = wheel. *242 represents the bare chariot frame with pole, which is an integral part of it. Comparison with *241 shows that the following parts were involved in the complete assemblage: (1) the side-extensions having the appearance of a 'heel' (*πτέρνον*, see below); (2) the pole-stay which may have acted as a longitudinal shock-absorber, particularly necessary when the chariot was travelling at high speed over rough ground; (3) the yoke and horse-saddles. There is no indication of reins and bridles.

The complete chariot appears only in the Sc series, which are concerned with the issue of equipment to charioteers. They contain no word referring to the chariot and so will be discussed below (pp. 331 ff.).

The Sd tablets showing the fully assembled bodies have the word *i-qi-ja* written majuscule in the first position. Since it changes to *i-qi-jo* when two are booked, this must be the name of the object in question. It is thus a substantived feminine adjective *hikwiā*, dual *hikwiō*.[1] The object is described in a long formula with a fairly constant structure. The word *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* occurs in all tablets in the first or second 'place'. The meaning is given by its constant correlation with the ideogram *241: it is

[1] On the identical orthography of $q^{w}i$ and *kwi*, see p. 43.

a participle meaning 'assembled'.[1] The etymological identification as *ἁραρμοτμένα* presents difficulties. *ἅρματα* is invariably spelt *a-mo-ta* (see below) in strict accordance with the rules (see p. 320), the *o* being the product of the sonant nasal. This also rules out identification of the verb with Attic *ἁρμόζω* (*ἁρμόττω*) < **ἁρμοδ-jō* where the *o* is of different origin (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 734 with lit.). However, if we disregard the spelling rule and postulate a Mycenaean denominative *harmot-yō*, we can adduce as a morphological parallel for the 'Attic reduplication' in the perfect of a denominative verb Hesiod's (*Fr.* 195) *ἐρήρισται*. If the analysis is correct, there was no assimilation in the cluster *-tm-*.

The first place in the formula is sometimes occupied by a word or phrase referring to the decoration of the body. For *a-ja-me-na e-re-pa-te* (Sd 0403, etc.) 'inlaid (?veneered) with ivory', see p. 338. *po-ni-ki-ja* (Sd 0405, etc.) and *mi-to-we-sa* are plausibly interpreted as referring to colour: *φοινικία* 'crimson' and *μιλτόϝεσσα* 'red' (cf. *μιλτοπάρηος* of ships).

Occasionally we find a place-name immediately after *i-qi-ja*: *pa-i-to* (Sd 0413), *ku-do-ni-ja* (Sd 0404), *se-to-i-ja* (Sd 0407, 0414). It is to be assumed that chariots with no indication of place are at Knossos. That the juxtaposed place-name Phaistos is a description of the chariot is unlikely. After the description of the body most of the Sd tablets show the phrase *a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi . . . o-po-qo . . . o-pi-i-ja-pi*. The first two words *ἀραρυῖα ἀνίαφι* 'fitted with reins' (feminine as in post-Homeric Greek) show that we have passed from the description of the body to the harness. This delimits the context of *o-po-qo* and *o-pi-i-ja-pi*, which follow and are always conjoined and so must be interpreted together. The *o-po-qo* are usually of leather (*wi-ri-ni-jo*, *wi-ri-ne-o*), occasionally of ivory (*e-re-pa-te-jo* Sd 0403). Now it is of interest that the only two references to ivory in the *Iliad* both refer to harness: 5. 583, *ἡνία λεύκ' ἐλέφαντι* and 4. 141 f., which refers to the staining

[1] In LP 4. 36 I translated *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* as 'fitted with a chassis', an idea which was later taken up by D. J. N. Lee (*BICS* 5. 1958. 61 ff., 'having wheels'). This was prompted by my conviction that *a-mo-ta*, so far from being an adjective *ἁρμοστά*, was the name of the objects represented by the ideogram WHEEL.

This last point is now generally accepted (see below), but the correlation of *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* with the fitted chariot body and appurtenances leaves no doubt about the meaning, so that we must dissociate it from the word *a-mo-ta*.

of ivory with *φοίνιξ . ⁚ . παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων*. Thus *o-po-qo* is satisfactorily accounted for as the dative instrumental plural of *ὄπωπον*, literally 'what is on the face' (cf. *πρόσωπον, μέτωπον, παρώπια* 'blinkers'). My original suggestion (LP 1. 66) was that the word referred to 'the cheek strap 'or 'bridle'. R. D. Barnett (*Nimrud Ivories* 101 f.), however, reproduces an ivory 'horse's nosepiece' which goes on the front of the face. This would be quite literally 'on the face', and this is a part of the harness which could be of leather or ivory. *ἀνίαι* would in that case include the whole harness consisting of reins and bridle.[1] The conjoined *o-pi-i-ja-pi* are either of horn (*ke-ra-ja-pi*, Sd 0403, etc.) or more rarely of bronze (*ka-ke-ja-pi*, Sd 0409). I have suggested (LP 4. 36) that this points to the 'bit'. The form of the word (cf. *ἐπιψέλιον* 'curb chain') suggests that the 'bit' is described as being 'on something'. If the spelling rule $j \times l$ is admitted, then *-i-ja-* may stand for *ἰλλά(δ)-* the halter by which an animal is led: cf. *Il.* 13. 572: *βοῦς τόν τ' οὔρεσι βουκόλοι ἄνδρες ἰλλάσι . . . δήσαντες ἄγουσι*. VC (*Docs.* p. 365) accept the diagnosis as 'bit', but propose a connexion with *ἱμάς* 'strap' or with Vedic *īṣā́* 'pole of a car'. However, a bit can hardly be described as being 'what is on the pole'. *i-ja-* should on our analysis be the part of the harness to which the bit is attached.

Inserted between the descriptions of the body and the harness we frequently find a reference to *i-qo-e-qe*, in all cases described as 'wooden' (*do-we-jo*). This implies that it may be of another material. This rules out the interpretation 'pole', which is in any case an integral part of the body and appears also in the unassembled bodies, whereas our word occurs only in conjunction with *i-qi-ja a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*.

The first part of the compound, *i-qo-*, taken together with the position of the word in the structural formula, which is a valuable clue to the contextual delimitation, suggests that it refers to some device for attaching the horses to the chariot. The ideogram invariably shows two W-shaped pieces on either side of the pole next to the yoke. VC identify these with the harness-saddles of

[1] VC (*Docs.* p. 365) state that 'nose-band' is the original meaning of *ἀνία*. This is taken from Boisacq, s.v. See, however, Frisk *GEW* 637.

contemporary Egyptian chariots 'in the form of an inverted Y which were lashed to the yoke'. It seems most probable that *i-qo-e-qe* refers to this device, which the scribe took pains to insert in his ideogram. Normally of wood, it could presumably be covered with leather (*Docs.* p. 363) and perhaps other decorative materials. This would explain the explicit specification 'wooden' in our texts.

Some texts note the absence of certain parts of the total assemblage. Of these parts *a-ni-ja* (Sd 0422, etc.), *pte-no* (*πτέρνον* 'heel') are self-evident. *pe-pa*$_2$*-to* is specified as being 'underneath' (*u-po*, Sd 0422) and, taking advantage of this clue, I have identified it as *βεβατον* 'floor' or 'step'. Other missing parts are *a-re-ta-to* and **85-ro* (Sd 0402). These may perhaps be correlated with the remaining components visible in *241, one of which is the 'pole support'.

213. Sd 0413 (*Docs.* 268)

.a [*a-ra-ru*]-*ja a-ni-ja-pi wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qo ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi*

.b [*I-QI*]-*JA pa-i-to a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na do-we-jo i-qo-e-qe po-ni-ki-*[*ja*] CHARIOT^b [nn]

'Chariot: (at) Phaistos, fully assembled, (two) wooden *horse-saddles*, crimson coloured, fitted with harness, leather face-pieces, and horn bits.'

214. Sd 0401 (*Docs.* 266)

.a *a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qo ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi* CHARIOT^b [2]

.b *I-QI-JO a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no po-ni-*[*ki-jo*]

'Two chariots, *veneered* (*?inlaid*) with ivory, fully assembled, crimson coloured, fitted with harness, leather face-pieces, and horn bits.'

215. Sd 0402 (*Docs.* 270)

.a *a-u-qe a-re-ta-to o-u-qe pte-no o-u-qe *85-ro o-u-qe pe-pa*$_2$*-to* CHARIOT^b

.b *I-QI-JA a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na po-ni-ki-ja o-u-qe a-ni-ja po-si*

'Chariot, fully assembled, crimson coloured; (there is) no

harness attached, no *a-re-ta-to*, no heel, no **85-ro*, no *floor (step?)*.'

a-u-qe: presumably a scribal error for *o-u-qe*.

The Se tablets also list assembled bodies, but their formulaic syntax is different. Here the first word, written majuscule, is *pte-re-wa* 'of elm wood' (in four examples), while *po-ni-ki-ja* appears in Se 965 + 1008. This has prompted the suggestion that the latter word may designate the material ('palm wood') rather than colour (VC; see above). Other details appear to concern the material of constituent parts. *ai-ki-no-o*, on the evidence of PY Vn 46, is likely to be a small piece of carpentry (see p. 366); VC's suggestion 'goat tendons' is purely 'etymological'. *e-wi-su-zo-ko* (Se 965, Se 1007) recurs in Pylos in the form *e-wi-su-*79-ko* (Va 404, 482), again in an 'ivory' context. It may be a standard motif of ivory carving (see p. 368). A chariot will hardly be decorated with a pair of tusks of equal weight, which is VC's suggestion for this word. Other components made of ivory are the *o-mo* (*e-re-pa-te-jo-pi o-mo-pi*, Se 1006, 1042). VC favour οἶμος 'decorative band'; but from a constructional point of view ὄλ-μος 'a cylindrical piece (of wood)' would be better (see *Eranos Rudbergianus* 1946. 54–55). In *wo-ra-we-sa* (Se 880 + 1017) I am inclined to see (ϝ)ωράϝεσσα 'with a cover' rather than 'scarred' (so *Docs.* p. 369), but the text is fragmentary. (See Addendum.)

216. Se 1006+1042 (*Docs.* 276)

.a *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi o-mo-pi* [

.b [*PTE-RE*]-*WA e-ka-te-re-ta ai-ki-no-o* 2 *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi* [

e-ka-te-re-ta: cf. *e-te-re-ta* Se 879. The alternative forms might represent a compound beginning ἐν- and ἐγ-κατ- respectively.

The Sf series show the bare chariot frame. In all cases where the left-hand side of the tablet has been preserved the first word is *I-QI-JA*, mostly written majuscule. Two words occur constantly. One is *a-na-mo-to*, which cannot be separated from *a-mo-ta*; this, it is now agreed, names the objects represented by the WHEEL ideogram (see below, p. 320). Thus *a-na-mo-ta* means 'without wheels (or undercarriage).' For *a-ja-me-na* 'inlaid, veneered' see above.

217. Sf 0421 (*Docs.* 272)

i-qi-ja a-no-mo-to a-ja-me-na CHARIOT^{c} 27

'Chariots, without undercarriages, veneered (inlaid):
CHARIOT FRAMES 27.'

Other texts of this series contain the word *a-na-ta* (*a-na-i-ta*), and it was tempting to take this as the privative of *a-ja-me-na*. But this is contrary to Greek usage, since the compound adjective has no separate feminine form, and Sf 0420 with *a-na-ta a-na-mo-to* testifies to the normality of Mycenaean Greek in this respect. *a-na-ta* may be the noun which *a-na-mo-to* qualifies and so mean the chariot frame. This noun may be a compound of *ἀνά* with the verbal root *ar*. That the body of a cart was conceived of as the 'upper part' fitted (*ar*) to the undercarriage is evident from *Od.* 6. 69–70: *ἀπήνην ὑψηλὴν ἐΰκυκλον ὑπερτερίῃ ἀραρυῖαν*. Plato (*Tht.* 207a) lists the parts of a chariot as *τροχοί, ἄξων, ὑπερτερία, ἄντυγες, ζυγόν*.

218. Sf 0420 (*Docs.* 273)

a. *a-re-ki-si-to-jo o-pa*

b. *I-QI-JA a-na-ta a-no-mo-to* CHARIOT^{c} 80

'Chariots: frames without undercarriages (wheels). *o-pa* of *A-re-ki-si-to*.'

o-pa: this word occurs accompanied by a proper name in the genitive case also in Sd 0403 (*ko-ki-da o-pa*) and So 0430 (*ko-ki-da o-pa*). At Pylos (Sh 736) the word recurs in connexion with armour (see p. 330). The fragmentary CLOTH tablet KN L 695 presents *o-pa e-ta-wo-ne-wo*. The word appears also on sealings from Knossos (Ws 1704 in conjunction with ARROW) and Pylos (in conjunction with SHEEP, GOAT, and LEATHER). VC identify the word with the (*e-ne-ka*) *o-pa* of KN As 821, and from the adjacent *ti-mi-to* conjecture a meaning 'feudal contribution'. But, as we have seen (p. 129), *o-pa* there is likely to be the name of a divinity, so that we have an example of homonymity. Different again is *o-pa*, apparently a place-name, in the CATTLE tablet KN C 50. r. 1 (see p. 184). If we eliminate these homonyms, *o-pa* is seen to be associated predominantly with manufacture: arrows, armour,

chariots, harness. At Pylos, rooms 86 and 87, where the *o-pa* sealings occur, were the centre of an 'activity which used leather, metal and domestic animals . . . these are some of the records belonging to the palace harness-shop and smithy . . . sheep and goats were requisitioned to supply leather . . .' (*MaL* 2. 191). *o-pa* may thus simply mean 'workshop'; the word has not survived in later Greek, but equation with the widespread family of words represented by Latin *opus* is tempting (see Ernout–Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la langue latine*, s.v.).

Wheels

(LP 12. 71 f.; LP 13. 580; *Mém.* I, 111 ff; PC 3)

The word which names the object represented by the WHEEL ideogram is now recognized to be *a-mo-ta*, for which the interpretation ἁρμοστά is now abandoned. *a-mo-ta* is written majuscule as the first word on six of the So series. The dual *a-mo-te* occurs in conjunction with PAIR 1 on So 0442, and Ventris reported the singular *a-mo* on the fragmentary So 7485; but the usual entry before 1 is *mo* (e.g. So 894. 3, 0430, 0432, etc.; PY Sa 488, 787). Autopsy has shown that So 7485 is fractured clean down the vertical line of *mo*. The reading is therefore *a-mo*-[ ], and there is no numeral (J. Chadwick's reading is identical). The dative plural occurs on the new PY An 1282. 1. The meaning of the word is given by noting the occurrence of *a-na-mo-ta*: we simply ask what it is the *a-na-mo-ta* tablets lack which the *a-mo-ta* have. The answer is evidently 'the undercarriage', which is seen from the side and represented by a single wheel. Etymologically *a-mo-ta* links up with the later Greek ἅρματα (on *o* for the sonant nasal, see p. 41). The combination of meanings 'undercarriage, and the whole vehicle' is paralleled by the Homeric use of ἄμαξα (*Il.* 24. 266–7; the πείρινθα is tied on to the ἄμαξαν . . . ἐύτροχον). The bodies and undercarriages of Homeric chariots were stored separately (*Il.* 5. 722), which shows that the δίφρος, the two-seater body, was separate from the undercarriage consisting of wheels plus axle, cf. Plato, *Tht.* 207 a, quoted p. 319). Only the axle divides the two suggestions 'wheel' (MV) and 'undercarriage' (LP). The constant use of the dual is to be expected in two-piece

objects. Other instances are *we-je-ke-e* in the Pylos WHEEL texts (p. 324) and *qe-ro*$_2$, the two-piece corslet (listed as ZE, see p. 331). Comparable is our use of 'a pair of trousers', 'a pair of scissors'. A further point is that Greek possessed from earliest times to the present day the Indo-European word for wheel κύκλος, τροχός also being used. That κύκλος existed in Mycenaean Greek, if this requires proof, is indicated by the bronze-smith's name *ku-ke-re-u* (= Κυκλεύς Jn 845, so *Docs.* 420). The interpretation 'undercarriage' also explains why there is no mention of axles in these texts: there is no indication that these formed part of the body. In fact, that axles were needed to make the *a-mo-ta* is shown by PY Vn 20, which records the delivery of *a-ko-so-ne* to the *a-mo-te-jo*(*n*) (see p. 367). The specifications of the *a-mo-ta* include the wood: *pte-re-wa* (= πτελέϝας)' of elm' or *e-ri-ka* ἐλίκας 'of willow'. *ki-da-pa* (So 894. 3) may belong to this category of words, but it may be a place-name (see below). Bronze wheels are listed in So 894. 2: *ka-ki-jo*.

Details of construction are referred to in the words *te-mi-dwe-ta*, *o-da-ku-we-ta* (*o-da-ke-we-ta*, *o-da-tu-we-ta*, *o-da-*87-ta*). The part of the wheel referred to emerges from the PY Sa series. The word *te-mi-*87-ta* (Sa 791, cf. *te-mi-de-we-te* Sa 1266) occurs together with the ideogram WHEEL+TE. This form of the ideogram is by far the most frequent and it follows that the *te-mi-dwe-ta* wheels are the commonest. However, the added TE (=*te-mi-dwe-ta*) is absent with *a-ku-ro de-de-me-n-o* (Sa 287) 'bound with silver', and *ka-ko de-de-me-no* (Sa 794) 'bound with bronze'. Both these texts list one PAIR. The 'opposition' of these expressions with *te-mi-dwe-ta* suggests that the reference is to the tire of the *wooden* wheel.

This analysis reinforces the suggestion that *te-mi-d-* represents τέρμις with an extended form of the stem in the oblique cases. The meaning (deduced from the Homeric τερμιόεις) 'having a (leather) tyre' (*Docs.* p. 370; further *Mém.* i 34 ff., 338 f.) is consistent with our analysis. *o-da-k-went* would then contain another word referring to a different form of tire. M. Lejeune cites Hesychius δάρκες· δέσμαι and ventures †ὄνδαρκες in the sense ἀναδέσμα, but the Mycenaean form of the preposition is ἀν(ά): see *a-ne-ta-de* = ἄνεται δέ (p. 304).

In the phrases *ka-ko de-de-me-no* and *a-ku-ro de-de-me-no* the verb may be used in the sense 'riveted' (cf. δεσμοί 'rivets' *Il.* 18. 379), and hence the phrase would mean 'studded with bronze, silver' and likewise refer to the tire. This satisfies our analysis in terms of the 'oppositions' *te-mi-dwe-ta*, *o-da-kwe-ta*: *ka-ko de-de-me-no*, *a-ku-ro de-de-me-na*, and it tallies with our knowledge of ancient wheel construction derived from other sources. The compound adjective *ka-ko-de-ta* in So 894. 2 = *ka-ko de-de-me-na*.

The KN So tablets also contain information about delivery: *de-do-me-na* 'given' occurs in So 0429, 0440, 0441. Opposed to this are those 'still being constructed': *wo-zo-me-no* (dual) So 0433, *wo-zo-me-na* (plur.) So 0438 = ϝοργιόμενα.

References also occur to the same 'suppliers' as in the CHARIOT tablets: *ko-ki-da o-pa* (So 0430), *a-re-ki-si-to* (So 0433).

The *a-mo-ta* are described as *ne-wa* = 'new' in a number of tablets. As with the CHARIOTS, some *a-mo-ta* are listed as at *pa-i-to* (So 0448). *o-pe-te-we* (So 0447) may also be a place-name. The genitive (plur.?) occurs in the CLOTH tablet L 593. 1 : *o-pe-te-wo-qe*.

219. So 0439 (*Docs.* 280)

*A-MO-TA e-ri-ka te-mi-*71-ta* WHEEL ZE 3 MO WHEEL [1]

ἄρμοτα ἐλίκας τερμίδϝεντα

'Undercarriages (?wheels) of willow, with (?leather) tires: WHEEL PAIR 3 SINGLE [1].'

220. So 0440 (*Docs.* 281)

de-do-me-na

*A-MO-TA pte-re-wa o-da-*87-ta* WHEEL ZE [ ]

ἄρμοτα πτελέϝας *o-da-k-*ϝεντα

'Undercarriages (?wheels) of elm, with (?) tires. Delivered. WHEEL PAIR [ ].'

221. So 0433+0444

*te-mi-*71-te*

] *a-re-ki-si-to wo-zo-me-no* WHEEL ZE 1

τερμίδϝεντε

A-re-ki-si-to ϝορζομένω WHEEL PAIR 1

'Undercarriage (wheels), under construction (?) by A., having (?leather) tires: WHEEL PAIR 1.'

222. So 0442 (*Docs.* 283)

o-pe-ro

]-*ϝA a-mo-te pe-ru-si-nwa / ta-ra-si-ja* WHEEL ZE 1

ἄρμοτε περυσινϝὰ ταλανσία· ὄφελος

'One undercarriage (= pair of wheels) owing from last year's *pensum*: WHEEL PAIR 1.'

223. So 0430 (*Docs.* 282)

ko-ki-da o-pa ne-wa

*E-RI-KA o-da-*87-ta a-ro$_2$-a* WHEEL ZE 22 MO WHEEL 1

'Of willow, with (?) tires, of superior quality, workshop of *Ko-ki-da*, new: WHEEL PAIR 22 SINGLE WHEEL 1.'

a-ro$_2$-a: found frequently in CLOTH tablets, also in feminine nominative plural *a-ro$_2$-e* (KN L 735. 1). *a-ro$_2$-jo* (in So 0437) as it stands must be genitive and so it must qualify the preceding *pte-re-wa*. The form is, however, possibly an orthographic variant for *a-ro-ja*[1] (on the alternation of *jo*×*ja*, see p. 20). VC interpret ἀρίο(*h*)*a*, ἀρίο(*h*)ες 'of better quality', and this makes an effective contrast with *me-sa-ta* 'of medium quality'[2] on L 735. 'Of superior quality' would also harmonize with the specification *e-qi-si-ja* (Ld 571, 572), another word which the CLOTH tablets share with the CHARIOT texts (see p. 293).

224. So 894 (*Docs.* 278)

*te-mi-*71*

A-TE-RE-TE-A pe-te-re-wa WHEEL ZE [

ka-ki-jo WHEEL ZE 1 *ka-ko-de-ta* WHEEL ZE [

[1] The adjacent word *te-mi-dwe-te* is dual, yet it refers to the plural noun *a-mo-ta*, while the reckoning shows *ϹE* 5; but Ventris was 'not entirely convinced that this joins'.

[2] *me-sa-to* also occurs on KN sealings in conjunction with the ideogram *146 (= ? an aromatic, see pp. 300 ff.). It must therefore be a word of general significance applicable to cloths and a kind of spice.

*KI-DA-PA te-mi-*71-ta* WHEEL ZE 41 MO [
O-DA-TU-WE-TA e-ri-ka WHEEL ZE 40 [
'*A-te-re-te-a*: of elm, with (?leather) tires: WHEEL PAIR [1]. Bronze: WHEEL PAIR 1. Bronze studded: WHEEL PAIR[
Ki-da-pa: with (?leather) tires: WHEEL PAIR 41 SINGLE [1]. With (?) tires, of willow: WHEEL PAIR 40.'

*te-mi-*71*: τερμίδϝεν. The singular adjective with WHEEL PAIR is a strong indication that the object represented by the ideogram is conceived of as a unit like 'a pair' of trousers, scissors, etc., although the descriptions apply naturally to the most important feature, the wheels.

a-te-re-te-a: this cannot be a neuter singular, syntactically parallel with *te-mi-*71*. Of the available word categories present in this series 'place-name' is the only possibility. This would also fit *ki-da-pa*. The tablet then falls into two sections, the stocks of different kinds of wheels being listed under the two place-names. Note that here too 'metal' excludes the tire words.

THE PYLOS Sa SERIES

This series serves a rather different purpose. Most tablets list a single PAIR (two PAIRS in Sa 753, 766, 769, 791, 796). The first words are in the majority of instances proper names in the genitive case followed by *wo-ka*. This pointed to the interpretation of *wo-ka* as the name for a vehicle. Etymologically ϝοχά as a by-form of ϝόχος (cf. γραφή, γράφος) would satisfy (LP 13. 580). This possibility was considered in *Documents* but rejected in favour of *wo-ka* (adverb) *we-je-ke-e* 'fit for driving'. However, the new tablet Sa 753 provides an example of *wo-ka* without *we-je-ke-e* and J. Chadwick has now renounced the interpretation favoured in *Documents*. It follows that *a-mo-ta* become *we-je-ke-a* when they are 'vehicle-worthy'. The word is a compound based apparently on a neuter noun *e-ko(s)*. This word also forms a compound referring to the structure of furniture (see pp. 31 f. on *po-ro-e-ke*, etc.) It is significant that *e-ke-i-ja* are listed along with *a-ko-so-ne* (axles) in the new (1957) PY Va 1324 (p. 327). *e-ke-i-ja*, as the hiatus suggests, is a derivative from a neuter *s*-stem *e-ko(s)*, the semantic

sphere of which is indicated by the association with axles. Note further in this find of tablets the allocation of men to *a-mo-si* (An 1282, see p. 327). The first syllable *we-* may conceivably stand for the Cypriot preposition *ϝ-* (= ἐπί); see JC *MLS* 13 xi 57.

Thus the *a-mo-ta* made ready for the vehicle are 'on the *e-ko(s)*', or have an *e-ko(s)* on them.

225. Sa 774

mo-qo-so-jo wo-ka we-je-ke-e WHEEL+TE ZE 1 [

'Vehicle of Mopsos: (wheels)? mounted on *e-ko(s)*: WHEEL+(LEATHER?) TIRES PAIR 1.'

mo-qo-so-jo: the same name occurs in KN X 1497.

Cf. Sa 769:

e-te-wa-jo-jo wo-ka we-je-ke-e WHEEL+TE ZE 2

we-je-ke-e: the dual with four wheels is again an indication that the object represented by the ideogram is conceived of as a single two-piece entity: see above on No. 224 (= KN So 894).

226. Sa 791

te-mi-dwe-ta we-je-ke-a$_2$ WHEEL+TE ZE 2

'With (?leather) tires, (?mounted) on *e-ko(s)*: WHEEL+TE PAIR 2.'

Here the scribe is concerned only with the description of the wheels. Hence he uses the plural adjectives as contrasted with the previous text.

227. Sa 287 (*Docs.* 290)

a-ku-ro de-de-me-no WHEEL ZE 1

ἀργύρωι δεδε(σ)μένον (-ω?)

'Studded with silver?: WHEEL PAIR 1.'

228. Sa 794 (*Docs.* 291)

ka-ko de-de-me-no no-pe-re-e WHEEL ZE 1

χαλκῶι δεδεσμένω νωφέλεε(?)

'Studded with bronze, unused: WHEEL PAIR 1.'

no-pe-re-e: see below on No. 232.

229. Sa 488 (*Docs.* 284)

ku-pa-ri-se-ja WHEEL+TE ZE I MO I

κυπαρίσσεια

'Of cypress wood: WHEEL+TE PAIR I SINGLE I.'

230. Sa 682 (*Docs.* 289)

te-tu-ko-wo-a$_2$ *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ WHEEL ZE 6

τετυχϝό(*h*)α νωφέλε(*h*)α WHEEL PAIR 6

te-tu-ko-wo-a$_2$: another word common to the CLOTH (KN Ld 871) and CHARIOT series. The perfect participle of τεύχω, it must evidently have some special 'fabrication' meaning. VC's interpretation of the text as 'well-made, useless' does not inspire confidence. The ideogram lacks the adjoined TE, and this fact links *te-tu-ko-wo-a*$_2$ with *ka-ko de-de-me-no* and *a-ku-ro de-de-me-no*.

231. Sa 751

za-ku-si-ja no-pe-re-a$_2$ WHEEL+TE ZE 32

I take *za-ku-si-ja* as toponymic.[1] The tablet records stocks of wheels at this place, presumably in Pylian territory. An inventory of 32 pairs of 'useless' wheels lacks plausibility.

232. Sa 790 (*Docs.* 288)

a-mo-ta e-qe-si-ja / *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ WHEEL+TE ZE 6

ἄρμοτα ἐϙ^{w}έσια / νωφέλε(*h*)α

'Undercarriages (? wheels), of *e-qe-ta* type, unused?: WHEEL +TE PAIR 6.'

Here too, the whole stock of 'count' undercarriages can hardly be inventoried as 'useless'. The contrast appears to be WHEEL PAIR I (or 2)+*we-je-ke-e* as against WHEEL higher numbers+ *no-pe-re-a*$_2$. This would imply that the first are in service on named vehicles and the others are unused stocks. This is borne out by the following totalling tablet.

[1] Cf. *za*]-*ku-si-jo* in the 'rower' tablet An 610 12.

233. Sa 787 (*Docs.* 286)

pa-ra-ja we-je-ke-a$_2$ WHEEL ZE 30 MO I
TO-SA e-qe-si-ja pa-ra-ja WHEEL ZE 12 *za-ku-si-ja* WHEEL ZE 32

It will be noted that the *we-je-ke-a*$_2$ are designated 'old' and that the same applies apparently (though *pa-ra-wa* is read by VCB) to the *e-qe-si-ja*, these 12 pairs being different from the 6 *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ pairs listed in Sa 790. Note that the *za-ku-si-ja* stock of 32 (Sa 751) reappears here. Thus the word *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ seems to correspond to the Knossos designation *ne-wa*. The interpretation 'unused' which thus emerges from the analysis offers fewer difficulties than 'useless'.

234. Sa 753 (*AJA* 62. 1958. 182)

se-we-ri-ko-jo wo-ka e-qe-si-jo WHEEL+TE ZE 2

'Vehicle of S, "count" type: WHEEL PAIR 2.'

se-we-ri-ko-jo: cf. *se-we-ri-wo-wa-zo* Fn 324. 4.

e-qe-si-jo: note the dual again with two (ἄρμοτε) = 4 wheels (cf. No. 225).

The 1957 excavations at Pylos yielded texts which refer to harness and chariot parts.

235. An 1282

a-qi-ja-i MAN 18 *a-mo-si* MAN 18
ki-u-ro-i MAN 13 *po-qe-wi-ja-i* MAN 5
do-ka-ma-i MAN 36

a-qi-ja-i: M. Lang. This is certainly the reading of the tablet T. B. L. Webster's probable *i-qi-ja-i* must be classed as an 'emendation'. The men listed are assigned to the care or manufacture of the objects named in the dative plural. *i-qi-ja-i* '(horse)-chariots' and *a-mo-si* 'undercarriages' (?wheels) are self-evident, an equal number of men being assigned to each. *po-qe-wi-ja-i* is attractively interpreted (M. Lang) as φορβηϝία(*h*)ι 'halters'. The other objects will presumably belong to the same general semantic sphere. For *do-ka-ma-i* there is no later Greek equivalent of satisfactory meaning. Semantically ζαγμά· ἡνία (Hesychius) would

suit, but one would have to assume (1) ζ for δ as in Cretan, (2) 'Achaean' *o* for *a*.

ki-u-ro-i presents an un-Greek combination of vowels and the word may be a foreign loanword of technical significance, presumably connected with chariots and their equipment. Hesychius quotes a κίουρος in the sense 'basket' for corn, and this sense would go well with φορβηϝίαι. That it is an alternative piece of equipment serving the same purpose as *po-qe-wi-ja(i)* is suggested by the numbers allocated: 13+5 = 18, corresponding to 18 for bodies and 18 for undercarriages. Note that there are precisely twice as many for *do-ka-ma(i)*: 36. The Mycenaean form *ki-(j)u-r-* is close to the Semitic original: Hebrew *kiyyōr* 'pot, basin'.

236. Sb 1315 (see Addendum)

ra-pte-]-*ṛi-ja a-ni-ja te-u-ke-pi* 5 *di-pte-ra*$_3$ *e-ru-ta-ra* 15[+
ro-u-si-je-wi-ja 6 *ra-pte-ri-ja a-ni-ja* 3
ne-wa a-ni-ja a-na-pu-ke 5 *dwo* '2' *a-pu-ke* 9 *a-ni-ja e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-*[.] 2
a-pe-ne-wo 4 *a-pu-ke a-pe-ne-wo ne-wa po-qe-wi-ja* ZE 11

.1. *ra-pte-*]*ṛi-ja:* J. Chadwick *a-ra*]-*ṛu-wo-ja:* M. Lang.
.3. *e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-ẉọ:* M. Lang, *e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-ṛẹ* L. R. P.

The obvious words in this text are all concerned with harness, and so it would be unwise to depart from this semantic sphere in interpreting the obscure words. *a-ni-ja te-u-ke-pi*: ἀνίαι τευχεσφι 'harness (reins) with gear'. *ra-pte-ri-ja* apparently = ῥαπτήριαι 'stitched'(?). *di-pte-ra*$_3$ *e-ru-ta-ra* = διφθέραι ἐρυθραί 'red hides' apparently refers to stocks of leather, and this points to the text's being a stock-sheet of the harness-shop. Note *-ra*$_3$ = *rai*, indicating the nominative plural ending (see p. 19).

ro-u-si-je-wi-ja: apparently a derivative from the place-name *ro-u-so*: 'Of Lousian type' is, however, unconvincing. Presumably, like the other words, some part of the harness.

ne-wa a-ni-ja a-na-pu-ke = νέϝαι ἀνίαι ἀνάμπυκες 'new harness without headbands'. *dwo* 2 has been inserted as an afterthought and is written very small, before the next entry.

a-pu-ke = *ἄμπυκες* 'headbands'.

e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-[?]: the reading is uncertain. If, however, the word is a compound, as seems likely, the first part could be accounted for by *εἶλος*, the attested meanings of this word being eminently compatible with the harness context: *ἄθλια*, *χαλινοί*, *δεσμοί*, *φιμοί*, *δέραια* (Hesychius). *a-pe-ne-wo* appears to be an attachment of the headband, to judge from the final entry *a-pu-ke a-pe-ne-wo* 'headbands with *a*'. They are listed separately in the preceding entry.

THE PYLOS Sh SERIES (ARMOUR)

(*Docs.* pp. 375 ff.)

This series is characterized by ideogram *163, which appears to be a schematic representation of CORSLET+HELMET. All but two of the texts list a single outfit. Sh 736 books 5 and its first word is *to-ra-ke* = *θώρακες*. Sh 740 begins with *pa-ra-jo* ('old'), and the objects are listed as ZE (PAIRS). It will be argued below that here too the designation ZE refers to an object consisting of two parts like the 'undercarriage' (see p. 324). The data recorded on the other Sh tablets refer to the valuable parts of the outfit. These are designated by the abbreviation O, which, as we can see from Sh 740, stands for *o-pa-wo-ta*. The entries begin with two sets of such O: 20 (or 22) 'larger' (*me-zo-a*$_2$) and 10 (or 12) smaller (*me-u-jo-a*$_2$). It will be argued below that these two sets represent the armour plating of the front and back of a two-piece corslet. The next entry invariably lists 4 *o. ko-ru-to* (*κόρυθος* 'of the helmet'), also abbreviated KO. Finally, each tablet concludes with PA 2, the resolution of the abbreviation being given by Sh 737 *pa-ra-wa-jo* = *παραϝαίω* 'cheek-pieces', cf. Aeolic *παραύα* = Attic *παρειά*, *παρή(ϝ)ιον* 'cheek ornament' (*Il.* 4. 142). The word *o-pa-wo-ta* does not occur apropos of the cheek-pieces. *o-pa-wo-ta* are thus likely to be the bronze-plates of the corslet and the helmet. That the last invariably has four recalls the Homeric *τρυφάλεια* and *κόρυς τετράφαλος* (*Docs.* p. 378). That four are sufficient to cover the helmet is some indication of their size; they cannot therefore be 'scales'. VC's *ὀπάϝορτα* 'things hung on' accounts satisfactorily for the syllabic group and the meaning.

237. Sh 736 (*Docs.* 296)

to-ra-ke a-me-ja-to o-pa me-za-na wo-ke ne CORSLET 5

'Corslets, workshop of Ameiant-, in the abode of Melaina, new: 5.'

a-me-ja-to: proper name in the genitive as in *a-me-ja-to wo-ka* Sa 834.

o-pa: 'workshop?' (see p. 319).

me-za-na: see p. 175 on No. 53. If the word is Melaina the expression *me-za-na wo-ke* indicates the location of the workshop of *a-me-ja-t-. wo-ke* can stand for the locative *ϝοίκει* (see further on KN L 698 Glossary. This, if acceptable, would be one more piece of evidence for the industrial activities of temples (pp. 95 ff.). VC simply state that the two words are incomprehensible. Any solution must account for *o-pa*, both examples of *me-za-na*, and the name *me-za-ne. ne* may be an abbreviation for *νέϝοι*, contrasting with the *pa-ra-jo* 'old' of Sh 740.

238. Sh 740 (*Docs.* 292)

ko-ru-to O. 4 PA 2

PA-RA-JO CORSLET ZE 5 *wi-so-wo-pa-ṇa o-pa-wo-ta me-zo-a*$_2$ O. 20 *me-u-jo-a*$_2$ O. 10

The text first records 5 'old' corslets. The second half fits into the normal pattern except for the insertion of the first word. VC take this as a description of the *o-pa-wo-ta*. The word order is against this and the word may be the name of a man to whom the corslet has been issued. This may be the explanation of the mysterious single-sign entries on the reverse of Sh 734. The scribe may have jotted down the initial signs of the names of the men concerned followed by the ideogram CORSLET 1. For the type of name cf. *Ϝισϝόδαμος* (Mantineia) (F. Bechtel, *Hist. Person.* 227). A deleted entry on the reverse of Sh 739 contains the word *e-ko-si* 'they have', and this, too, may indicate the men to whom these sets of armour have been issued.

239. Sh 737 (*Docs.* 293)

CORSLET 1 *o-pa-wo-ta me-zo-a*$_2$ O. 20 *me-u-jo-a*$_2$ O. 10 *ko-ru-to* O. 4 *pa-ra-wa-jo* 2

ὀπάϝορτα μέζο(h)α PLATE 20 μεϝίο(h)α PLATE 10 κόρυθος PLATE 4 παραϝαίω 2

'CORSLET 1, attachments larger: PLATE 20, smaller: PLATE 10, of the helmet: PLATE 4, cheekpieces: 2.'

THE KNOSSOS Sc SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 379 ff.)

This series, 140 in number, lists the following data: man's name, CORSLET, WHEELED CHARIOT, HORSE (PAIR).

The tablets thus 'probably record the issue of equipment to charioteers', a conclusion which is lent some support by the fact that one of the names here recorded recurs on V 60 in a list of names which includes the description *a-ni-ọ-ko* ἀνίοχοι in the top line (*Docs.* p. 380). Some tablets have the INGOT sign substituted for the CORSLET ideogram. This shows an interest primarily in the metallic components as in the Pylos series. Conceivably these INGOT entries record the issue of a set of plates as opposed to the complete corslet.

240. Sc 222 (*Docs.* 297)

me-za-wo CORSLET 2 HORSE ZE 1

'Mezāwōn: a pair of corslets, one pair of horses.'

241. Sc 226 (*Docs.* 298)

ti-ri-jo-pa$_2$ WHEELED CHARIOT 1 CORSLET 1 HORSE 1 *e-ko* 1

'Triopās: one chariot, one corslet, one horse, one SPEAR (or "having" one (horse)).'

On four tablets the 'tunic' carries a surcharged syllabic sign QE and this form of the ideogram is followed on Sc 266 by the entry ZE 1. QE is likely to stand for *qe-ro*$_2$, a word we must now discuss. It occurs on KN K 740, where it correlates with the ideogram BRONZE TUNIC (see *Docs.* pp. 329–30). That the *qe-ro*$_2$ form(s) part of a set of armour was clear from (1) G 5670 with its mention of *ko-ru* and *o-pa-wo-ta*, (2) V 789 where *qe-ro*$_2$ is followed by *e-po-mi-jo*, *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo*, and *pa-ra-wa-jo*. This diagnosis has been confirmed by the new text S 8100 (see J. Chadwick, *BSA* 1957. 147). From all this we can deduce that *qe-ro*$_2$, forming part of

a set of armour, is connected with BRONZE and the TUNIC (CORSLET) signs; it is always a pair; it occupies the first position in the specification and is followed by *e-po-mi-jo*. We note that the CORSLET sign shows vertical loops over the shoulders, which Evans identified as corslet and shoulder pieces. We conclude that the order of entry is (1) CORSLET, (always 2, once listed ZE 1); (2) *e-po-mi-jo* = ἐπωμίω 'shoulder pieces'; (3) *ko-ru*, or *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* 2, or *e-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* 4, the adjective referring to *o-pa-wo-ta*; (4) *pa-ra-wa-jo*. The order of entry is thus precisely the same as in the Pylos Sh series except that the latter contain no reference to the shoulder pieces. We juxtapose the Knossian and the Pylian formulae:

KN: *qe-ro*$_2$ 2 *e-po-mi-jo* 2 *o-pa-*[*wo-ta* nn] *ko-ru o-pa-wo-ta e-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* 4 *pa-ra-wa-jo* 2

PY: CORSLET+HELMET *o-pa-wo-ta* 20+10 *ko-ru-to o-pa-wo-ta* 4 *pa-ra-wa-jo* 2.

The difference between the two is that in Knossos, in addition to the bronze *o-pa-wo-ta*, the scribe names the pieces of equipment to which they were attached. This recalls the Nuzi inventories of a similar character. 'The protective equipment of the soldier consisted of a coat of mail (*ṣariam*) . . . it was made of bronze and leather scales (*kursimetu*) sewed on a leather garment. "Bel-Ahi received from the palace one coat of mail . . . made of 400 large scales, 280 very small." The coats of mail were numbered by pairs' (*Nuzi* i 540 f.). Apart from the difference between plates and scales the habits of the scribes in inventorizing such items are very similar. Now the above formulaic parallelism strongly suggests that the pair of *qe-ro*$_2$ form the backing for the *o-pa-wo-ta* which are listed after it in Knossos and which also occupy the 'pre-*ko-ru*' position in the formulaic structure of Pylos. We can test this equation by applying the observation that the best-drawn ideograms at Knossos show five rows, which will presumably represent the rows of *o-pa-wo-ta*. If we take this as our 'hypothesis', the verification will be that it yields a convincing arrangement for the 20 larger +10 smaller *o-pa-wo-ta*, which are the most frequent Pylian complement. Seeing that the objects

are counted in PAIRS, we must divide into two sets of 10+5. At once we see that the resulting arrangement is in five rows[1] each consisting of a central smaller plate flanked by two of the larger plates thus: . The central plates will have lain flatter on the front of the body while the two flanking plates will have been more strongly curved with a hingeing effect at the joins. It remains to account for the smaller number of Pylian corslets which have 22 larger plus 12 smaller *o-pa-wo-ta*. We have a remainder of 2 larger plus 2 smaller after we have constructed the corslet as above. These may form the *e-po-mi-jo* which appear to be indicated by the two projecting lines at the shoulder level in the Pylian ideogram.

VC (*Docs.* p. 376) also take the corslet as a two-piece object: 'one might expect the corslets to undo into two halves by fastenings along the side.'[2] The Homeric *θώρηξ* consisted of *γύαλα* (*Il.* 15. 530 *γυάλοισιν ἀρηρότα*). The identification with *qe-ro*$_2$ is tempting (Webster), but it involves (1) the assumption of a form *γυέλω* (cf. *pi-a*$_2$*-ra*, *pi-je-rai* = *φιάλα*, *φιέλα*); (2) the spelling of *κυε-* as *kwe* instead of *ku-we* (cf. the various spellings of the word *o-da-kwenta*, p. 321); and (3) a change of gender.

Chadwick (*BSA* 1957. 149) has abandoned the interpretation embraced in *Documents*; he concludes that the first position of *qe-ro*$_2$ 'suggests they are likely to be worn on the arms'. He interprets 'armlets' and links the word with the *σπέλ(λ)ιον*, which a Scholiast on Dionysus Thrax alleges to be the Aeolic form of *ψέλιον* 'bracelet'. There is, however, no evidence that the word ever referred to armour. Moreover, on this interpretation the complete sets would include two armlets but no corslet. Worse still, the charioteers of the Sc series would draw equipment consisting of a chariot and horses with a pair of armlets. This conclusion can be escaped only be denying the connection of TUNIC +QE with *qe-ro*$_2$ and ignoring the formulaic parallelism of the Knossos and Pylos series. Finally, the plural in K 740 is *qe-ro*$_2$,

[1] Sir Arthur Evans had already remarked on the recurrence of five rows in the corslet representations: *PoM* iv 803 ff.

[2] A two-piece corslet would account for the epithet *διπλόος* in *διπλόος ἧντετο θώρηξ* (*Il.* 4. 133 = 20. 415).

which is impossible for a neuter noun. Identification achieved only by so many assumptions in addition to the multivalence of the syllabic groups must remain highly dubious. In my own attempt to identify *qe-ro*$_2$ (*BICS* 2. 1955. 38), diagnosed as 'a technical word for a coat-of-mail consisting of a χιτών covered with bronze plates', I brought the 'four *o-pa-wo-ta* of the helmet' into connexion with the Homeric words τετράφαλος and τρυφάλεια. Hesychius records φαλόν· τὸ στερεὸν κύκλωμα τοῦ στέρνου. However, this identification also requires the assumption of a by-form with a vowel *e* for *a* (as in φιάλα, φιέλα), and it is probable that the Mycenaean word fell into desuetude like the mediaeval *hauberk* when the object it designated became obsolete.

242. S 8100

qe-ro$_2$ 2 *e-po-mi-jo* 2 *o-pa-*[*wo-ta* nn]
PA-RA ko-ru HELMET *e-pi-ko-ru-*[*si*]*-ja* *o-*[*pa-wo*]*-ta*
4 *pa-ra-ẉạ-*[*jo* 2
γνέλω??: 2 ἐπωμίω 2 ὀπά[ϝορτα] κόρυ: HELMET ἐπικορύσια
ὀπάϝορτα: 4 παραϝαίω: 2

'A corslet set: 2, shoulder-pieces: 2, plates [nn], a helmet, plates for a helmet: 4, cheek-pieces: 2.'

243. V 789 (*Docs.* 299)

qe-ro$_2$ 2 *e-po-mị̈-*[*jo*
]-RA *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* 2 *pa-ra-wa-jo*[

244. K 740 (*Docs.* 230)

?[ ]
di-pa BRONZE JAR+DI 3
qe-ro$_2$ BRONZE CORSLET 16
ku-ru-su-pa$_3$ TRIPOD-AMPHORA 1
.5 *pi-ri-je* ZE 1
[ ] *me-* [

This is evidently a list of miscellaneous objects recorded for their bronze value. *pi-ri-je* can hardly be dissociated from the occupational name *pi-ri-je-te*(*r*), which is found in connexion with swords (p. 336). If the word means 'saw', as the ideogram suggests

(see *Docs.* p. 330), then the word 'sawyer' has undergone an interesting semantic shift to embrace 'cutler' as well. *ku-ru-su-pa*$_3$ is evidently another of the frequent non-Greek words for utensils and vessels.

Professor Page (1958, 262 f.) finds that *qe-ro*$_2$ in K 740 is 'obviously some kind of pot or cauldron', and he weighs the possibility that 'the same word was used to signify some part of a corslet'. To this we should have to add the fact that the scribe who drew the 'cauldron' ideogram made it so like a corslet as to deceive all investigators except Professor Page. The fact that the INGOT-ideogram sometimes cancels the CORSLET-ideogram constrains the critic 'to recognize a probability that bronze was used in connexion with the corslets of charioteers at Cnossos, but not a step further'. The *opaworta*, he agrees, are superficial attachments and 'it is conceivable that they signify metal discs or plates. . . . But we do not know what *opaworta* were and we have no information that they were metallic.' In the face of such distinguished doubt we briefly summarize the facts. We know that they were the only parts of a suit of armour which the Pylian scribes thought it worth while to mention; that they are mentioned along with cheek-pieces; that there are four 'of the helmet' and mostly 20+10 on the main item, which is mentioned first. What is listed first at Knossos is the pair of *qe-ro*$_2$, followed by *e-po-mi-jo* and then *o-pa-wo-ta*; *qe-ro*$_2$ links up with CORSLET+QE (so also Page, 263); the CORSLET is sometimes cancelled with INGOT; *qe-ro*$_2$ figure among a collection of bronze objects. (See Addendum.)

Finally, Professor Page denies any connexion between the *o-pa-wo-ta* and the horizontal bands shown on the ideogram, which he takes to be stitched rows of padding (p. 264). This is surmise without verification. If it is true, then it is pure accident that the Pylian *o-pa-wo-ta* arrange themselves most easily into two sets of five rows and this is the number of rows shown on the best-drawn Knossian ideograms.[1] These numbers of smaller and larger plates are hard fact. They make up the main item of the *thorax*. Any explanation must suggest a plausible arrangement. Our own, prompted by the equation of the Pylian and the Knossian information, is so far the only attempt made public.

WEAPONS

(*Docs.* pp. 360 f.)

The tablets of the KN Ra series are distinguished by an ideogram recognized by Evans (*PoM* iv 853 ff.) as a sword. From the only complete tablet (Ra 1548) the formulaic syntax appears as: (1) *PROPER NAME*, (2) *pi-ri-je-te* or *ka-si-ko-no*, (3) *pa-ka-na*, (4) *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, (5) *de-so-mo*, written at the top of the tablet (as in Ra 1543) despite the fact that there is ample space for it on the bottom line before the ideogram.

[1] See *PoM* iv 803 ff.

pa-ka-na = *φάσγανα*, which is qualified by the perfect participle *a-ra-ru-wo-a ἀραρϝό(h)α* (neut. plur.). This is evidently to be taken absolutely and the expression must relate to the technical construction of the sword (cf. the parallel expression *τετυχϝόα*, p. 326). VC (*Docs.* p. 361) favour 'fitted with their hand grips'.

de-so-mo: if to be taken absolutely, as the arrangement of the word suggests, this might be an instrumental *δεσμοῖς*. As VC point out, Homeric swords are described as *μελάνδετα* (*Il.* 15. 713), which is taken to mean 'iron bound'. A similar compound *ka-ko-de-ta χαλκόδετα* describes wheels (see p. 324). For *δεσμός* in the sense 'rivets' see *Il.* 18. 379, where *κόπτε δὲ δεσμούς* refers to the fastening of the 'ears' to the tripod.[1]

pi-ri-je-te and *ka-si-ko-no*, from their position immediately following the proper name, are likely to be personal descriptives. The dual *pi-ri-je-te-re* occurs on PY An 207 (see p. 136) in parallel with other craft designations such as potters, goldsmiths, and *ra-pte-re*. It is perhaps not an accident that *pi-ri-je-te-re* is immediately followed by *a-de-te-re*, which VC interpret (p. 183) as *ἀνδετῆρε*, such a technical occupation being perhaps concerned with metal *δεσμοί*. *ka-si-ko-no* must then refer to some analogous craft. The word recurs in PY An 128. 3 along with *mi*]*-ka-ta*. It is preceded by *ke-re-te*, which could be *Κρῆτες*. 'Cretan' craftsmen at Pylos would be an interesting match for the tripods 'of Cretan workmanship' (see p. 343).

The analysis might be left to rest here. VC, however, rightly call attention to the entry *pi-ri-je* ZE 1 in KN K 740. 4—a tablet listing various objects including bronze *qe-ro*$_2$ (see p. 334). They take ZE here only to represent a saw, and suggest that *pi-ri-je-te* means *πριστήρ*. Sawing is hardly the operation which might be expected to produce swords, and if we give ZE its normal interpretation, *pi-ri-je* is likely to be a dual. It will be wiser to rest content with the diagnosis 'craftsmen concerned with swords' for both *pi-ri-je-te* and *ka-si-ko-no*. The words did not survive into later Greek any more than *mi-ka-ta*, *pu-ka-wo*, *ka-sa-to*, and other Mycenaean occupational names (see above, p. 343).

[1] An interesting 'misunderstanding' of the phrase in *Od.* 8. 317.

245. Ra 1548 (*Docs.* 262)

de-so-mo

KU-KA-RO pi-ri-je-te pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a SWORD 3

'Kukalos, cutler?, swords, *fitted*, with bands (*or* rivets?): SWORD 3.'

246. Ra 1540 (*Docs.* 261)

TO-SA pa-ka-na SWORD 50(+)

'So many swords: SWORD 50+.'

Spears are listed in one fragmentary tablet from Knossos.

247. R 0481 bis (*Docs.* 263)

?*E*]-*KE-A ka-ka-re-a* SPEAR 12

'spears: bronze-tipped: SPEAR 12.'

ka-ka-re-a: χαλκάρεα. This word, a compound of χαλκο- and the root αρ- 'fit, join', in post-Mycenaean Greek is interpreted as 'bronze-tipped'. Strictly speaking it means 'joined with bronze' or 'with bronze joints'. For the technical significance of the verb *ar-* see on *a-ra-ru-wo-a* above.

XIII

HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS

THE PYLOS Ta SERIES

(*Docs.* pp. 332 ff.; LP 12, LP 13. 576–7)

THE Pylos Ta series forms one of the largest extant Mycenaean texts. It comprises thirteen tablets, the first of which, Ta 711, begins with a formula which indicates the occasion on which the document was drawn up.

All the entries show a fixed formulaic pattern. The first word names the object; all the following words (see analysis below) are specifications in terms of material, construction, and ornamentation.

The list begins with (libation?) jugs (*qe-ra-na*) and then continues with the appurtenances of the hearth (Ta 709, 712, 641). Then follow tables, chairs, and foot-stools (Ta 642, etc.). On the position of Ta 716, see below.

The materials mentioned are stone (*ra-e-ja*), ivory (*e-re-pa-te-ja*), ?ebony (*ku-te-se-ja*), ?yew (*mi-ra*$_2$), ?boxwood (*pu-ko-so-e-ke-e*), ?crystal (*we-a-re-jo*), gold (*ku-ru-so*), cyanos (*ku-wa-no*). For other possibilities, see below on *me-no-e-ja*, *po-ro-e-ke*, and *pa-ra-ku-we*.

The ornamental motifs may be divided into two groups: main and accessory. As is natural, the scribe mentions the latter at the end of his description. This end-position is vital for the diagnosis of certain ambiguous sign-groups (see below on *po-ni-ke*). The details will be discussed as they arise.

Two technical verbs are of constant occurrence, *a-ja-me-na* and *qe-qi-no-me-na*. With the former the material is always mentioned: cyanos, *pa-ra-ku*, ivory (or 'with ivory **85-de-pi*', Ta 707. 3, etc.; 'with ivory statuettes and lions', Ta 708. 3), gold (or 'with gold statuettes, etc.', Ta 714. 2, etc.). This contrasts with *qe-qi-no-me-na*, which is always accompanied by the mention of the

ornamental pattern (spiral, etc.).[1] Some of these patterns are also mentioned apropos of the vessels and other hearth appurtenances; but there is a significant change of terminology: we have, for instance, *to-qi-de-we-sa* (*torqidwessa* 'having a spiral') instead of the *qe-qi-no-me-na to-qi-de* which describes a table, etc. We conclude that the verb refers to a technical process for making an ornamental pattern which is inapplicable to a jug or a hearth (*e-ka-ra*). Ventris connected the word with the Homeric δινωτὴν ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ *Od.* 19. 56 and κολεὸν . . . ἐλέφαντος ἀμφιδεδίνηται *Od.* 8. 404 f. It is hard to ascribe the resemblance of these technical words to chance, but there are difficulties. The Homeric verbs are used with materials and not ornamental patterns and the equation involves the postulation of a dialect in which $g^{w}\bar{\imath} >$ δῑ. That the verb refers to the carving or drilling of the patterns is a reasonable guess. I have suggested a connexion with Attic βινεῖν, where a derivative of *βῖνος survives in an obscene sense. *a-ja-me-na* will refer to the process of applying the decorative materials: veneering or inlaying are the most likely meaning. The word may be a Luvian loan-word (*a-ja* 'do, make') in the sense 'wrought'. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that *kuwana-* occurs in Luvian and is held to be the source of Greek κύανος (see the discussion in LP 22. 85 f.). Homer may preserve a dim memory of the Mycenaean word in the αἴητον which refers to Hephaestus: *Il.* 18. 410 καὶ ἀπ' ἀκμοθέτοιο πέλωρ αἴητον ἀνέστη = 'the monstrous ? craftsman . . . '?

248. Ta 711 (*Docs.* 235)

*o-wi-de pu₂-ke-qi-ri o-te wa-na-ka te-ke *85-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja qo-u-ka-ra ko-ki-re-ja* JUG 1 *qe-ra-na a-mo-te-wi-ja ko-ro-no-we-sa* < JUG 1 >

qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja ku-na-ja qo-u-ka-ra to-qi-de-we-sa JUG 1

ὣς ϝίδε *pu₂-ke-qi-ri* ὅτε ϝάναξ θῆκε **85-ke-wa* Δάμοκλον.

qe-ra-na ϝανασσηϝία g^{w}ουκάρα κογχυλεία JUG 1. *qe-ra-na* ἁρμοτηϝία κλονόϝεσσα.

[1] This observation is fundamental for the diagnosis. The distinction has not been noted by P. Chantraine and A. Dessenne (*REG* 70. 1957. 301–11), who propose 'plaque' for *qe-qi-no-me-na*.

qe-ra-na ϝανασσηϝία γυναία gʷουκάρα τορqʷίδϝεσσα JUG 1.

'Inspection carried out by *pu₂-ke-qi-ri* when the King buried **85-ke-wa* Damoklos.

Jug (decorated with) goddess, bull's head(s), shell pattern: JUG 1.

Jug (decorated with) charioteer, battle throng ⟨JUG 1⟩.

Jug (decorated with) goddess, woman (or women), bull's head(s), spirals: JUG 1.'

The interpretation of the first sentence depends on the determination of the status of *da-mo-ko-ro*. The word occurs in On 300 (see p. 89). There it appears as the final entry of a paragraph concerning the 'Nine' places; it is matched in the second paragraph by the entry *te-po-se-u*, which concludes a set of entries relating to the 'Seven' places. The evidence may be presented in the form of a proportion formula: 'the Nine' : *da-mo-ko-ro* :: 'the Seven' : *te-po-se-u*. VC agree that the last is the name of a man who is the *ti-nwa-si-jo ko-re-te*. We conclude that *da-mo-ko-ro* is a man of similar status. In our text he appears with a double name **85-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro*, and **85-ke-wa* occurs along with *te-po-se-u* in Jo 438 (ll. 23 and 21 respectively). The 'etymological' method produces the same result: the only entry in the reference books which satisfies the syllabic groups is *Δάμοκλος*. This name is an abbreviated form of *Δαμοκλέϝης* or *Δαμοκλεϝέ(h)ιος*. PY Fn 324. 1 reads]*-mo-ke-re-we-i*, which VC complete and interpret (as I do) *Damoklewei*. We conclude that the person in question is here named with his full style, the patronymic being in the abbreviated form (see LP 6*b* for such names). This style accords with his high status (see p. 152 on the *e-qe-ta*). No evidence has been adduced to show that *da-mo-ko-ro* is the name of an office. Failing this, the interpretation (MV) 'what P. saw when the *wanax* appointed **85-ke-wa* to be a *damokoros*' lacks all foundation. If *te-ke* = *θῆκε*, then with a proper name as direct object it can only mean 'buried'. For this use of *τίθημι*, see *LSJ* s.v. section A. 11: Aesch.

[1] In the clearest example from the Knossos tablets (L 642. 3) *da-mo-ko-*[*ro* appears along with other individual CLOTH entries likewise as a proper name.

Sept. 1006 *ποῦ σφε θήσομεν χθονός;* and, especially, Plato, *Leg.* 947 e. (See Addendum.)

To test this product of a purely combinatory analysis, we shall simply ask whether such objects have been found in tombs (see further below).

qe-ra-na: evidently a jug. There is no later Greek equivalent. The descriptions mention the main motifs and the accessory fillings in that order. *ko-ki-re-ja* is connected by MV with *κοχλίας*, *κογχύλη*, etc., and he translates 'decorated with sea-shells'.

to-qi-de-we-sa: the basic noun *to-qi-d* is etymologized as *torqid-* and translated 'decorated with spiral(s)'. *wa-na-se-wi-ja* we regard (like VC) as a derivative from *wa-na-sa* meaning 'queen'; it will be argued below that this is the title of the 'mother goddess' (see p. 356). This interpretation is consistent with the adjacent *qo-u-ka-ra* 'bull's head(s)'. For the iconographic significance of the bull's head see R. D. Barnett, *Nimrud Ivories* 33, with literature, and C. Picard, *Les Religions préhelléniques* 244. In l. 3 *wanassa* is associated with *ku-na-ja*, and the phrase may be interpreted 'decorated with Wanassa and women'. (On such a Wanassa vase see V. Karageorghis, *AJA* 62. 1958. 386.) (See Addendum.)

a-mo-te-wi-ja is evidently parallel with *wa-na-se-wi-ja*. The basic word *a-mo-t-* is now agreed to mean 'undercarriage (wheels)' and presumably also 'chariot'.[1] Chariot scenes are extremely frequent on Mycenaean vases throughout the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. V. Karageorghis writes (*AJA* 62. 1958. 383) 'the chariot group was its most favoured composition'.

ko-ro-no-we-sa: the only 'etymological' equivalent *κλονόϝεσσα* is eminently 'compatible' in the context. For scenes with 'chariot-(eer) and throng of warriors' see A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery* 446 ff., especially 452. VC connect the word with *κορώνη* 'handle', but overlook the fact that such a derivative in Greek would have the form *κορωνάϝεσσα*. Their interpretations, 'of the queen's set', 'of the harmost's set', 'a woman's gift', introduce superfluous categories into the interpretation. The identification of *a-mo-t-* with *ἁρμοστ-* is unfounded; nor is there any evidence for the

[1] For *a-mo-te-u* 'charioteer', see p. 219.

existence of such an official in these texts. On the gift hypothesis see below on the 'useless tripod'.

249. Ta 709 (*Docs.* 237)

This text has now been completed through the discovery in 1957 of the missing centre piece (see *AJA* 62. 1958. 182 with fig. 11). For discussion, see pp. 29 f.

pi-je-ra$_3$ *to-qi-de-ja* *200 3 *pa-ko-to a-pe-te-me-no* *234 2 *po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja* LADLE 1 *ko-te-ri-ja* 6

**85-te* 1 *pu-ra-u-to-ro* 2 *pa*$_2$*-ra-to-ro* 1 *e-ka-ra a-pi-qo-to pe-de-we-sa* 1 *e-ka-ra i-to-we-sa pe-de-we-sa so-we-ne-ja* **85-de-we-sa-qe* 1

ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke **34-ke-u* TRIPOD 1 *ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u* TRIPOD 1

'Boiling pans, with spirals: 3, jars *with double filters*: 2, *ladle*: 1, *shovels*: 6, *brush*: 1, fire-tongs: 2, fire-rake: 1, hearth with splay legs, footed: 1, hearth with upright supports, decorated with *flame-pattern* and *rosettes*: 1, tripod of Cretan work, with *lynx*??-handles: 1, tripod of Cretan work decorated with *ke-wi-ri-*: 1.'

pi-je-ra$_3$: *φιέλαι* 'boiling pans' (*Docs.* p. 325).

pa-ko-to: some kind of storage vessel; *φάκτω* as the dual of *φάκται· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι* (Hesychius) has been suggested (*MaL* 2. 189).

a-pe-te-me-ne: ? dual †*ἀμφηθμενε* (*ἠθμός* 'strainer') is hardly satisfactory for sense and no Greek adjectives of this type of formation are attested (*Mem.* i 341). *po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja*: the object represented by the ideogram appears to be a ladle or dipper. *προελκτήρια* would account for the syllables. For *ἕλκω* 'draw' (from a receptacle) see *LSJ* s.v. 4, 5. The verbal prefix *προ-* is appropriate to the action as in the corresponding Latin verb *promo* < *pro-emo*. M. Lang (loc. cit.) would connect with Hesychius *ποτεκχετήρια· τορνευτήρια* and translate 'chisels'. Mycenaean *pos-* would, however, correspond to Doric *ποτ-*; the ideogram does not resemble a chisel, and chisels are not usual appurtenances of the hearth.

The next four items form a set. *pa*$_2$*-ra-to-ro*: cf. *σπάλαθρον, σκάλευθρον* 'fire-rake'.

pu-ra-u-to-ro: *πυραύστρω* dual 'tongs'.

**85-te*: †σαρτήρ (cf. σάρον, σαίρω)? 'brush'.

ko-te-ri-ja: †χω(σ)στήρια(ι) 'shovels'.

e-ka-ra: ἐσχάρα 'hearth'.

a-pi-qo-to: ἀμφίg^{w}οτος (ἀμφίβατος) 'splay-legged' (see p. 31).

pe-de-we-sa: πέδϝεσσα 'with feet'.

i-to-we-sa: ἱστόϝεσσα 'with upright support'.

*so-we-ne-ja *85-de-we-sa-qe*: a frequent combination of accessory motifs; for the tentative identification as 'flame-pattern and rosettes', see p. 32.

ke-re-si-jo we-ke: *Κρησιοϝεργής* 'of Cretan workmanship'. For the form cf. *Μιλησιουργής*, etc. (LP 12. 77); for the use of the word-divider, see LP 4. 43.

**34-ke-u*: see below on *ai-ke-u*; = *λυγκεύς*? (M. Lang).

o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u: parallel with *ai-ke-u* and as such it presumably refers to the ornamentation of the tripod, in particular the form of the handles. The only 'etymological' possibility for the basic word appears to be *κεῖρις*, a fabulous bird.

250. Ta 641 (*Docs.* 236)

ti-ri-po-de/ai-ke-u ke-re-si-jo we-ke TRIPOD 2 *ti-ri-po e-me po-de o-wo-we* TRIPOD 1 *ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no* '*ke-re-a*$_2$ *ɲo-*'[TRIPOD 1]

qe-to VASE 3 *di-pa me-zo-*{*e*} *qe-to-ro-we* FOUR-HANDLER 1 *di-pa-e me-zo-e ti-ri-o-we-e* THREE-HANDLER 2 *di-pa me-wi-jo qe-to-ro-we* FOUR-HANDLER 1

di-pa me-wi-jo ti-ri-jo-we THREE-HANDLER 1 *di-pa me-wi-jo a-no-we* NO-HANDLER 1

τρίποδε αἰγεὺς κρησιοϝεργῆς TRIPOD 2 τρίπως, ἐμεὶ ποδεὶ ὀϝ(ϝ)όϝενς TRIPOD 1 τρίπως κρησιοϝεργὴς ἀπὺ κεκαυμένος σκέλεα TRIPOD[.

q^{w}έθοι *203 3 δίπας μέζοε (*sic*) *q^{w}έτρο(ϝ)ϝες* *202 1 δίπαε μέζοε τριό(ϝ)ϝεε *202 2 δίπας μέϝιον *q^{w}έτρο(ϝ)ϝες* *202 1.

δίπας μέϝιον τρίο(ϝ)ϝες *202 1 δίπας μέϝιον ἄνο(ϝ)ϝες *202 1.

'Two tripods (decoration) goat-handles, of Cretan workmanship: TRIPOD 2; tripod with one foot, with "ear"

handles: TRIPOD 1; tripod of Cretan workmanship, with legs burnt off [TRIPOD 1].

Jars: 3; pot, large with four handles: 1; two pots, large, with three handles: 2; pot, small with four handles: 1.

Pot, small, with three handles: 1; pot, small, without handles: 1.'

ai-ke-u: 'with goat-head protomes' (LP, first in *The Listener* 24 xi 1955, subsequently LP 6, 7, 12. 78 f.). The word alternates with *o-wo-we* = *ὀϝ(ϝ)όϝενς* 'with ear-handles'. The two words correlate respectively with ideograms showing handles in the form of a horned head and upright round handles (see LP 13. 577). The singular form of *ai-ke-u* must be due to carelessness; cf. *me-zo-e* below. For *οὖς* in the sense 'handle' cf. *οὔατα Il.* 18. 378. The form *ὠτώεις Il.* 23. 264, 513 presumably conceals an original **ὀϝϝοτϝενς*. For another reflection of these Mycenaean adjectives without the intrusive thematic vowel cf. *φοινῐκόεσσαν Il.* 10. 133 for **φοινίκϝεσσαν*.

e-me po-de: descriptive instrumental, 'with one (*ἑμεί*, see p. 50) foot'. VC take it together with *o-wo-we* and translate 'with one handle on one foot'. But the ideogram shows *two* ear-shaped handles. I take the phrase as referring to the damaged condition of the tripod (see next item).

a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no ke-re-a$_2$: *ἀπὺ κεκαυμένος σκέλεα* 'burnt away at the legs'. Note the tmesis of *a-pu*.

VC read *ṇo-*[*pe-re*] but the first sign is presumably the damaged TRIPOD ideogram.

qe-to: possibly = *πίθοι* 'wine-jars'.

di-pa, dual *di-pa-e*: a jar with three, four, or no handles. If the identification with *δέπας* is correct, the meaning must have changed between Mycenaean and Hellenic times. (See Addendum.)

me-zo-e: another error of congruence, perhaps prompted by the following entry in l. 2 = *μέζο(h)ε* 'of larger size'.

me-wi-jo: *μέϝιος* or *μέϝιον* (neuter): 'of smaller size'.

qe-to-ro-we, ti-ri-jo-we, a-no-we: *q*^{w}*έτρο(ϝ)ϝες, τρίο(ϝ)ϝες, ἄνο(ϝ)ϝες*;

cf. *ἀμφώης* Theocr. 1. 28. The basis of the compound is the *e*-grade of the neuter **ousos*, which exhibits a heteroclite stem *ousn̥t-* yielding in Greek *οὐατ-* (see Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 520).

251. Ta 642 (*Docs.* 239)

to-pe-za ra-e-ja we-a-re-ja a-ja-me-na a_2*-ṛọ*[?]*-u̯-do-pi ku-wa-no-qe pa-ra-ke-we-*[*qe ku-ru-so-qe*]? *e-ne-wo pe-*[*za*]

*to-pe-za ra-e-ja me-no-e-ja e-re-pa-te a-ja-me-na qe-qi-no-to *85-de-pi ko-ru-pi-qe* 1

to-pe-za ra-e-ja a-pi-qo-to e-re-pa-te-jo po-pi e-ka-ma-te-qe qe-qi-no-to-qe to-qi-de 'e-ne-wo pe-za'

τόρπεζα λαεία ϝεαλεία αἰαμένα ἁλοσύδο(τ)φι κυάνῳ q^we *pa-ra-*κύει [q^we χρυσῷ q^we] ἐννεϝόπεζα.

τόρπεζα λαεία μενοεία ἐλεφάντει αἰαμένα $g^weg^wίνωτοι$ **85-de-*φι κόρυ(θ)φι q^we.

τόρπεζα λαεία ἀμφίg^{w}οτος ἐννεϝόπεζα ἐλεφαντείοις πό(δ)φι ἐχμάτει q^we. $g^weg^wίνωτοι$ q^we τορ$q^wίδει$.

'Table, stone, crystal, *inlaid* with *undulations* of cyanos, *tin* and gold, with nine feet.

Table, stone, (some other material), *inlaid* with ivory, it is worked with *rosettes* and helmets.

Table, stone, splay-legged, with nine feet, with feet and support of ivory; and it is worked with a spiral.'

ra-e-ja: λαεία < λᾶος 'stone'. There is no evidence for digamma in this word. The connexion with λᾱϝός is fanciful.

we-a-re-ja: ?ϝαλεία. For the spelling, see p. 27.

a_2*-ro-u-do-pi*: MV suggested ἁλοσυδο(τ)φι 'with aquamarines' (*Docs.* p. 339). I was inclined to interpret 'with undulations' since the wavy line is of frequent occurrence in Mycenaean decoration. This encounters syntactical difficulties in that the materials which follow must be instrumentals of description (see p. 58).

me-no-e-ja: the adjective cannot be derived from μην(σ)- or μήνη, and the interpretation 'crescent-shaped' cannot be upheld. The formulaic syntax indicates that it is another adjective referring to material. The underlying noun appears to have the form *me-noi-* or *me-no-s-*.

qe-qi-no-to: the indicative form in *-τοι* corresponding to the participle. The scribe avoids two adjacent participles by beginning a new sentence: 'it is ? carved (? incised *vel sim.*) with . . .' (so D. M. Jones, *Glotta* 37. 1958. 112–18.)

ko-ru-pi: *κόρυ(θ)φι* 'with helmets'. Pieces of ivory in the form of helmets have been found in Mycenaean houses (see *MT* ii 21, fig. 14). On this table the patterns are merely incised in the ivory; they are not applied (*a-ja-me-na*) as whole pieces.

po-pi: *πό(δ)φι*.

e-ka-ma-te: cf. *e-ka-ma-pi* Ta 713, 1, and see p. 49.

252. Ta 713 (*Docs.* 240)

to-pe-za ra-e-ja ku-te-se-jo e-ka-ma-pi e-re-pa-te-jo-qe a-pi-qo-to e-ne-wo-pe-za qe-qi-no-me-na to-qi-de

to-pe-za e-re-pa-te-ja po-ro-e-ke pi-ti-ro$_2$-we-sa we-pe-za qe-qi-no-me-na to-qi-de

to-pe-za ku-te-se-ja e-re-pa-te-jo e-ka-ma-pi a-pi-qo-to e-ne-wo-pe-za ko-ki-re-ja

τόρπεζα λαεία κυτεσείοις ἔχμα(τ)φι ἐλεφαντείοις q^we ἀμφίg^{w}οτος ἐννεϝόπεζα g^{w}εg^{w}ινωμένα τορq^{w}ίδει.

τόρπεζα ἐλεφαντεία πωροε(γ)χὴς πτιλόϝεσσα ϝέ(κ)πεζα g^{w}εg^{w}ινωμένα τορq^{w}ίδει.

τόρπεζα κυτεσεία ἐλεφαντείοις ἔχμα(τ)φι ἀμφίg^{w}οτος ἐννεϝόπεζα κογχυλεία.

'Table, stone, with supports of ebony and ivory, splay-legged, with nine feet, worked with spiral.

Table, of ivory, with marble shaft, feather pattern, with six feet, worked with spiral.

Table, ebony, with ivory supports, splay-legged, with nine feet, shell pattern.'

to-pe-za: *τόρπεζα* 'table' (see p. 41).

ra-e-ja: *λαεία* < *λᾶος* 'stone'. See above.

ku-te-se-jo: *κυτεσείοις* 'of ebony' (*κύτισος*) agrees with *e-ka-ma-pi*, which is bracketed by its two adjectives.

a-pi-qo-to: 'splay-legged' (see p. 31).

e-ne-wo-pe-za: ἐννεϝόπεζα (see p. 51). 'Feet' are either 'nine' or 'six'. The fact that these are multiples of three must have some significance. I have suggested that these are ornamental features in the form of animal's feet arranged _|_ on each of three or two supports. The adjectives can hardly refer to measurement since this would not account for the peculiarity of the numbers nine or six.[1]

po-ro-e-ke: identified in *Docs.* with προεχής, which is quotable only from Plutarch, *fr.* 13. 2, as a correction of the MS προσεχής. For the interpretation 'with an *e-ko*(*s*) of marble (πῶρος)', see p. 31.

pi-ti-ro$_2$*-we-sa*: πτιλόϝεσσα 'with feather pattern'.

we-pe-za: ϝέ(κ)πεζα 'six footer'. For ϝεκ-, see p. 51.

e-ka-ma-pi: cf. *e-ka-ma-te* (Ta 642). MV compares ἔχμα and ἔγμα· ὀχύρωμα, στῦλος Hesychius. The reference is evidently to some form of support (see p. 31).

253. Ta 715 (*Docs.* 241)

to-pe-za ku-te-se-ja e-re-pa-te-jo e-ka-ma-pi a-pi-qo-to e-ne-wo pe-za ko-ki-re-ja

to-pe-za a-ka-ra-no e-re-pa-te-ja a-pi-qo-to 1 *to-pe-za a-ka-ra-no e-re-pa-te-ja po-ro-e-ke* 1

to-pe-zo mi-ra$_2$ *a-pi-qo-to pu-ko-so e-ke-e e-ne-wo pe-zo to-qi-de-jo a-ja-me-no pa-ra-ku-we* 2

τόρπεζα κυτεσεία ἐλεφαντείοις ἔχμα(τ)φι ἀμφίϝοτος ἐννεϝόπεζα κογχιλεία.

τόρπεζα ἀκάρανος (or ἄκρανος) ἐλεφαντεία ἀμφίϝοτος.

τόρπεζα ἀκάρανος (or ἄκρανος) ἐλεφαντεία πωροε(γ)χής.

τορπέζω (σ)μίλας(?) ἀμφιϝότω πυξοε(γ)χέε ἐννεϝοπέζω τορϙʷιδείω αἰαμένω *pa-ra-kúei* 2.

'Table, ebony, with ivory supports, splay-legged, with nine feet, shell pattern:

[1] On the various types of offering table see Nilsson, *MMR*^{2} 122 ff.; note especially p. 126: 'the most elaborate specimen belonging to the sanctuary of the SE. house at Knossos has six feet.'

Table (of ??wood), ivory, splay-legged: table (of ??wood), ivory, with marble *e-ko-s*: 1.

Two tables, of yew wood, splay-legged, with box-wood *e-ko-s*, with nine feet, spiral pattern, inlaid with tin (??): 2.'

a-ka-ra-no: looks like a compound adjective. But in all other instances this first place in the description is occupied by a word referring to the material in the following order of entry: stone, stone, stone, stone, ivory, ebony, ebony, *a*+ivory, *a*+ivory, yew. VC's 'headless' table, whatever that may mean, hardly fits into this series. (σ)*μίλας* 'of yew' suggests that *a-ka-ra-no* may also be the genitive of the name of some wood or other material used along with ivory.

po-ro-e-ke: see above. For the possibility that *e-ke* = *-εγχης* see *e-ke-i-ja* (PY Va 1324).

to-pe-zo: *τορπέζω* dual.

pu-ko-so e-ke-e: *πυξο-e-ke-e* dual 'with *e-ko*(*s*) of boxwood'.

pa-ra-ku-we: '?tin' (see below).

254. Ta 707 (*Docs.* 242)

ku-te-ta-jo

*to-no ku-ru-sa-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi o-ni-ti-ja-pi ta-ra-nu-qe a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi* 1

to-no ku-te-se-jo e-re-pa-te-ja-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i qe-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-te-qe po-ti-pi-qe 1

*ta-ra-nu ku-te-so a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi*

θόρνος κυτέσειος χρυσᾶφι o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-a-φι ὀρνιθίαφι, θρᾶνύς q^{w}*ε αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι* 1.

θόρνος κυτέσειος ἐλεφαντείαφι o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-a-φι σερμοκαραοιιν (?). *g*^{w}*εg*^{w}*ινωμέναι ἀνδριάντει q*^{w}*ε πόρτιφί q*^{w}*ε.*

*θρᾶνυς κυτέσῳ αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι.*

'Chair, ebony, with golden birds on the *back* (sides?), and a foot-stool inlaid with ivory *rosettes*: 1.

Chair, ebony, with *back* (sides?) of ivory; (the back? sides?)

are worked with a pair of *stag's* heads and the figure of a man and heifers.

Foot-stool, of ebony, inlaid with ivory *rosettes*.'

ku-te-ta-jo: inserted above the line: *ta* appear to be a pure error for *se*.

to-no: θόρνος for θρόνος; cf. θόρναξ, from which F. de Saussure deduced the Cypriot θόρνος in 1879 (*Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles en indo-européen*, 77).

o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi: some part of the construction of a chair which carries the main decoration: 'back' or 'sides'. MV compared Hesychius ἀμφικελεμνίς and ἀμφικέλεμνον and suggested the meanings 'shoulder' or 'carrying yoke' for the underlying word **kelemn-*. The nucleus is evidently an Aegean word with the suffix *-mn-* which is found in a number of technical words suspected of pre-Greek origin (see Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 524).

ta-ra-nu = θρᾶνυς 'foot-stool'.

se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i: dual instrumental dative, cf. plural *se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi* (Ta 708. 2, etc.). Presumably some kind of animal's head. The deletion of [*qo-u-ka-ra-o-i*] in Ta 714. 2 suggests that the scribe had second thoughts about 'bull's heads', so that *se-re-mo-* is likely to have designated some horned animal: perhaps 'stag' or 'gazelle'. The initial σ- suggests a non-Greek word. Hesychius σέρροι· ἐλαφοί is close to our spelling and an interchange of *w* and *m* in the Aegean area had been noted: see E. Sittig, *Minos* iii. 1955. 18, Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* i 436, and cf. Gortyn. ϝέδιμνος for μέδιμνος. Mühlestein's suggestion that *se-re-mo* stands for σειρηνο- (with *m* for later *n*) fails to account for the deletion; the head of a siren is indistinguishable from a woman's head; finally, sirens do not occur in Mycenaean ornamentation (see A. Dessenne, *BCH* 81. 1957. 203–15).

ku-te-so: the material is simply stated by a noun in the instrumental of description (see p. 58).

255. Ta 708 (*Docs.* 243)

to-no ku-te-se-jo a-ja-me-no o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja e-re-pa-te 1

to-no ku-te-se-jo e-re-pa-te-ja-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi qe-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe

ta-ra-nu ku-te-se-jo a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo a-di-ri-ja-pi re-wo-pi-qe 1

θόρνος κυτέσειος αἰαμένος o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja ἐλεφάντει.

θόρνος κυτέσειος ἐλεφαντείαφι o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-φι· σερμοκάραφι $g^we g^w$ινωμέναι ἀνδρία(ντ)φί q^we.

θρᾶνυς κυτέσειος αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις ἀνδρία(ντ)φι λέϝο(ντ)φί q^we.

'Chair, ebony, with the *back* (sides?) inlaid with ivory.

Chair, ebony, with the *back* (sides?) of ivory; (they are) worked with *stag's* heads and with figures of men.

Foot-stool, ebony, inlaid with ivory figures of men and lions.'

re-wo-pi: λέϝον(τ)φι. The digamma is unexpected. The animal's name appears to be a deverbative in *-ων* of the type δράκων.

256. Ta 714 (*Docs.* 244)

to-no we-a_2-re-jo a-ja-me-no ku-wa-no pa-ra-ku-we-qe ku-ru-so-qe o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja

a-ja-me-na ku-ru-so a-di-ri-ja-pi se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i-qe ku-ru-so ⟦*qo*]-*u-ka-ra-o-i*⟧ *ku-ru-so-qe po-ni-ki-pi*

ku-wa-ni-jo-qe po-ni-ki-pi ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no ku-wa-no pa-ra-ku-we-qe ku-ru-so-qe ku-ru-sa-pi-qe ko-no-ni-pi

θόρνος ϝεάλειος αἰαμένος κυάνῳ pa-ra-κύει q^we χρυσῷ q^we o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja·

αἰαμέναι χρυσοῖς ἀνδρία(ντ)φι σερμοκαράοιίν q^we χρυσοῖς ⟦*g^wου-καράοιϊν*⟧ *χρυσοῖς q^we φοίνικφι*

κυανίοις q^we φοίνικφι. θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος κυάνῳ pa-ra-κύει-q^we χρυσῷ q^we χρυσᾶφι q^we κονονί(δ)φι.

'Chair, crystal, inlaid with cyanos and *tin* and gold on the *back* (sides?); (they are) inlaid with golden human figures and a pair of *stag's* heads and golden ⟦bull's heads⟧ and with golden palm-trees, and with palm-trees of cyanos.

Foot-stool, inlaid with cyanos and *tin* and gold, and with golden *cross-bars*.'

we-a_2-re-jo: ?*ὑάλειος*.For the spelling *we* for *u*, see p. 27.

pa-ra-ku-we: an unknown material; the combination *ku-wa-no pa-ra-ku-we-qe ku-ru-so-qe* recalls *Il.* 11. 24–25:

τοῦ δ' ἦτοι δέκα οἶμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κυάνοιο
δώδεκα δὲ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι κασσιτέροιο.

Thus *pa-ra-ku* may be tin.

po-ni-ki-pi: cf. *po-ni-ke-qe* (Ta 722. 1). Both occurrences are in the final position, and this suggests an accessorial motif. The palm-tree and its branches are one of the most frequent motifs of Aegean decoration. There is no evidence that *φοῖνιξ* ever meant 'griffin' or 'sphinx', and the interpretation ignores the diagnostic symptom offered by the final position of the word.

ko-no-ni-pi: = ?*κανονί(δ)φι* 'with cross-bars' (*Docs.* p. 329); but the word recurs in KN K 434 in the description of a jug with a band round the neck.

257. Ta 721 (*Docs.* 245)

*ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi to-qi-de-qe ka-ru-we-qe* FOOTSTOOL 1

*ta-ra-nu-we a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi so-we-no-qe to-qi-de-qe* FOOTSTOOL 3

*ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi so-we-no-qe* FOOTSTOOL 1

*ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi so-we-no-qe* FOOTSTOOL 1

*ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo *85-de-pi* FOOTSTOOL 1

*θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι τορϙ^{w}ίδει ϙ^{w}ε καλύει ϙ^{w}ε* 1.

*θράννες αἰαμένοι ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι so-we-νῳ ϙ^{w}ε τορϙ^{w}ίδει ϙ^{w}ε* 3.

*θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι so-we-νῳ ϙ^{w}ε* 1.

*θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι so-we-νῳ ϙ^{w}ε* 1.

.5 *θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις *85-de-φι* 1.

'Foot-stool, inlaid with ivory *rosettes* and spiral and *flower-bud*, 1.

Foot-stools, inlaid with ivory *rosettes* and *flame-pattern* and spiral, 3.

Foot-stool, inlaid with ivory *rosettes* and *flame-pattern*, 1.

Foot-stool, inlaid with ivory *rosettes* and *flame-pattern*, 1.

Foot-stool, inlaid with ivory *rosettes*, 1.'

ka-ru-we: dative singular, cf. plural, *ka-ru-pi* (Ta 722. 3). All three occurrences are in the final position; thus this too will be an accessorial motif. MV proposed †*καρυ-* 'nut tree', extracted from the later *κάρυον*, but this word means any kind of nut, and what is required is something specific like *φοῖνιξ*. It would be necessary to assume that Mycenaean *καρυ-* denoted a particular tree such as walnut. Some formal motif is required. I suggest **καλυ-*, the later *καλυ-κ* 'flower bud', etc., being an extended form. On the *κ*-suffix see P. Chantraine, *Formation des noms* 383. Confirmation must come from a parallel observation in Mycenaean decoration. The ornaments are applied (*a-ja-me-no*) ready-made: 'with ?*rosettes*, a spiral, and a *ka-ru*'. Cf. 'with ivory *ka-ru-we(s)*' Ta 722, where the adjective shows that the word is feminine. Thus the motif is to be sought among the surviving pieces of Mycenaean ivory and not among its incised patterns.

258. Ta 722 (*Docs.* 246)

ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo a-to-ro-qo i-qo-qe po-ru-po-de-qe po-ni-ke-qe FOOTSTOOL 1

ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo ka-ra-a-pi re-wo-te-jo so-we-no-qe FOOTSTOOL 1

ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-ja-pi ka-ru-pi FOOTSTOOL 1 *ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-ja-pi ka-ru-pi* FOOTSTOOL 1

θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείῳ ἀνθρώϙʷῳ ἴϗϝῳ ϙʷε πολυπόδει ϙʷε φοινίκει ϙʷε 1.

θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείοις καράαφι λεϝοντείοις so-we-νῳ ϙʷε 1.

θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείαφι κάλυφι.
θρᾶνυς αἰαμένος ἐλεφαντείαφι κάλυφι.

'Foot-stool inlaid with ivory man and horse and polypod and palm tree (palmette): 1.
Foot-stool inlaid with ivory lions' heads and with flame pattern.
Foot-stool inlaid with ivory *flower buds*.
Foot-stool inlaid with ivory *flower buds*.'

a-to-ro-qo: *ἀνθρώπωι*. Note the labio-velar.

i-qo-qe: *ἴϙϝωι*. For the convergence of q^w and *kw*, see p. 43.

po-ru-po-de-qe: *πολυπόδει-qe*. The octopus is one of the most characteristic motifs of Minoan–Mycenaean decoration.

po-ni-ke: 'palm', see on Ta 714.

ka-ra-a-pi: see p. 349.

Before examining the final text of this set (Ta 716) we make a methodological survey of the interpretations suggested above in order to reassess the probabilities of the rival versions where they disagree. It is worth emphasizing that there is complete agreement about the structure of the descriptive formulae in all the tablets, comprising some forty items, except the first. Ta 711, as we have seen, lists *qe-ra-na* identified by the ideogram as JUG, and this word, as elsewhere, is followed by a string of adjectives. The words in the latter part of the formulae on Ta 711 are all interpreted by VC (like myself) as adjectives referring to the physical appearance of the objects. But with the immediately preceding *wa-na-se-wi-ja ku-na-ja* this fruitful principle of interpretation is abandoned, and they have recourse to two new explanatory principles: the first adjective means 'of the queen's set' and the second 'the gift of a woman'. So, too, with the previous line, where *a-mo-te-wi-ja ko-ro-no-we-sa* is rendered 'of the harmost's set with a curved handle' despite the philological difficulty presented by the last word (see p. 341).

We have preferred to keep to the one principle of explanation

and taken all the words after the first as referring to the decoration. In this way we face a severe test, for the resulting motifs must be 'compatible' and fit into the known repertory of Mycenean decoration. 'Wanassa and Women' and 'Wanassa and Boucrania' are thus compatible. If the true explanation is in fact different, then an idle play of the syllables has resulted in a purely chance resemblance to words representing such motifs of Aegean decoration and has even combined them in 'compatible' groups.

But the said motifs must face a still further test: that of compatibility with the occasion indicated by the introductory sentence.

Here again the two methods must be contrasted for appraisal. The two diagnoses agree except for the last word *da-mo-ko-ro*. In our own investigation we were led both by the analysis of the other occurrences of the word (see pp. 340 f.) and by the application of the etymological method to the conclusion that this is a proper name *Damoklos*. This imposed the interpretation of the verb *te-ke* as 'buried'. Given the diagnosis, there was no other possibility within Greek as we know it. In *Documents* the other occurrences of *da-mo-ko-ro* remain unanalysed and the word is stated without discussion to be a unique occurrence of 'the title of a village functionary, perhaps equivalent to the *ko-re-te*'. The translation of *te-ke* as 'appointed' depends on this unsupported assertion.

Both versions of the introductory sentence, which indicates the occasion for the taking of the inventory, must face the severe test of 'compatibility' with the objects listed, their order in the inventory, and their state. If they are the furnishings of a reception room on a state occasion, the hearth furniture and the tables and chairs suggest that a feast is to be held. It would appear likely that for such an occasion one of the grander rooms of the palace would be chosen and that it would have a hearth. The palace as excavated offers us virtually only one possibility if we may exclude the much smaller 'Queen's megaron', and that is the Throne Room itself. But we may suppose that this was in constant occupation, and there would appear little purpose in taking a special inventory when the feast on this 'appointment' occasion was staged there.

Let us suppose, however, that these were particularly grand furnishings, normally kept in store, and only brought out for state occasions. This would imply that for this event there were brought out, along with the other magnificent furnishings, a tripod with the legs burnt off and another with one foot. Again, we are reduced to absurdity. Moreover, for this interpretation the order of the inventory is irrelevant, and it is a mere accident that the *qe-ra-na* are given pride of place. An essential aspect of the facts remains unobserved and unexploited.

Our own version, as we have seen, was imposed simply by the preliminary diagnosis of *da-mo-ko-ro*. As for the precedence of the *qe-ra-na*, this is explained by the prominence of this type of vessel in cult (see Nilsson, *MMR*² 147 ff.). Nilsson writes: 'If we had to form our opinion of the sacred vessels of the Minoans from the pictures and the engraved gems alone, practically one single type would be considered as a special cult vessel . . . namely the high-necked and high-handled libation jug.' He goes on (p. 150): 'It is remarkable that jugs of this form are seldom found. A specimen closely resembling them is a silver jug from the IVth shaft grave at Mycenae . . . but it seems probable that the type shown on gems etc. belonging chiefly to the latter part of Late Minoan is derived from Early Minoan I and was preserved in the cult because of the usual religious conservatism' (p. 152).

The importance attached to the *qe-ra-na* and their cult significance are in harmony with what Nilsson has to say about the tables of offering, with which we have identified the *e-ka-ra*: 'To Late Minoan the round three-legged tables of offering belong which are found both in shrines and graves. . . . It must be stated that the majority of the finds comes under the heading of funeral furniture.' Such a plaster tripod is known from a chamber tomb at Zafer Papoura with charcoal on it. If we now recall the find of such a table of offerings with associated hearth furniture from a tholos tomb in Messenia(below, p. 361), it is difficult to understand the statement of a Mycenaean archaeologist that 'not one [*scil.* Mycenaean tomb] has contained fire-irons' or that 'the objects present are inappropriate to burial' (D. H. Gray, *BICS* 6. 1959. 54; see further below).

Since these objects themselves are not incompatible with the 'burial' interpretation, which the diagnosis of *da-mo-ko-ro* had imposed, we may turn our attention to the decoration of the *qe-ra-na*, for it is likely that the decoration of such objects would have relevance to their purpose and function.

There are two libation jugs which, according to our 'economical' interpretation, have representations of Wanassa, the Mother Goddess. That this goddess was guardian of the dead is well known. I quote *exempli gratia* from the literature on the subject, E. O. James, *Prehistoric Religion* 164: 'When the "Lady of the Mountain" made her way from Western Asia through the Eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean area, she retained her position and life-giving functions which, as in Mesopotamia, extended to the land of the dead.'[1]

On the second *qe-ra-na* again, according to the most economical interpretation, we recognize the presence of the associated major decorative themes *a-mo-t-* and *ko-ro-no-* 'charioteer and throng of men', which are compatible both with each other and with the funerary theme of the introductory sentence. On the chariot vases H. L. Lorimer (op. cit. 34) writes: 'At a date about the middle of the thirteenth century or rather later a new style appears which portrays both animals and human beings. . . . To this group belong the Warrior vase and a number of invaluable fragments from Mycenae, as well as a few sherds from Tiryns, including the famous fragment with chariot and warriors. . . .' Later, apropos of Cypriot vases, she writes (p. 48): 'The chariot vases have to all appearances some funerary significance strange to Greece, but as the chariots on the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus testify, familiar in Crete.'

To assess the probability that our results have been reached by misinterpretation we now state the contrary case. First we assert that there are in fact two homonymous words, one a proper name *da-mo-ko-ro* and the other a uniquely attested official title. This has deluded us into translating *te-ke* as 'buried'. The fact

[1] An observation of Wilamowitz is significant (*Glaube* i 313): 'Die Herrschaft [des Totenreiches] hat seine Gattin, die den vorgriechischen Namen Persephone bekommen und behalten hat. Es fehlt nicht an Zeugnissen, die sie hellenisch ἄνασσα oder βασίλη nennen.'

that the *qe-ra-na* are listed first is without significance, and the words taken by us as referring to the decoration in fact, quite differently from all the other words occupying this position in the other texts, refer to 'sets' and gifts'. Further, one of the *qe-ra-na*, for which, unfortunately, because the scribe had to write to the edge of the tablet, there is no ideogram, in fact had a different type of handle from the other two, and the scribe ought to have expressed this by the word *ko-ro-na-we-sa*. Unfortunately, he misspelt this *ko-ro-no-we-sa* and so counterfeited a word which actually occurs in later Greek, κλονόϝεις. The adjacent word actually referred to the 'harmost', for whom, as it so happens, we have no other evidence; but, because of the ambiguity of the spelling, the word resembles a derivative from a Linear B word which is actually attested in the CHARIOT tablets. This double accident produced a harmonious pair of decorative motifs 'chariot and band of warriors' which is known from the Peloponnese at precisely this period of Mycenaean archaeology. Thus the *advocatus diaboli* will urge that it is only a spurious 'Wanassa and Women' theme and an illusory 'Chariot and Warrior' theme which are in false harmony with each other and with a non-existent funerary situation which has been conjured up by a doublet of *da-mo-ko-ro*. This whole complex set of 'compatibilities' is due to the chance play of the multivalent syllables.

Any explanation to be completely satisfactory must account for all the facts. So we now turn to the last tablet of this set for a final test of the explanations proposed. This is Ta 716.

259. Ta 716 (*Docs.* 247)

pa-sa-ro ku-ru-so a-pi to-ni-jo 2 *wa-o* DOUBLE AXE 2

QI-SI-PE-E SWORD (?) 2

'Two golden chains (?), double-stranded: 2, double axes: 2, two swords: SWORD (?) 2'.

This text appears to be another SWORD tablet, for the lower ideogram, though damaged, appears to be a weapon resembling a rapier. The text is arranged in two lines. The bottom line contains the word *qi-si-pe-e* written large. This is interpreted ξίφεε

(dual) 'two swords'. There are phonological difficulties about equating the syllabic group with the later word, and the two forms are best regarded as two versions of a foreign loanword (cf. *σπάλαθρον*, *σκάλαυθρον*, see above, p. 29).

The first entry of the top line contains no ideogram, and so we are reduced to the etymological method. *pa-sa-ro ku-ru-so* I originally interpreted (letter to Ventris and Bennett 24 Jan. 1954) as 'golden pegs (rivets?)', quoting H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 262: 'the heads of the rivets which attach the hilt to the blade are generally gold-plated.' *a-pi to-ni-jo* was simply guessed by me as 'around the hilt'. This explanation eventually found its way into *Documents* (ad loc.), but it is open to serious objection. In the first place it is unlikely that the gold-plated rivets of an object would be inventoried separately. The evidence we now have suggests rather that they would have been included in a description along the lines of *pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a de-so-mo* (see p. 336). More decisive has been the closer analysis of the syllabary, and in particular the phonetic nature of the zeta series and its relation to the phonology of later Greek. The example of *za-we-te* = *κιάϝετες* > *τῆτες*, *σᾶτες* (see p. 305) shows clearly that the medial consonant group represented by *σσ*/*ττ* in *πάσσαλος*, *πάτταλος* from **pakjalos* would have been written *pa-za-ro* in the Linear B script. We add the less weighty fact that *πάσσαλος* always seems to refer to a wooden peg. Since *a-pi to-ni-jo* lacks all supporting evidence, we must reject the above interpretation in its entirety. Application of the spelling rules suggests another possibility. This is that *pa-sa-ro* represents dual *ψάλω*, this being the basic form from which the later diminutive *ψάλιον* 'chain' was derived. The meaning 'chain' is compatible with 'golden', and this object must be further compatible with the adjacent words *a-pi to-ni-jo*. Only one equivalent suits and that is *τόνιον*, the diminutive of *τόνος* in the sense 'plies' or 'strands' of a rope, etc. As we have seen, this scribe tends to separate the components of a compound word by the word-divider, and so it is possible to take this as a single word qualifying 'chains' with a meaning 'double-stranded'. For the final word *wa-o* later Greek gives us no clue, and we must be guided by the ideogram, which

Bennett simply renders DOUBLE AXE. The suggestion in *Documents* (p. 347) that the ideogram is a rivet seen in cross-section is merely a consequence of the explanation of *pa-sa-ro* and is open to still graver objection.

We now turn to the larger question of the compatibility of this text as thus interpreted with the other tablets of the set and with the various suggestions for their general context. Apropos of the fact that the last ideogram looks like a schematic rendering of a double axe, VC comment that a double axe is 'improbable in the context'. Similarly, on their own explanation for *qi-si-pe-e* as 'swords' they comment: 'the entry hardly fits into the context of the other tablets in the Ta series, unless the weapons are intended as gifts' (p. 348). Yet 'from their similar context, "hand", and common locus, adjoining the Archive room, they evidently constitute a coherent set written for a single occasion' (p. 332). In other words the contextual hypothesis erected by VC 'gifts made when an appointment was made' breaks down, as does the 'furnishings of a reception room'.

Within the context 'burial' swords, golden chains, and votive double axes are accommodated without difficulty. For the double axe we may refer to Nilsson's chapter, pp. 194–235. Two miniature double axes with shafts of gold were found in the IVth Shaft grave at Mycenae (Nilsson, op. cit. 199), and we may also recall the two double axes on the side of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. In general 'the painted or engraved representations of the double axe belong on the whole to the Late Minoan Age or Middle Minoan III' (ibid. 199). As for its symbolic significance the one certain fact is that the double axe 'is never seen in the hands of the male god. It is handled by ministers of the cult or else carried by women' (ibid. 226). Sir A. Evans regarded 'the double axe as the special aniconic form of the supreme Minoan divinity, the Great Mother, and her male satellite' (ibid.). If this is true, then the symbolism of the double axes[1] and the swords,

[1] On this symbolism see most recently the article of W. Deonna, 'Haches Broches et Chenets dans une tombe géométrique d'Argos', *BCH* 83. 1959. 247–57. The Argive tomb in question contained, *inter alia*, two double axes. Deonna stresses that the double axe is a sacred symbol 'et protecteur des vivants et des morts. . . . Dans la religion minoenne des tombes sont creusées en forme de double hache, les défunts reposant en elle, sous sa protection. On dépose des doubles haches auprès

as referring to Wanassa and a warrior, repeats the symbolism of the *qe-ra-na* with their Wanassa and Chariot themes. Here, too, rejection of the explanation and acceptance of the top entries as relating to two sorts of rivets imply that it was an accidental resemblance of rivets in cross-section which misled Bennett into rendering the ideogram as DOUBLE AXE; and this produced a spurious harmony of symbolism with the SWORDS, which echoes the equally spurious harmony of the Wanassa and Chariot themes; and it further creates a false appearance of compatibility with the general 'burial' context, which was imposed by the wrong diagnosis of *da-mo-ko-ro*.

The presence of so much magnificent furniture in a tomb seems open to graver archaeological objection. However, the fact that the *wanax* is the subject of *te-ke* and that the object of the verb is designated by a double name, the latter being a shortened form of the patronymic, indicates that the 'burial' in question may have concerned a dignitary of high rank and possibly a member of the royal family. Current archaeological opinion concerning Mycenaean burial customs (summarized LP 12. 84 f.) shows that tombs, and we may suppose κατ' ἐξοχήν royal tombs, were in effect depositories of valuable property and that the opening of such a tomb for a fresh burial would provide an appropriate occasion for the taking of an inventory. There can be little doubt that so grandiose a structure as the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae was furnished on a magnificent scale. G. Mylonas writes (*Ancient Mycenae* 87): 'we wish it were possible for us to visualize the burial rite held in this magnificent grave, to recover its interior as it was left when the body of the last king was deposited on its floor or in the side chamber. . . . But the contents of the grave were gone long before the days of Pausanias and all we have left is the varied pictures our imagination can provide as it is stimulated by the impressive and massive architectural remains.'

For Messenia we are in worse case since no tholos of a scale

d'eux; on en peint l'image sur les vases funéraires.' He cites in support a 'coupe à anse du HR I d'une tombe de Pylos (Volimidia)' on which are painted 'plusieurs haches doubles . . . sans doute comme symbole funéraire', and concludes: 'Les Hellènes ont maintenu ce symbolisme de la double hache sans doute hérité de leurs prédécesseurs préhelléniques.'

worthy of the planning of so magnificent a palace at the beginning of Mycenaean IIIb has been discovered in the vicinity and the contents of the modest tholoi so far unearthed are earlier than the period of the palace. It would be therefore going too far to interpret the archaeological silence as imposing a veto on the above interpretation.[1] (See Addendum.)

To assess the likelihood of dining-room furniture in Mycenaean tombs we may start with an agreed fact: this is that the burial culminated in a funeral feast. For this there is philological support in the expression *δαίνυ τάφον*: e.g. *Il.* 23. 29 *αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφον μενοεικέα δαίνυ*. For a period still more remote we have the fact that the Greek word for a solemn feast *θοίνᾱ* is equatable with the Latin *funus*, which Servius defines thus: *apparatus mortuorum funus* (see Ernout–Meillet, s.v.). The semantic development of the Greek congener indicates that the funeral feast was the most outstanding of the 'solemn feasts'. If, then, the burial rites included such a feast, there must have been the requisite appropriate furnishings of tables, chairs, and the cooking equipment. It is, of course, possible that such furnishings were kept in store and only brought out when the occasion arose. This might be a possible way of reconciling the storeroom and the burial contexts. But here again the difficulties arise with the fire-damaged condition

[1] Miss D. H. Gray writes, in a valuable article on the archaeological background of the tablets (*BICS* 6. 1959. 54), as follows: 'The theory that it is a tomb group is one of the things which have to be vetoed. . . . It is the objects present which are inappropriate to a burial. Very many Mycenaean tombs have been found, many of them with undisturbed burials. Not one has contained fire-irons; yet fire-irons were not likely to be restricted to kings (if this man was of royal blood), and they are not particularly attractive to robbers.' Here the specialist in Aegean archaeology has overlooked one of the most important finds of recent times, and in the vicinity of the Pylian palace of all places. In 1957 Professor S. Marinatos published (*ILN* 7 iv 1957) the finds from a tholos tomb which, owing to the early collapse of the roof, had remained unplundered. Among the most striking contents of the tomb were fire-irons and a portable altar. In his publication Professor Marinatos inserts in the captions to the photographs some of the words we have in the above text. For instance, the fire-hook he equates with our *pa$_2$-ra-to-ro*. So the silence of archaeology has been converted by this important find into an emphatic affirmation. From a methodological point of view the lesson we must learn is one which has been insisted upon often enough in the past. This is that an archaeological silence does not constitute a veto. Caution in this respect should be engendered by the almost complete absence of helmets and corslet plates (see p. 329), until recently. Further discussion *BICS* 7. 1960. 57 ff.

of some of the items, which it is not easy to explain except as sacred objects *in situ*. Nor is evidence entirely lacking for the presence of artefacts decorated with ivory as listed in the inventory. In particular we note the furniture with its ivory men and lions' heads, etc. We quote A. Persson (*Royal Tombs at Dendra*, 41), where he lists fragments of ivory including the upper part of the body of a small man (cf. *a-di-ri-ja-te*) and part of a lion's head (cf. *ka-ra-a-pi re-wo-te-jo*).

Since the whole of our interpretation has arisen from the diagnosis of the single word *da-mo-ko-ro* and the analysis of the descriptive formulae as showing a consistent structure, namely, object+ main motifs+acccessorial motifs, we may put this principle to a final test. In Tn 316 rev. 3 two words have been added after the ideogram (see p. 267). As we saw, they may refer either to the GOLD CUP or to the WOMEN offered in the Posidaion. However, bull scenes are predominant on surviving Mycenaean gold cups (see discussion LP 12. 74–75 with literature). *qo-wi-ja* may, therefore, be an adjective from $g^{w}ous = \beta o\hat{v}s$ agreeing with the word for 'cup' understood, and it will therefore mean '(decoration) bull-motif'. The consistent application of our interpretational principle will lead us to expect the accessorial motif in the final position. In bull compositions Furumark (*MP* 439) notes the occurrence of 'leaf plant' as an accessorial motif. Now *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is explicable as an adjectival derivative from κομαϝεντ- 'leafy'. The word-formation with its double suffix is strange to later Greek but hardly deserves the epithet 'barbarous' (M. Lejeune). It is no stranger than *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* or *wa-na-se-wi-ja*, and Linear B has brought us many such surprises. However, let us suppose that the words refer to the women, and that the first refers to 'acrobats for the bull ring?' (*Docs.* 288), or that they are the names of the two women concerned. In that case a random choice of names has by sheer accident come to be written in the margin of a text opposite the entry of a GOLD CUP and so fortuitously counterfeited two of the best-known decorative motifs of Mycenaean gold cups and even arranged them in such an order that the second,[1] built on the stem *komawent-*, occupies the

[1] There is a third word between the other two, but it is much damaged and

end position where in the other descriptive formulae we find the accessorial motifs.

The chances of the random association of any pair from a given stock of names is an easy mathematical calculation even if we stipulate the order. That such a pair of names will occur in association with a given ideogram is less susceptible of mathematical formulation, but the chances seem remote.

VESSELS

260. KN K 872 (*Docs.* 231)

.1]*ke-ra-a* BULL'S HEAD [nn]

.2]-*mẹ-no ne-pa*$_2$*-sa-pi* BULL'S HEAD I

.3a]*pi-te-te ku-ru-so*

.3b *ne*]-*pa*$_2$*-sa-pi* WE VAPHIO-CUP I

This fragmentary text is evidently a list of cult vessels with accompanying descriptions of ornament and materials. If the first word is complete, it refers to the horns (κερα(*h*)α) of the rhyton, but it may be a compound adjective.

In the second line we have apparently a participle followed by an instrumental plural, a form of words familiar from the PY Ta tablets. *ne-pa*$_2$*-sa-pi* occur also in the description of the cup in 3*b*. For -]*pi-te-te* VC suggest attractively ὀπιθετήρ. *o-pi-te-te-re* are listed in PY Vn 46 (p. 367), where the word denotes pieces of carpentry for use in building.

261. K 875 (*Docs.* 232)

[. . .] *pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja di-pa a-no-wo-to* [

pe-ri-ta pa$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja di-pa a-no-wo-to* [

wi-na-jo pa$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja di-pa a-no-wo-to* [

i-da-i-jo pa$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja di-pa a-no-wo-to* [

.5 *sa-me-ti-jo pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja di-pa a-no-wo-to* [

i-je-re-wi-jo pa$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja di-pa a-no-wo-to* POT I *po-ti-*[

The first word in each line is a proper name. *pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja*

unreadable. It creates difficulties for those who seek the names of two women. For us it will simply be an indication of another element of the decoration.

here again occurs in a 'metal' context. For the meaning 'establishment of a *pa₂-si-re-u*' as against 'retinue', see pp. 227 f. The object in each case is a 'pot without handles', *δίπας ἀνό(ϝ)ϝοτον*.

262. KN Uc 160 (reverse) (*Docs.* 233)

a-pi-po-re-we AMPHORA 3
i-po-no BOWL 14
[*u*]-*ḍọ-ṛọ* POT 17

a-pi-po-re-we: *ἀμφιφορῆϝες*.
i-po-no: *?ἴπνοι* 'cooking bowls'.
[*u*]-*ḍọ-ṛọ*: *ὕδροί* 'water-pots'(?)

263. MY Ue 611 (*Docs.* 234)

] *pe-ra* 4 *a-po-re-we* 2 *pe-ri-ke* 3
] *ka-ra-te-ra* 1 *po-ro-ko-wo* 4 *a-ta-ra* 10
] *pạ-ke-te-re* 30 *ka-na-to* 5 *qe-ti-ja* 10
] *qe-to* 2 *ti-ri-po-di-ko* 8 *ka-ra-ti-ri-jo* 7
Rev.:
ọ-pi-ro-qe-mo a-ke[
OLIVES+TI 3 OLIVES 1 FIGS 2 WINE 0/2[

]*pe-ra*: if the word below is complete, there is little room for MV's [*κύ*]*πελλα*. *πέλλαι* 'bowls, pails' would account for the syllables present on the tablet. A vessel of a larger type than *κύπελλα* would fit better into the context.

a-po-re-we: *ἀμφορῆϝες*.

pe-ri-ke: *πέλικες* (cf. *πέλιξ* = *κύλιξ* or *προχοΐδιον*).

ka-ra-te-ra: a surprising form. It can hardly be accusative of *κρατήρ*. If for *κρατηρία* then we must assume interchange of non-palatalized for palatalized sign (cf. *pa-ki-ja-na*, p. 198).

po-ro-ko-wo: *πρόχοϝοι*.

a-ta-ra: *ἄντλα* 'buckets'?

pa-ke-te-re: cannot be identical with the *pa-ke-te-re* of PY Vn 879. 4, where it is a small piece of carpentry ('pegs', 'dowels' *vel sim.*).

ka-na-to: the word recurs on the sealings Wt 502, Wt 506. 1. VC compare *κάναστρον*, *κάνασθον*. Our word must be masculine.

qe-ti-ja: neuter plural. Diminutive in *-ιον* of *qe-to* 'jar'.

qe-to 2: dual of *qe-to*, see p. 344.

ti-ri-po-di-ko: *τριποδίσκοι*, 'small tripods'.

ka-ra-ti-ri-jo: cf. *ka-ra-se-ti-ri-jo* (Wt 507).

J. Chadwick compare *γράστις* and *κραστήριον*, but no satisfactory equivalent for the word has survived.

The reverse is concerned with a different matter. The first sign appears to be an elaborate version of *61 = *o*: I suggest *o-pi-ro-qe-mo a-ke*: 'what Philothermos brought . . . .' *θέρμος* is from IE **g^{w}hermos*, and this would be represented as *qe-mo*. The entries are miscellaneous comestibles.

XIV

MISCELLANEOUS (V)

The V series bear no ideogram. The interpretation of the texts is thus purely 'etymological' and the only test is compatibility. This may be illustrated from Vn 46 and 879, which apparently list building materials.

264 Vn 46 (*Docs.* 251)

pi-te-[
ka-pi-ni-ja / *po-ti-ja* [
ka-pi-ni-ja / *e-ru-mi-ni-ja* 4[
ka-pi-ni-ja / *ta-ra-nu-we* 14
35-ki-no-o 80 *o-pi-te-te-re* 40
e-to-ki-ja 13]-*ke-te-re* 140
pi-ri-ja-o / *ta-ra-nu-we* 6
qe-re-ti-ri-jo 2 *me-ta-se-we* 10
e-po-wo-ke / *pu-to-ro* 16
35-ki-no-o / *pu-to-ro* 100
ta-to-mo a-ro-wo e-pi-ju-ko 1
e-[*ru-mi*]*-ni-ja* 2 *ki-wo-qe* 1

e-ru-mi-ni-ja: cf. Hesychius ἐλύμνιαι· δοκοὶ ὀροφῆναι. In l. 12 the plural is irregular since a feminine noun in the dual should have the ending *-o*.

ta-ra-nu-we: θράννες, here in the sense of θρᾶνος 'a (cross) beam', hence 'bench' (of a ship).

ta-to-mo: σταθμός 'upright standing post' (cf. σταθμὸς τέγεος, etc.).

ki-wo-qe: κίϝων-$q^{w}ε$ 'a (roof) pillar'. Note *-qe* attached to the final item. This 'compatibility' establishes the context as 'constructional material', within which the other items may be interpreted. **35-ki-no-o*: *ai-ki-no-o* is some part of a chariot (see p. 318),

but *35 = *ai* is now unlikely. The high numbers (80 and 100) suggest that these are small pieces of carpentry. (See Addendum.)

o-pi-te-te-re: an agent-instrument noun in *-τηρ*. If *opi-* is the adverb-prefix, then the verbal root is *te-* and this most plausibly represents *-θε-*. If the number is 40, then the †*ὀπιθετῆρες* must also be of no great size.

e-to-ki-ja: *ἐντοίχια*? (*Docs.*). These might well be the pieces used in a half-timbered wall.

pa]*-ke-te-re*: cf. Vn 879. 4, where they again follow *e-to-ki-ja*. The very high numbers (140 and 86) again argue a small piece: *πακτῆρες* (*Docs.*) from *πήγνυμι* is plausible. The verb is used of building wagons and ships. The figurative use suggests that the verb referred to the driving in of a piece of wood. Hence 'wooden pegs' would satisfy the context here and later uses.

qe-re-ti-ri-jo: dual of a word ending in *-τρια* or *-τριον*. The verbal root *qe-re-* could represent *$*g^{w}ele$* or *$*g^{w}lē$*: *βελετρίω* or *βλητρίω*. *βλήτρον* is used of a band or hoop in *Il.* 15. 678: *ξυστὸν κολλητὸν βλήτροισι*.

me-ta-se-we: a technical word with the suffix *-ευς*: cf. *πνιγεύς*, *ὀχεύς*, etc. *me-ta-s-* may conceal a verbal root compounded with *μετα-*.

e-po-wo-ke: a compound *-ϝοργ-*?

pu-to-ro: describes this and the following **35-ki-no-o*. *pu-to-ro* occurs as a man's name in KN As 1516. 9. *pi-ṛi-ja-o*, l. 7, =*φλιάων* 'door-jambs' (J. Chadwick).

e-pi-ju-ko: *ἐπίζυγος*; cf. Hesychius *ἐπιζύγιον· μέρος τῆς νεώς*. *ἐπιζυγίς* is later used of a cross-beam. cf. *pe-ju-ka* Vn 879. 1, 3 = *πέρζυγα*, neuter plural of *περίζυξ*.

265. Vn 10 (*Docs.* 252)

o-di-do-si du-ru-to-mo
a-mo-te-jo-na-de e-pi-pu-ta 50
a-ko-so-ne [[100]] 50
to-sa-de ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro a-ko-so-ne
.5 100 *to-sa-de e-pi-pu-ta* 100

ὡς δίδονσι δρυτόμοι
ἁρμοτε(ι)ωνάδε *e-pi-pu-ta* 50
ἄξονες [[100[[50
100 τοσσάδε *e-pi-pu-ta* 100

'How (thus) the wood-cutters are delivering to the chariot workshop *e-pi-pu-ta*: 50, axles: 50. So many the *waste-land* of Lousoi; axles: 100, *e-pi-pu-ta*: 100.'

a-ko-so-ne: possibly the 'neutral' nominative; possibly accusative plural in -ες (see p. 47).

a-mo-te-jo-na-de: name of a locale in -εών; for *a-mo-ta*, see p. 320.

e-pi-pu-ta: in both entries they are of the same number as the axles, and so must be some corresponding constituent of the chariot (chassis); 'saplings' (*Docs.* p. 350) does not satisfy.

ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro: see p. 247, for the argument that the ἀγροί are the 'wild', the 'wastelands' belonging to a settlement.

266. Va 482 (*Docs.* 249)

E-RE-PA a-no-po a-ko-so-ta ZE 1 *qe-qi-no-me-no*
*e-wi-su-*79-ko* 4 *ro-i-ko* 3

The tablet lists pieces of ivory.

The word *e-wi-su-*79-ko* recurs in the spelling *e-wi-su-zo-ko* also in an ivory context as part of the description of chariots (see p. 318). VC (*Docs.* p. 348) suggest ἐϝισοϝζογος 'evenly matched' referring to a pair of tusks. But tusks of ivory would scarcely appear whole on a chariot, and elsewhere VC interpret *wi-so-wo-pa-na* as a compound beginning ϝισϝο- (see p. 330). Arcadian also has ϝίσϝος. It is hardly likely that the word would be also spelt *e-wi-su-*. The suprascript *qe-qi-no-me-no* indicates that the word is some kind of ornamental pattern which is 'engraved' on the ivory (see p. 339). *ro-i-ko* is likely to be something analogous. VC's 'crooked' depends on their interpretation of the previous word. ῥοΐσκοι 'small pomegranates' would fit the syllables.

a-no-po: M. Lejeune has suggested that this is an adjective

meaning 'unworked'. But the word recurs as a proper name (Cn 131. 6, a herdsman). The text contains the most summary indications: ivory, to *A-no-po*, *A-ko-so-ta*. In other words the functionary *A-ko-so-ta* (see p. 81) has issued ivory to *A-no-po*, who is here presumably a craftsman with the same name as the above herdsman. There is no necessity to invent an unattested Greek word.

267. Vn 20 (*Docs.* 250)

o-a$_2$ *e-pi-de-da-to*
pa-ra-we-wo wo-no
*pi-*82-de* 50
me-ta-pa-de 50
pe-to-no-de 100
pa-ki-ja-na-de 35
a-pu$_2$*-de* 35
a-ke-re-wa-de 30
e-ra-to-de 50
ka-ra-do-ro-de 40
ri-jo-de 20

Each entry consists of the lative form of the 'Nine' followed by a numeral which is a multiple of five. The items are named in the phrase *pa-ra-we-wo wo-no*. *pa-ra-we-wo* recurs in the mutilated An 37 : *o-za-mi-*[ ] *e-ne-ka pa-ra-we-wo* [ ] *-jo*. Here the genitive is governed by *e-ne-ka*.

e-pi-de-da-to : ἐπιδέδαστοι 'has been distributed'. If this identification is correct, then *wo-no* must be singular. VC suggest ϝοῖνον; in that case the unit of measurement must be understood with each entry.

268. Vn 130

*o-ze-to ke-sa-do-ro *34-to-pi*
pa-ro
a-ke-a$_2$ *me-ta-pa pe-ri-te* 1
a-pi-no-e-wi-jo pa-ro e-ru-si-jo 1

a-pi-no-e-wi-jo pa-ro ai-ki-e-we 4
e-na-po-ro pa-ro wa-do-me-no 9
sa-ri-no-⟨wo⟩-te pa-ro o-wo-to 5
pa-ki-ja-si pa-ro a-ta-no-re 4
ka-ra-do-ro pa-ro to-ro-wo 1
pa-ki-ja-si pa-ro e-ri-we-ro 3
e-wi-te-wi-jo pa-ro wi-sa-to 1
me]*-te-to pa-ro ko-do* 3
]*-u-so* 24
me-te-to pa-ro e-u-qo-ne [

The entries all fall into the pattern place-name plus *pa-ro* followed by a man's name. On this pattern the introductory sentence will end *a-ke-a*$_2$. It begins in the familiar way with *o-* prefixed to a verb; this has been interpreted *γέντο* 'got' and *κεῖτοι* 'is in store'. *ke-sa-do-ro* does not occur elsewhere in the Pylos tablets though the name is known from Knossos. **34-to-pi* looks like an instrumental-ablative plural. **35-to* occurs in Eb 472. 2 where it designates the piece of land of which *we-te-reu* the priest has a 'lease'. *a-ke-a*$_2$ is ambiguous. It could be part of the introductory sentence, but this would be an unparalleled layout. Perhaps it stands for *ἄγχεα*, in which case the locality would be some outlying part of *me-ta-pa*: cf. *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*. However, this would leave no indication in the text for the nature of the items enumerated. *ai-ki-je-u* is a bronze-smith at *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* (Jn 605). *a-ta-no*(*r*) has a *pa*$_2$*-si-re-wi-ja* in Fn 50. These two hints point to a 'master craftsman' category and in particular bronze-smiths for the persons in question here. A *to-ro-wo* is located at *ri-na-ko-ro* in An 129. He is not necessarily the same person as the one listed above, but this text also has bronze-smith connexions.

XV

THE PYLOS Qa SERIES (1957)

It will be convenient to treat here the new tablets (1957) which are characterized by the ideogram *189, which consists of a framed KE.

269. Qa 1289
ka-wa-ra i-je-re-ja KE [

270. Qa 1290
i-je-re-u se-ri-no-ẇọ-te [

271. Qa 1291
e-ka-sa-te-[

272. Qa 1292
]*-ke-ri-ja-wo* KE 2

273. Qa 1293
]*-nu-a*$_2$ KE 1

274. Qa 1294
pu-ti-ja a-pu$_2$*-we* KE 1

275. Qa 1295
qe-re-ma-o po-pa$_2$*-te-u* KE 2

276. Qa 1296
a-o-ri-me-ne i-je-re-u KE [

277. Qa 1297
a-pi-a$_2$*-ro* KE 5

278. Qa 1298
ne-qe-u e-da-e-u KE 1

279. Qa 1299
ka-e-se-u po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo KE 1

280. Qa 1300

i]-*je-re-ja* KE 2

281. Qa 1301

ki-nu-ra me-nu-a$_2$ KE [

282. Qa 1303

ke-i-ja i-[*je-re-ja*

283. Qa 1304

a-te-ra-wo ka-ra-do-ro [

284. Qa 1305

wo-ro-qo-ta [

In each case a named individual receives, with one exception, one or two units of KE, an abbreviation which appears also on the Ma and Na tablets. These, it was concluded, probably were concerned with deliveries of materials required for the manufacture of unguents and perfumes. The prominence of religious personnel in the above texts is perhaps significant.

The individuals are identified either simply by their title such as 'priest at *se-ri-no-wo*' or by name followed by place-name, e.g. *pu-ti-ja a-pu*$_2$*-we*, *ki-nu-ra me-nu-a*$_2$, *a-te-ra-wo ka-ra-do-ro. ne-qe-u e-da-e-u* may well belong to this group. He is the 'owner' of the *ka-ma*(*i*) in Ep 617. *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro*, who receives 5 units, is a person of some prominence in the Pylian texts. He is named first in the list of notabilities in An 192 (p. 192); he appears as a landholder in Ea 109, 270, and 922, this series being concerned with the estate of the Lawagetas (pp. 218 ff.); and in On 300 he appears by name among the 'receivers' along with the *ko-re-te-re* of the 'Nine' and with *da-mo-ko-ro*, who in the guise of **85-ke-wa* is also listed with him in An 192. His holdings in the estate of the Lawagetas indicate that he is a military personage of some importance. A *pu-ti-ja* occurs in An 340, but this is a list of bronzesmiths (p. 138) and so he cannot be identified with the above notability. *ka-e-se-u*, designated *po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo*, may be the shortened form of the name *ka-e-sa-me-no*, who is the *e-qe-ta*[1] of

[1] On the religious character of the *e-qe-ta*, see p. 175.

a-pu$_2$*-ka* in the *o-ka* tablet An 656. 19. The latter also appears in Vn 1191, an intriguing text in which a number of Pylian characters are listed as 'owners' of women.

285. Vn 1191

me-ti-ja-no-ro wo-di-je-ja 1
*ka-e-sa-me-no-jo a-*64-ja* 1
e-to-mo-jo o[.]*-o-wa* 1
de-ki-si-wo-jo pi-ri-ta 1
·5 *a-ta-o-jo pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* 1
pa$_2$*-pa*$_2$*-jo ma-ra-me-na* 1

Of the place-names mentioned, *me-nu-a*$_2$ occurs twice. It was previously known from An 218. 14, a tablet listing persons who reappear in the *o-ka* tablets (see pp. 140 ff.), and again persons described simply as *ri-so-wa i-je-re-u*, *ne-wo-ki-to i-je-re-u*. If we now recall that KE appears in the Ma and Na tablets and that in these records we find mention of the bodies of troops on duty in the *o-ka* tablets as having received one unit apiece of SA (p. 306), the similar echoes evoked here may not be without significance.

The locations of *a-pu*$_2$, *se-ri-no-wo*, and *ka-ra-do-ro* have all been discussed above (p. 161).

There remains the broken entry]*-ke-ri-ja-wo* (Qa 1292). If this is to be completed (so J. Chadwick) *e*]*-ke-ri-ja-wo*, this would rule out the interpretation *'Εχελάϝων* for *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo*, but would give us yet another prominent personality: he appears in the 'rower' texts, which we have interpreted above (pp. 130 ff.) as reflecting one aspect of the precautionary measures which suggest a state of emergency in the last months of the existence of Pylos. The indications are that the new Qa texts record the issue of some sacrificial substance KE to prominent religious personnel.

XVI

PY On 300

286. On 300.

Illegible

]*154 10 *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* *154 6
ko-re-te]*-ri* *154 6 *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*`*ko-re-te-ri*' *154 3
]*154 [ ] *154 3
*154] 1 *e-ra-te-i-jo* `*ko-re-te-ri*' *154 3
du]*-ni-jo* [ ] *du-ma-ti* *154 3
da-mo-ko-ro [ ]
o-de pa$_2$*-a*$_2$ *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* [
ra-u-ra-ti-ja ko-re-te *154 2[+] *e-sa-re-wi-ja ko-*[*re-te*
*154 *nn*
e-[*ra-te*]*-re-wa-o ko-re-te* *154 2[+] *te-mi-ti-ja ko-re-te* *154 3
sa-ma-[*ra*] *ko-re-te* *154[+]2 *a-si-ja-ti-ja ko-re-te* *154 3
[*du*]*-ma* *154 2 *te-po-se-u* *154 3

Vacant 5

This text records the commodity *154 (see pp. 300 ff.) against the names of certain prominent personages,[1] along with officials of the places of the Hither and the Further Provinces (see p. 89). On *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro*, *du-ni-jo*, *da-mo-ko-ro*, and *te-po-se-u*, see Glossary. In the first paragraph, relating to the Hither Province, the noun *ko-re-te-ri* is in the dative of the recipient, whereas in the second paragraph the noun appears in the nominative. This is a fact which interpretation cannot ignore. It suggests that the personalities of the two provinces are treated in different ways with respect to the commodity in question by the administration of the Hither Province at Pylos.

This lack of parallelism between the entries of the two paragraphs is further pointed by the formula which introduces the second paragraph. Normally successive homogeneous paragraphs

[1] Note that *a-pi-a*$_2$*-ro* receives 5 units of KE, which like *154 may well be a substance of ritual-magical significance (see p. 372).

are introduced by the 'itemizing' word *o-da-a_2* (see p. 57). Here we have the adversative *-de*, as in *da-mo-de-mi* in Ep 704. 5. Thus in the second paragraph we expect a contrast with the implied 'issued to' of the first. This contrast, I suggest, is made explicit by the word *pa_2-a_2*, which I take as a verb having as subject *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*, 'officials of the Further Province'. The verbal root represented by *pa_2-* may well be **ku̯ā-* : cf. πάσασθαι, πέπαμαι, πάσταϛ (Schwyzer *Gr. Gr.* i 301). For the possibility that *e-pa_2-na-(qe)*, co-ordinated with *o-na* in PY Ua 158, is another derivative from the same root, linking up with later compounds like ἔμπαμα, ἐμπάμων, ἔμπασις, see Glossary. The meaning elicited by this diagnosis, 'But what the officials of the Further Province *acquired*' (as opposed to what was *given* to those of the Hither Province), satisfies our analysis. It adds to the probability that there was another administrative centre for the Further Province (*re-u-ko-to-ro*, see pp. 65 ff., 113), from which these men would normally have derived their supplies.

The morphology of our verb is of interest. It is an aorist (for *pa_2* = *kwa*, see p. 40), where the intervocalic *-s-* has been aspirated (for *a_2* = *ha*, see p. 40) in strict accordance with the sound law. In later Greek it was restored by analogy. We may compare the treatment of the inherited intervocalic *-s-* in the dative plurals in *-oisi*, where the spelling *-o-i* is believed to represent *-oihi* (see p. 47).

For the bearing of this text on the administrative hierarchy of the two provinces and the position of *da-mo-ko-ro*, see p. 89.

XVII

LABELS AND SEALINGS (W)

(*Docs.* pp. 110, 114; E. L. Bennett, *MT* ii 102 ff.; J. Chadwick, *BICS* 5. 1958. 1–5)

KNOSSOS

Three labels (Wb 1714 a, b, c) bear the word *me-sa-to* along with the ideogram *146, which we have diagnosed as some kind of substance used in offerings or the preparation of perfumes. *me-sa-to* occurs twice (Wb 5822, 5824) with an illegible word. Apart from this the legible words are in the main place-names or ethnics: *da-wo* (Wb 5282), *da*]-**22-ti-* (Wb 5665), *pa-i-to* (WbM 1), *ku-ta-ti-jo* (Wb 5662).

Three sealings bear the word *pa-ta-ja* in one case accompanied by ARROW:

Ws 1702
pa-ta-ja
o-pa

Ws 1704
o-pa
pa-ta-ja
ARROW

Ws 1704
pa-ta-ja

On *pa-ta-ja*, see p. 283. *o-pa* also appears on sealings at Pylos.

Ws 1703
ta-to-mo
o-nu-ke
Rev.:
Bullfight cancelled with DRACHM.

For *o-nu-ke*, see p. 293. A Bull-leaper seal appears in a cloth context at Pylos.

PYLOS

Wa 114

me-ni-jo WOMAN
pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja

J. Chadwick has rightly connected this seal with the Aa, Ab series. His suggestion that *me-ni-jo* refers to monthly rations is supported by our analysis of the rations (see pp. 116f. and especially the text KN Am 819).

Wa 730

]*-ra-o do-so-mo* 10
sa-ma-ra do-si-mi-jo-qe 1

Evidently the label for some set of tablets recording deliveries. *sa-ma-ra* is in the Further Province. *-ra-o* suggests a genitive plural.

Wa 731

]*o-wi-de-ta* '*do-so-mo*'

This label connects with PY Un 718 (p. 216).

Wa 784

]*o-na-te-re*[
]*ko-to-na-o*[

This points to the E series recording the tenants of *ko-to-na* (pp. 186ff.).

Wa 917

o-da-sa-[*to*] *a-ko-so-*[*ta*
e-qe-ta e-re-u-te-re[

The importance of this text for the interpretation of Cn 3 is discussed above (p. 174).

Wa 1148

a-mo-]*ta e-qe-si-ja*
we-je-]*ke-a*

The restoration of the text is that of J. Chadwick. The seal presumably was attached to the container of the Sa series (pp. 324ff.).

Wa 732

to]-*ra-ke*

If this restoration is correct, this was the label for the Sh set (pp. 329 ff.).

A number of seal impressions were recovered in 1957 from what was in all probability the workshop of the Palace (*AJA* 62. 1958. 177). This supports our analysis 'workshop' of the word *o-pa*, which appears on five of these sealings. For the interpretation as 'feudal dues', see p. 319. Analysis of the accompanying texts (pp. 327 ff.) has not supported the idea that the building in question was the quarters of the palace guard or garrison (so C. W. Blegen, loc. cit.). As for the identification of the shrine by means of the tablet which begins *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*, see above, p. 226.

Wr 1325

Obv.: HE-GOAT Rev.: *o-pa*

Wr 1331

Obv.: RAM Rev.: *o-pa*

Wr 1332

Obv.: WI Rev.: *o-pa*

Wr 1330

Rev.: *o*]-*pa*

Wr 1333

Rev.: *o-pa*

The others of this group defy explanation.

Wr 1326

Rev.: *de-mi-ni-jo*

Wr 1327

Rev.: *pe-re-i-to* x 330

Wr 1328

Rev.: *pe-di-e* WI

One wonders whether this is not perhaps a misreading for *pe-di-ra*.

Sealings bearing the ideogram WINE were recovered in 1958 (*AJA* 63. 1959. 133 f.) from the Wine Magazine (C. W. Blegen, ibid. 122).

Wr 1359 shows on the reverse the word *e-ti-wa-no*, which is likely to be a proper name, and the same is presumably true of Wr 1360 with *me-ri-ti-jo* (hardly 'honeyed' as suggested by M. Lang). M. Lang concludes that the seals were attached to skins in which the wine was brought to the magazine, and that when the skins were emptied into the pithoi the sealings were discarded or preserved as a record.

MYCENAE

(J. Chadwick, *Eranos* 57. 1959. 1–5.)

The sealings largely repeat the vessel words on Ue 611. Bennett conjectures that they were attached to cupboards or like containers holding the vessels in question.

M. Ventris's reading on Wt 501 *a-ta-ra-qe e-ku-se-we-qe* (for Bennett's *pa-mo-se-we-qe*) would make excellent sense: *ἄντλαq^{w}ε ἐγχυσῆϝές-q^{w}ε* 'ladles and funnels' (*vel sim.*; literally 'pourers in').

In Wt 503 Chadwick reads *ke-ni-qe-te-we* for Bennett's *ke-zo-qe-te-we*, and the interpretation *χερνιq^{w}τῆϝες* is excellent. Satisfactory, too, is the labio-velar in the root of *νίζω*, which is commonly postulated as **neig^{w}/nig^{w}*: 'handbasins' consort satisfactorily with the other vessels.

Wt 505 *pa-pu$_2$-to* by analogy should be the name of another type of vessel rather than †*πάμφυρτοι* (J. C.).

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GLOSSARY

M ***a-da-ma-jo*** PY Eo 351.

M ***a-da-ma-o*** PY Eb 747.1.
a-da-ma-o-jo PY En 659.8.9 [p. 196].

M ***a-da-ra-ko*** [KN X 793. D.s.

E ***a-da-ra-te-ja*** PY Aa 785 [p. 114].

M/E ***a-da-ra-ti-jo*** PY An 656.14.

M ***a-de-me-we*** PY Eq 146.
a-de-te PY Eq 887. Description of men holding land.
a-de-te-re PY An 207.6. N. dual. Description of craftsmen: *ἀνδετῆρε* (?) 'riveters' [p. 336].

M ***a-de-we*** [KN As 1516.15.

M ***a_2-di-je-u*** PY An 656.2.
a-di-je-wo KN Dw 747 [p. 178].

M ***a-di-nwa-ta*** KN As 1517.2.
a-di-ri-ja-te PY Ta 707.4. D.s.
a-di-ri-ja-pi PY Ta 708.2, etc. I.p. *ἀνδριάντει*, *ἀνδρία(ντ)φι* '(decorated) with male figures(s) [pp. 49, 362].

M ***a-di-ri-jo*** KN X 7613.

W? ***a-di-*22-sa*** KN F 841.2 [p. 22].
a-do-we TH IX, etc.; Ti. Name of a perfume (?).

M ***a-du-po-to*** KN C 911.5.

M ***a-du-ru-po*** KN X 1465.

M ***a-e-da-do-ro*** KN Sc 237.

M ***a-e-ri-qe*** PY Jn 832.11. Bronze-smith.

M ***a-e-ri-qo*** PY An 192 [p. 142].

M ***a-e-ri-qo-ta*** PY An 192 [pp. 145, 159].

M ***a-e-se-wa*** PY Fn 79.

M ***a_2-e-ta*** PY An 261.
a-e-ti-to PY Fr 1200. Description of oil: 'having no *e-ti*' [p. 246].

W ***ai-du-wo-na*** KN Ap 769.1.
ai-ka-na-jo PY Un 1185.5. Name of a liquid (used in an offering?).

M? W? ***ai-ka-ra*** KN X 567.2.
ai-ka-sa-ma PY Jn 829.3. A.p. *αἰκσμάνς*, 'tips, points' [pp. 26, 44, 281 ff.].
ai-ke-u PY Ta 641. N.s. Description of tripod: *αἰγεύς* 'with goat's head protomes' pp. 43, 60, 344].

M ***ai-ke-wa-to*** KN Db 1190, etc.

M ***ai-ki-a_2-ri-jo*** PY Fn 50, 1192.
ai-ki-ḍe-o PY Na 529. Reading doubtful. A man (?).

M ***ai-ki-e-wo*** PY Jn 605. G.s.
ai-ki-e-we PY Vn 130 [pp. 140, 285, 370].
ai-ki-no-o KN Se 879. Part of a chariot or the name of the maker [pp. 23, 318].
ai-ki-pa-ta KN Fh 346. Probably man's name. PY Ae 108, etc. N.s. *αἰγιπά(σ)τας*, 'goat herd' [p. 126].

M ***ai-ki-po*** KN U 0478.9.

P (PY) ***ai-ki-po-de*** PY Mb 1397.

M ***ai-ki-si-jo*** KN U 0478.3.

M ***ai-ki-ta*** KN U 0478.9.

M ***ai-ki-wa-ro*** PY Es 644.5.

M ***ai-ki-wa-to*** KN Uf 987.

M ***ai-ko-ta*** KN As 1516.9.

M ***ai-ku-pi-ti-jo*** KN Db 1105 [p. 179].
ai-me-wa PY Vn 865.2. A place-name (?). Station of *na-u-do-mo*.
ai-mi-re-we KN Dm 1180, etc. N.p. Type of ram [p. 181].

M ***ai-ni-jo*** KN As 1517.13.

M ***ai-nu-me-no*** PY An 261.

M ***a-i-qe-u*** PY Eb 895.1.
a-i-qe-wo PY En 659.
a-i-qe-we PY Eo 471 [p. 196].

P (PY) ***ai-se-we*** PY Cn 868.1.

M ***ai-so-ni-jo*** PY An 261, etc.

M ***ai-ta-jo*** KN Ga 419.

E P (PY) ***ai-ta-re-u-si*** PY An 657 [pp. 154, 159].

M ***ai-ta-ro*** PY Jn 415.

M ***ai-ta-ro-we*** KN Da 1221, etc. [p. 165].
ai-te PY Un 1321. See following.
ai-te-re KN B 101. N.p. Name of class of craftsmen mentioned with *ko-wi-ro-wo-ko* (q.v.): *†αἰτῆρες* 'inlayers (?)' [p. 137].

M ***ai-ti-jo-qo*** PY Eb 156, etc. N.s, g.s.
ai-ti-jo-qe PY Eo 247. D.s. [pp. 26, 43, 196].

M ***ai-to*** KN Da 6061.

ai-wa KN Np 973. Possibly name of an ox. See *tu-ma-ro*.

W ***ai-wa-ja*** PY En 74, etc.

M ***ai-wa-ta*** KN X 7612.

M ***ai-wa-to*** KN As 1516.14.

P (PY) ***ai-wi-jo*** PY Na 533.

ai-wo-ro KN Ch 896. *αἰϝόλος* name of an ox [p. 182].

ai-za PY Un 1318. N.s.f. Adj. applied to *di-pte-ra*: *αἰγία* 'goat's skin' [p. 37].

a-ja-me-no, a-ja-me-na KN Sd 0401, etc. N.s., p., f.s. Verb referring to application of decorative materials: 'veneered (?)', 'inlaid (?)' [pp. 315, 318, 338 f., 352].

a-ju-ma-na-ke KN Fs 3. Recipient of offering. A divinity. Possibly to be read *a-ju-ma-na-de*, in which case destination: 'to *Αἰυμνα*' [p. 237].

P (KN) ***a-ka*** KN V 962, Da 1078, etc. [p. 178].

P (PY) ***a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo***, PY Cn 3 [pp. 76, 157, 173].

P/E (PY) ***a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo*** PY An 661 [pp. 76, 153, 157].

M ***a-ka-de*** KN B 799.6.

M ***a-ka-i-jo*** KN Vd 62, etc. [p. 178].

M ***a-ka-ma-jo*** PY Fn 324.

M ***a-ka-ma-wo*** PY Cn 131 [p. 166].

P (PY) ***a-ka-na-jo*** PY Cn 328 [p. 168].

a-ka-ra-no PY Ta 715. N.s.f. Referring to a table. Possibly name of the material [p. 348].

M ***a-ka-re-u*** KN Ga 416.

P (PY) ***a-ka-re-u-te*** PY Cn 4 (L. ?) [p. 76].

M ***a-ka-sa-no*** KN As 650 [p. 81].

P (PY) ***a-ka-si-jo-ne*** PY Jn 389 [p. 280].

M ***a-ka-ta-jo*** KN Dv 1086, etc.

a-ka-ta-jo-jo PY Eo 269 [p. 191, 196].

M ***a-ka-to*** KN X 84, etc.

M ***a-ka-to-wa*** KN Vc 81.

M ***a-ka-wi-ja-de*** KN C 914. Name of a herdsman. Not 'to Achaia' (*Docs.*) [pp. 65, 184].

M ***a-ka-wo*** KN Ai 738, etc.

a-ka-wo-ne PY Un 219 [pp. 259, 288].

a-ke PY Tn 316. Aorist passive. Used of *wa-tu* (*ϝάστυ*): *ἄγη* (?) 'was purified' (?) [pp. 51, 260, 264 ff.].

a-ke-a_2 PY Vn 130.2. District of *me-ta-pa* (?): *ἄγχεα* (?) [p. 370].

a-ke-e, see *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e*.

M ***a-ke-e-to*** KN Da 1195.

M ***a-ke-o*** PY An 192, etc.

a-ke-o-jo PY Cn 40, etc. [pp. 165, 167].

M ***a-ke-ra-no*** KN Vc 205.

a-ke-ra$_2$-te PY Vn 493.1. Participle n.p.m. with object *e-po*: *ἀγείραντες* (?).

M ***a-ke-ra-wo*** KN Vc 316, etc.

a-ke-re PY Cc 660. 3rd sg. pres. *ἀγείρει* 'is collecting' [pp. 143, 172].

a-ke-re-mo KN Uf 838.

a-ke-re-mo-no KN V 865. Official mentioned between *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*: *ἀγρεμών* 'class of priest' [p. 88].

a-ke-re-se PY Sn 64.3 etc. 3rd sg. fut. (?). *ἀγρήσει* (?) [p. 143].

(o-)a-ke-re-se PY Sn 64. Compound with *ὀ-* of verb *a-ke-re-se* (q.v.) [p. 143].

P (PY) ***a-ke-re-u*** PY Cn 441.

a-ke-re-we PY Un 1193.

M ***a-ke-[re?]-u*** PY An 661.11.

P (MY) ***a-ke-re-u-te*** (abl.?) MY Ge 606 [p. 273].

P (PY) ***a-ke-re-wa, a-ke-re-wa-de*** (lat.) PY An 610, etc. [pp. 69, 89, 130, 131, 154, 157, 280].

P (PY) ***a-ke-re-we*** (l.) PY Un 1193 [pp. 76, 162].

M/E ***a-ke-re-wi-jo*** MY Ge 603.5.

a-ke-ro (I) PY Ea 136, etc. Class of men. Noun connected with verb *a-ke-ra$_2$-te*. Probably not *ἄγγελοι*: †*ἀγεροί* 'collectors' (?).

M ***a-ke-ro*** (II) PY Jo 438.20. Name of a *pa$_2$-si-re-u* [pp. 227, 288].

M ***a-ke-ta*** KN B 798.3, etc.

a-ke-te-re PY Jn 832. N.p.m. Class of bronze-smiths with no allocations distinguished from *a-ta-ra-si-jo*: 'marked out for duties' (?) [pp. 280 f.].

a$_2$-ke-te-re KN V 118. No context: class of men (?). See *ja-ke-te-re*.

M ***a-ke-ti-jo*** PY An 209.

a-ke-ti-ra$_2$ PY Aa 815, etc. N.p.f.

a-ke-ti-ra$_2$-o PY Ad 290, etc. G.p.f. See following.

a-ke-ti-ri-ja KN Ai 739; PY Aa 85, 717. N.p.f.

a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i PY Fn 187.15, Un 219.4; MY Fo 101, [Oe 119]. D.p.f.

A class of women. At Pylos they appear as a body with religious connexions in Fn 187 and Un 219. In the A series the other occupational groups show a bias towards textiles. At Mycenae they again appear as a group receiving OIL and [WOOL]. At Knossos the sole example has no commodity context though other women and children texts have textile connexions. With *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* (q.v.) the cloth contexts are clearer and the two words may well be identical. *ἀκέστριαι* (?) 'needle-women' [pp. 115, 125, 137, 225, 231, 259].

M ***a-ke-u*** KN V 151.3, etc.

M ***a-ke-wa-ta*** PY Jn 431.

M ***a-ke-wa-to*** PY An 661.11.

P (PY) ***a$_2$-ki-ja*** PY An 830 [p. 133].

P (PY) ***a$_2$-ki-ra*** PY Na 856 [pp. 157, 222].

M ***a-ki-re-u*** KN Vc 106.

a-ki-re-we PY Fn 79 [p. 80].

M ***a-ki-ta*** KN X 7620.

a-ki-ti-to PY Na 926, etc. N.s. *ἄκτιτος, ἄκτιτον* 'not cleared' (of land) [pp. 41, 53, 309].

M ***a-ki-to*** PY Fn 1192.5.

a-ki-to-jo PY Fn 50, etc. G.s. [p. 227].

M ***a-ki-wa-ta*** KN B 801.3, etc.

M ***a-ki-wo-ni-jo*** PY An 656.3.

M ***a-ko-i-da*** KN Dl 943.

M ***a-ko-mo-ni-jo*** KN De 1112, etc.

a-ko-ra KN Dx 969; PY Cn 655, etc. N.s. or p. Noun (governing genitive of the owner) referring to cattle; corresponds to the verb *a-ke-re* (q.v.): *ἀγορά* (?) 'herd' (?); cf. *grex* [p. 165].

a-ko-ra-ja KN Co 903, etc. N.p. nt. (?). Adj. referring to mixed herds: *ἀγοραῖα* (?), see *a-ko-ra* [p. 182].

a-ko-ra-jo KN Co 907. Error for preceding.

M ***a-ko-ra-jo*** KN As 1516.8.

a-ko-ro (I) KN Dl 932. Designation of a herd: *ἄγορος* 'herd' (?).

a-ko-ro (II) PY Vn 10.4, Fr 1220, etc. District of *ro-u-so* and *pa-ki-ja-ne*: *ἀγρός, ἀγροί* (?) 'waste land' (?) [p. 247].

M ***a-ko-ro-qo-ro*** KN Dw 1079.

M ***a-ko-ro-ta*** KN Mc 0459, etc.

a-ko-ro-we PY Cn 418.2. N.s.

a-ko-ro-we-e ibid., l. 3. N. dual.

The version in the text (p. 177) has been made more dubious by the new reading: *re-*[*u-ko*] *ma-ra-pi pe-ko a-ko-ro-we* 'white, dark (*πέρκος*) in the *μάλαι, α*.' This rules out both 'colourless' and 'of uniform colour'. The word probably has nothing to do with colour. It is a compound with a neuter *s*-stem as second component: specification of the ears (?) (so CG 1. 29, 2. 23). Cf. following proper name.

M ***a-ko-ro-we-i*** KN X 7100. D.s.

a-ko-so-ne PY Vn 10, Va 1323. N.p. *ἄξονες* 'axles' [pp. 33, 47, 229, 324, 368].

M ***a-ko-so-ta*** PY An 39, etc.

a-ko-so-ta-o PY Cn 40, etc. G.s. [pp. 81, 135, 165, 217].

M ***a-ko-te-u*** PY Cn 643.2.

M ***a-ko-to*** KN Sc 239.

a-ko-to-no PY An 218.9. N.p. Description of men, contrasting with *ko-to-na e-ko-te*: *ἄκτοινοι* 'not possessing a *ktoina*' [pp. 143, 145].

M ***a-ko-to-wo*** PY Cn 45, etc. [p. 167].

a-ko-wo PY An 724.13. *ru-ki-ja a-ko-wo*, apparently object of participle *e-qo-te* (q.v.). The context is rowers posted for duty at *wo-qe-we* (q.v.). Perhaps '(looking after) the *Λυκίας ἀγχόρρονς*. For *ἄγχουρος* in the sense 'neighbour' see *LSJ*; here

perhaps in sense 'allies'. There is no evidence in Greek that *ὄρϝος* had initial digamma.

M ***a-ku-di-ri-jo*** KN Dc 1270, etc.

M ***a$_2$-ku-mi-jo*** PY Na 926 [p. 310].

M ***a$_2$-ku-ni-jo*** PY An 656.12.

M ***a-ku-ri-jo*** KN As 609.3.

a-ku-ro PY Sa 287. D.s. *ἀργύρῳ* 'with silver' [p. 321].

M ***a-ku-tu-ru-wo*** KN Fh 364.

M ***a-ku-wo*** KN X 109.

a-ma KN E 845, etc. Noun relating to large quantities of wheat, etc. †*ἀμᾶ* (?) 'harvest'. Not 'bucket'.

P (PY) ***a$_2$-ma-i-wa*** PY Na 1092.

M ***a-ma-no*** KN As 1520 r. 2.

M ***a-ma-ru-ta*** PY Eo 224.

a-ma-ru-ta-o PY En 609 [p. 196].

M ***a-ma-to-wo*** PY An 115.

M ***a-ma-tu-na*** PY Fn 187.

M ***a-me-a*** KN X 765.

M ***a-me-ja-si*** KN B 799.

M ***a-me-ja-to*** PY Sa 834. G.s. [p. 330].

M ***a-me-no*** PY Jn 415.

M ***a-me-to*** PY Jn 693.7.

M ***a-mi-ja***[PY Vn 865.8.

M ***a-mi-ni-ja*** KN Fh 5496.

P (KN, PY) ***a-mi-ni-so*** KN Fp 1, etc.; PY An 943 [pp. 124, 236].

a-mi-ni-so-de (lat.) KN Fp 1, etc. [p. 289].

E ***a-mi-ni-si-jo/-ja*** KN Am 601, etc. [p. 233].

E ***a-mi-⟨ni-⟩si-ja*** KN L 513 [p. 297].

M ***a-mi-nu-wa-ta*** PY Cn 436.

M ***a-mi-nwa-[ta]*** KN Ap 482.2.

M ***a-mi-to-no*** KN Ra 1560.

a-mo-i-je-to PY Va 15 rev. The tablet is in a 'hand' which deals with technical supplies. *e-ti-wa-jo* (ibid.) may be the same as *e-te-wa-jo*, a charioteer (Sa 769): *ἅρμο ἴετοι* 'an undercarriage (chariot?) is being sent' (?).

M ***a-mo-ke-re***[***-we***?] PY Nn 831.3 [pp. 138, 311].

a-mo-ko-to KN Fp 14. Name of a month [p. 235].

a-mo-ra-ma KN Am 600, etc. Context unclear.

a-mo-ta KN So 0437, etc.; PY Sa 790. N.p. nt.

a-mo-si PY An 1282.1. D.p.

a-mo-te KN So 0442. N. dual nt. Name of object represented by WHEEL: *ἅρματα*, *ἅρμοσι*, *ἅρματε* 'undercarriages', 'wheels' [pp. 42, 48, 315, 320, 324, 327].

M ***a-mo-ta-jo*** PY Jn 320.

a-mo-te-jo-na-de PY Vn 10.2. Allative. *ἁρμοτειῶνάδε* 'to the chariot maker's' or 'undercarriage maker's' [p. 368].

a-mo-te-re KN X 770, X 6026. Description of *wi-tu-ri-jo*. Prob. d.s. *ἁρμο(σ)τήρ* 'maker of *ἅρματα*' (?).

a-mo-te-wo PY Ea 421, 809. G.s. *ἁρμοτῆϝος* 'of the (Commander's) charioteer' [pp. 48, 84, 219].

a-mo-te-wi-ja PY Ta 711.2. N.s.f. Description of a jug: *ἁρμοτηϝία* 'decorated with charioteers' [pp. 60, 341, 353 ff.].

M ***a-mu-ta-wo*** PY Nn 831.7.

a-mu-ta-wo-no PY Jn 431 [pp. 19, 138, 311].

a-na-ke-e PY An 218.1. Infinitive of verb relating to men on active service: *ἀνάγεεν* 'take the field' (?) [p. 54].

M ***a-na-ki-ti*** KN Dv 1471.

a-na-mo-to KN Sf 0420, etc. N.s. and p.f. (*a-na-mo-ta* n.p. nt.). *ἀνάρμοτος*, *ἀνάρμοτοι* 'without undercarriages, wheels' [pp. 41, 53, 318].

M ***a-na-qo-ta*** KN B 798. See *a-no-qo-ta* [p. 81].

W ***a-na-ra$_3$*** MY Fo 101.2.

M ***a-na-ro*** KN Dl 928.

M ***a-na-te-u*** PY Jn 415.

a-na-to KN Sg 888, etc.

a-na-ta Sf 0420.

a-ṇą-i-ta Sf 0419. Cannot be feminine compound adjective qualifying *i-qi-ja*: noun †*ἄναρτον* 'chariot body' (?) [pp. 53, 319].

W ***a-ne-a$_2$*** MY Fo 101.1; Sp M 8. 168.

a-ne-mo KN Fp 1, etc. G.p.m.

ἀνέμων (ἱέρεια) 'priestess of the winds' [p. 236].
M ***a-ne-o*** PY Es 648, etc.
M ***a-ne-ra-to*** KN Fh 342.
a-ne-ta-de PY Ma 393.2. N.p. nt. ἄνετα δὲ 'remitted' [p. 304].
M ***a-ne-te-wa*** KN Vc 185.
M ***a-ne-u-da*** KN Vc 215.
P (PY) ***a-ne-u-te*** PY Cn 40.
a$_3$-ne-u-te, PY Cn 599 [p. 164].
a-ni-ja KN Sd 0402, etc. N.p.f. *a-ni-ja-pi* Sd 0401, etc. I.p. ἀνίαι, ἀνίαφι 'reins, harness' [pp. 47, 229, 315, 317, 328].
M ***a-ni-ja-to*** KN Dg 1158.
a-ni-o-ko KN V 60. N.p.m. ἀνίοχοι 'chariot drivers' [p. 331].
M ***a-no*** PY Cn 254.
M ***a-no-ke-we*** KN Db 1261, etc.
M ***a-no-me-de*** PY Jn 706.5.
a-no-no PY Ea 801, etc. N.p.f. ἄνωνοι (of plots of land) 'unleased' [pp. 41, 189, 199, 219].
a-no-pa$_3$-si-ja PY Ea 805. G.s. After *e-ne-ka*: a goddess (?); cf. *e-ne-ka i-qo-jo* (q.v.) [p. 278].
M ***a-no-po*** PY Cn 131 [p. 368].
M ***a-no-qo-ta*** KN Vc 173, etc. [pp. 81, 178].
M ***a-no-ra-ta*** PY An 340.
M ***a-no-ta*** PY Jn 750.5.
a-no-we PY Ta 641. N.s. nt. Description of a jar: ἀνοϝϝές, ἀνωϝές 'without a handle' [p. 344].
a-no-wo-to KN K 875. N.s. nt. Description of a *di-pa*: ἀνόϝ(ϝ)οτον 'without a handle' [pp. 41, 228, 364].
M ***a-no-ze-we*** PY Cn 600.
M ***a-no-zo-jo*** KN Ak 627.1. G.s.
M ***a-nu-ko*** KN C 50, etc. [p. 184].
M ***a$_2$-nu-me-no*** PY Jn 389.
M ***a-nu-mo*** KN V 503, etc.
M ***a-nu-to*** KN As 1516; TH; Ti. *a-nu-to-jo* KN X 697. G.s. [p. 276].
P (PY) ***a-nu-wa*** PY An 207.
M ***a-nu-wa-to*** KN Ap 639.14.
M ***a-nu-wi-ko*** KN As 1516.2.
M ***a-o-ri-me-ne*** PY Qa 1296.
a-o-ze-jo PY Na 588. Place name?
M ***a-pa$_3$-da-ro*** KN C 911.12.
M ***a-pa-i-ti-jo*** KN L 588.1.
M ***a-pa-je-u*** PY Jn 845.5.
M ***a-pa$_3$-no*** KN C 912.
M ***a-pa-re-u*** KN B 804.4.
P (PY) ***a-pa-re-u-pi*** (l.p.) PY Cn 286, etc. [p. 166].
P (PY) ***a-pa-ri-ka-na-we-ja*** PY Na 246.
M ***?]a-pa$_2$-ro*** KN Sc 233.
M ***a-pa-sa-ki-jo*** KN Mc 0455.
M ***a-pa-sa-***[PY Jn 937.5.
M ***a-pa-si-jo-jo*** PY Sa 767. G.s.
P (PY) ***a-pa-ta*** PY Na 551.
P (KN) ***a-pa-ta-wa*** KN Ch 902, etc. Ἄπταρϝα [p. 182].
E ***a-pa-ta-wa-jo*** KN Am 826, etc. Ἀπταρϝαῖοι.
M ***a-pa$_2$-to*** KN C 912.4, etc.
P (PY) ***a$_2$-pa-tu-wo-te*** (l.s.) PY Cn 599 [p. 164].
M ***a-pa-u-ro*** KN Mc 0463.
a-pe-a-sa KN Ap 633. N.p.f. ἀπέασσαι 'absent' [p. 52].
a-pe-do-ke PY Gn 1184. ἀπέδωκε 'issued' [pp. 54, 269].
P (PY) ***a-pe-e-ke,*** see *a-pe-ke-e.*
W/E ***a-pe-i-ja*** PY Ub 1318. A woman. Name from *a-pe* (?) [p. 77].
a-pe-i-si KN Od 666. 3rd sg. Verb relating to a deficit: ἀπεῖσι 'comes off (this year)' [p. 240].
P (PY) ***a-pe-ke-e*** PY Jn 431 [pp. 70, 77, 131, 138 f., 162, 164, 280, 321].
E ***a-pe-ke-i-jo*** PY Jn 431 [pp. 70, 77, 131, 280].
a-pe-ne-wo Sb 1315.4. N. and i.p. Some part of the harness attached to the headband; ἀν(α)πνεϝοι (?) [p. 329].
a-pe-o PY An 18.6. N.s. m. Participle qualifying *to-ko-do-mo*: ἀπεών 'absent'.
a-pe-o-te KN B 823; PY An 724. N.p. ἀπεόντες.
M ***a-pe-ri-ta-wo*** PY An 657.3.
M ***a-pe-te-u*** PY Jn 692.2.
a-pe-ti-ra$_2$ KN V 280. Entry in a ritual calendar (?). Name of a festival (?); see *to-pe-za* (II). Day described as *o-u-te-mi* (= *nefastus*).
a-pi (I) PY Ta 716. First component of compound adjective (?). ἀμφι- [p. 358].

a-pi (II) KN G 820. Noun (?). Object of *e-ko-si*: ἄλφι (?) 'barley flour' (?).

M ***a-pi-a$_2$-ro*** PY An 192, Ea 109, 270, 922, On 300. A prominent personage of the Hither Province with holdings in the estate of the Lawagetas [pp. 84, 372, 374].

M ***a-pi-da-ta*** KN Vc 175.

W ***a-pi-do-ra*** MY Oe [115⊦134].

M ***a-pi-do-ro*** KN X 146.2.

a-pi-e-ke PY Un 2.2. 3rd Sg. aor. (?). Verb with subject *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* in an offering context: ἀφίηκε from *iē-* = ἀφιέρωσε 'sacrificed' (?) [pp. 51, 259, 265].

W ***a-pi-e-ra*** MY Oe 103; PY 1281, etc.

M? ***a-pi-ja-ko-ro-jo*** KN B 812.G.s.(?).

M ***a-pi-ja-re-wo*** KN X 94.

M ***a-pi-je-ta*** PY An 657.7.

M ***a-pi-jo*** PY Jn 725.14.

a-pi-jo-to PY An 261. G.s.

a-pi-o-to PY An 261 [p. 228].

M ***a-pi-ka-ra-do-jo*** PY Ae 398. G.s.

P (PY) ***a-pi-ke-ne-a*** PY Xa 1044 [p. 71].

M ***a-pi-ma-***[MY Oe 132.2.

M ***a-pi-me-de*** KN B 801.4, etc.

a-pi-me-de-o KN C 911. G.s. [pp. 81, 165, 199].

P (PY) ***a-pi-no-e-wi-jo*** PY An 37, etc. [pp. 136, 140, 160, 280, 370].

a-pi-po-re-we KN Uc 160 rev. N.p. ἀμφιφορῆες 'amphorae' [pp. 54, 364].

M ***a-pi-qo-i-ta*** KN Ak 824 [p. 216].

M ***a-pi-qo-o*** PY An 616. G.s. For *a-pi-qo-⟨ta⟩-o*.

a-pi-qo-ro PY Aa 804, etc. Class of women: ἀμφίπολοι [pp. 43, 54].

a-pi-qo-ro-i PY Fr 1205. D. dual or p. Recipients of offering: perhaps Ἀμφιϙ^{w}ολοῖιν 'to the Two Handmaidens' [p. 248 f.].

M ***a-pi-qo-ta*** KN C 915.

a-pi-qo-ta-o PY An 261. G.s. [pp. 184, 228].

a-pi-qo-to PY Ta 713, etc. N.s.f. Description of hearth and table: ἀμφίβατος 'splay-legged' [pp. 31, 41, 43, 53, 54, 343, 346].

M ***a-pi-ra-wo*** KN As 1516.21.

M ***a-pi-re-jo*** KN Vc 199.

P (PY) ***a-pi-te-ja*** PY Fn 187. Perhaps ethnic [p. 233].

P (PY) ***a-pi-te-wa*** PY An 519, etc. [pp. 154, 158, 233].

M ***a-pi-wa-to*** KN As 1516.18.

P (PY) ***a-po-ne-we*** PY An 1, etc. [pp. 69, 70, 71].

a-po-re-we MY Ue 611, rev. N. dual. ἀμφορῆε 'two amphorae' [p. 364].

a-po-te-ro-te PY Va 15. Unclear. *Docs.* ἀμφοτέρωθεν [p. 49].

a-pu KN G 820. Prep. ἀπύ.

P (PY) ***a-pu$_2$-de*** (lat.), ***a-pu$_2$-we*** (l.) PY Vn 20, etc. [pp. 38, 49, 71, 280, 372].

a-pu-do-ke KN X 681. ἀπύδωκε 'delivered'.

a-pu-do-si KN Fh 349, etc.; PY Ma 123, etc. ἀπύδοσις 'delivery' [pp. 42, 277, 304].

a-pu-do-so-[KN Fh 0484. ἀπυδοσμός(?), ἀπυδώσονσι (?).

P (PY) ***a-pu$_2$-ja*** PY Jo 438. District name from *a-pu$_2$* [p. 287].

P (PY) ***a-pu$_2$-ka*** PY An 656, *a-pu-ka* PY An 218 [pp. 144, 373].

E ***a-pu$_2$-ka-ne*** PY An 656, etc. [pp. 153, 157].

a-pu ke-ka-u-me-no PY Ta 641. N.s.m. Describing a tripod: ἀπὺ κεκαυμένος 'burnt away (at the legs)' [pp. 52, 54, 61, 344].

P (PY) ***a-pu-ko-wo-ko*** PY Ab 210, etc. Place name, not 'headband makers' [pp. 34, 77, 113].

P (PY) ***a-pu-ne-we*** PY Ad 684. See *a-po-ne-we*.

M ***a-qe-mo*** KN Dw 1160.

M ***a-qi-ro*** KN Dx 1123.

M ***a-qi-ru*** KN C 50 [p. 184].

W ***a-qi-ti-ja*** MY Oe 103.

M ***a-qi-zo-we*** PY Sn 64.

M ***a-qo-ta*** KN X 644.2.

M ***a-ra-da-jo*** KN As 1516.3.

M ***a-ra-i-jo*** PY An 261.

M ***a-ra-ka-jo*** KN B 806.2.

E ***a-ra-ka-te-ja*** PY Aa 89, 240 [pp. 114, 291].

E ***a-ra-⟨ka-⟩te-ja-o*** PY Ad 380 [p. 114].

M ***a$_2$-ra-ka-wo*** PY Cn 1287.
M ***a-ra-ko*** KN As 607.1, etc.
M ***a-ra-na-ro*** KN As 1516.11 [p. 82].
a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na KN Sd 0402, etc. N.s. and p.f.
a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no KN Sd 0401. N. dual.
Description of chariot bodies, fully assembled: ἀραρμοτ(η)μέναι 'fitted' [pp. 46, 314].
a-ra-ru-ja KN Sd 0401, etc. N.s. and p.f. ἀραρυῖα(ι) 'fitted (with harness, etc.)' [pp. 52, 315].
a-ra-ru-wo-a KN Ra 1548, etc. N.p. nt. ἀραρϝόα 'fitted, joined (with rivets)' [pp. 26, 52, 335].
a-ra-ru-wo-ja KN Sd 0408. Alternative spelling of *a-ra-ru-ja*.
M ***a-ra-si-jo*** KN Fh 369, etc.
M ***a-ra-ta*** KN Uf 1011.
P (PY) ***a$_2$-ra-tu-a, a$_2$-ra-tu-wa*** PY Cn 3; An 519 [pp. 26, 71, 154 f., 158, 173].
a-re KN Fp 14.3. D.s. A divinity.
M ***a-re-i-jo*** KN L 641.1, etc.
a-re-ja PY Tn 316 rev. 7. Epithet of *e-ma-a$_2$* [p. 263].
M ***a-re-jo*** KN Vc 208.
W ***a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-(qe)*** MY SpM 8.168 [p. 78].
M ***a-re-ka-***[***sa-do-ro***]? KN Sc 256.
M ***a-re-ke-se-u*** KN Dw 1156 [p. 78].
M ***a-re-ki-si-to*** KN So 0433, etc.
a-re-ki-si-to-jo KN Sf 0420, etc. [p. 322].
M ***a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*** PY An 654.8, etc.
a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no PY Es 644. G.s.
a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-ne PY Es 649. D.s. [pp. 26, 77, 152].
M ***a-re-me-ne*** TH III.
a-re-i-me-ne TH IV.
a-re-pa-te PY Un 267.3. D.s. ἀλειφάτει '(for boiling) in the unguent' [pp. 42, 270].
M ***a-re-pa-to*** PY Sa 1265. G.s. Charioteer.
a-re-pa-zo-o Un 267.2. D.s. ἀλειφαζόῳ 'unguent boiler' [pp. 42, 270].
a-re-po-zo-o PY Ea 812, etc. Alternative spelling of preceding [pp. 42, 269 f.].
a-re-ro PY Un 718. Misspelling of *a-re-pa* [p. 216].
a-re-sa-ni-e PY An 724. Analysis uncertain. A class of men? Cf. *a$_2$-ri-e* [pp. 52, 53].
M ***a-re-ta$_2$*** KN X 7556.
a-re-ta-to KN Sd 0402. Part of a chariot described as 'missing'.
M ***a-re-ta-wo*** KN Ap 645.2.
a-re-te-re KN As 5557. Agent noun in *-τηρ*. A class of men.
M ***a-re-u-ke-***[KN X 182.
M ***a-re-wo*** PY An 340.
M ***a-re-zo-me-ne*** TH IV. See *a-re-i-me-ne*.
a$_2$-ri-e PY An 724. Analysis unclear. A class of men (?) [pp. 52, 53].
a-ri-ja-to PY An 724. Category unclear. Man's name (?).
M ***a-ri-ja-wo*** KN Uf 990.
a-ri-ja-wo-ne KN Fh 462.1. D.s.
M ***a-ri-ke-u*** KN X 966.
M ***a-ri-ko*** KN Da 1353.
M ***a-ri-pa$_2$*** PY Jn 832. Bronze-smith.
P (PY) ***a-ri-qo*** PY An 723.
P (PY) ***a$_2$-ri-sa*** PY Eq 213.1. Geographical name (?). Not aorist participle [pp. 53, 89, 160, 218].
M ***a-ri-to-***[KN Fh 347.2.
M ***a-ri-we-we*** KN G 153.
M ***a-ri-wo*** PY Cn 655.12.
a-ri-wo-ne PY Cn 131. D.s.
a-ro$_2$-a KN Ld 571, etc. N.p. nt. Used of cloths and wheels: ἀρίοα 'of superior quality' [pp. 50, 293, 295, 323].
a-ro$_2$-e KN L 735. N.p.f. See preceding.
a-ro-do-ro-o KN Fs 4. Recipient of offering. A divinity? A shrine? [p. 237].
W ***a-ro-ja*** PY Fn 187.
M ***a-ro-je-u*** PY Nn 831.6. Possibly occupational description [p. 311].
a-ro$_2$-jo KN So 0437. Apparently genitive qualifying *pte-re-wa*, but see p. 323.
a-ro-ka PY Un 1319.
a-ro-pa PY Fr 1225, etc. ἀλοιφά 'unguent' [p. 247].
a-ro-po PY An 199.2. Description

or location of men and boys: parallel with *e-ke-ro-qo-no* (q.v.).

a*$_2$*-ro-u-do-pi PY Ta 642. I.p. Parallel with *ku-wa-no*, etc. ἀλο-(σ)υδο(τ)φι (?), either a decorative material 'aquamarines' or pattern 'sea-water, undulations' [pp. 44, 345].

a-ro-u-ra PY Eq 213.1. A.s.p. ἀρούραν(s) 'ploughland(s) [p. 217].

a-ro-wo PY Vn 46.11. In a list of building material, descriptive of a *ta-to-mo* = σταθμός 'upright standing-post'. See also *e-pi-ju-ko*.

M ***a-ro-wo-ta*** KN Vc 184.

W ***a-ru-ke-ja*** PY Vn 851.5.

P (PY) ***a*$_2$*-ru-wo-te*** (l.) PY An 657 [pp. 74, 154 f., 159].

M ***a-sa-ma-o*** PY Cn 1287.

P? M? ***a-sa-ma-to*** PY Xa 761.

W? ***a-sa-mi*** KN X 748.3.

P (PY) ***a-sa-pi*** PY Na 523. L.p.

M ***a-sa-ro*** KN As 40.

P (PY) ***a-sa-ti-ja*** PY Mn 162. See *a-si-ja-ti-ja*.

P (PY) ***a-se-e*** PY An 18 [p. 133].

(jo)-a-se-so-si PY Cn 608.1. 3rd p. fut. indic. *jo-a-se-so-si si-a*$_2$*-ro o-pi-da-mi-jo ὡς ἀσήσονσι σιάλονς ὀπιδάμιοι* 'how the (herdsmen) in the *damoi* are to fatten hogs'. See *o-pi-da-mi-jo* [p. 51].

P (PY) ***a-si-ja-ti-ja*** PY Ae 134, etc. [pp. 21, 74, 76, 126, 167, 280].

ą-si-to-po-qo PY Eb 177.1, Ep 617.6. N.s.m. Description of a man holding a *ka-ma*.

P (PY) ***ą-si-we-i*** (l.s.). Bennett *ϙe-si-we-i* PY An 18 [p. 133].

E ***a-si-wi-ja*** PY Fr 1206 [p. 250].

M ***a-si-wi-jo*** KN Df 1469, etc.

P (PY)? ***a-so-na*** PY An 129. Closer identification of a man: place-name (?); cf. *ri-na-ko-ro* (q.v.).

M ***a-so-qi-jo*** KN B 803.2.

E ***a-so-qi-ki-ja*** PY Ad 689 [p. 114].

M ***a-ta*** PY An 39.

M ***a*$_2$*-ta*** PY An 209.

M ***a-ta-je-u*** PY An 656.2.

M ***a-ta-ma-ne-u*** PY Cn 655.10.

a-ta-ma-ne-we MY Cn 131. D.s. [p. 166].

M ***a-ta-ma-ta*** KN B 799.

P (KN) ***a-ta-na,*** see following.

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja KN V 52. 'The Lady of *A-ta-na*' [p. 239].

M ***a-ta-no*** KN Vc 569, etc.

a-ta-no-ro PY Fn 50. G.s.

a-ta-no-re PY Vn 130. D.s. [pp. 139, 370].

M ***a-ta-o*** KN L 698.2, etc.

a-ta-o-jo PY Vn 1191. G.s. [p. 138].

a-ta-ra MY Uc 611 rev.; Wt 510. N.p.f. or nt. Some kind of vessel or utensil: ἄντλα 'ladles, scoops' (?) [pp. 364, 379].

a-ta-ra-si-jo PY Jn 310.7, etc. N.p.m. Description of smiths without allocations: ἀταλάνσιοι 'without *pensum*' [p. 279].

M ***a-ta-ro*** PY An 35.

M ***a-ta-ro-we*** PY An 129.

M ***a-ta-ti-nu*** KN Vd 137.

M ***a-ta-tu-ro*** PY Cn 436, etc.

M ***a-ta-wo*** KN X 324, etc.

a-ta-wo-no PY Ae 889. G.s.

M ***a-ta-wo-ne-jo*** PY Eq 887.

M ***a-ta-ze-u*** KN As 1516.10.

M ***a-te-i-ja-ta*** KN Dk 1064, etc.

a-te-jo KN Da 1299, De 1301, etc. A possessive adjective from *a-to*, cf. *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* [p. 178].

a-te-mi-to PY Es 650.5. G.s. Ἀρτέμιτος [pp. 41, 223].

M ***a-te-mo*** KN Dc 1298, etc.

M ***a*$_2$*-te-po*** PY An 519.

M ***a-te-ra-wo*** PY Qa 1304 [p. 372].

a-te-re-e-te-jo PY Tn 996. Dual adj. describing bath-tubs. Name of material (?). The hiatus suggests a compound word. Identical with following? If so, the tubs will be of wood.

a-te-re-te-a KN So 894. Paragraph heading in list of wheels, parallel with *ki-da-pa* (q.v.). Description of wheels (?) or place-name (?) [p. 324].

P (PY) ***a-te-re-wi-ja*** PY Aa 779 [pp. 76, 133, 164, 167, 303].

a*$_2$*-te-ro PY Ma 365.2. A.s. nt. With *we-to*: ἄτερον (ϝέτος) 'next year' [pp. 41, 44, 305].

M ***a-te-u-ke*** KN Vc 150.

a-te-we PY Tn 996. N.p. of noun

in *-evs*. Name of a kind of bronze ewer.

M ***a-te-wo-jo*** PY Sa 797. G.s.

M ***a-ti-ja-wo*** PY An 654.2.

M ***a-ti-jo*** KN As 1516.14.

M ***a-ti-ka*** KN V 831.4.

W ***a-ti-ke-ne-ja*** MY Oe 110.2.

a-ti-mi-te PY Un 219. D.s. *Ἀρτι-μίτει* [pp. 41, 230 f., 259].

M ***a-ti-pa-mo*** KN Od 562.1, etc.

P (PY) ***a-ti-ri-ja*** PY Ae 27.

M ***a-ti-ro*** KN Dv 1272, etc.

M ***a-to*** KN As 40, etc.

a$_2$-to PY Un 1321. Unclear.

W ***a-to-me-ja*** KN Ap 639.2. Ethnic. Cf. *a-to-mo* (III).

a-to-mo (I) KN V 56. N.p.m. governing *e-qe-a-o*. Tablet found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets. Other V texts list chariot-drivers (see *a-ni-o-ko*).

a-to-mo (II) PY Sn 64.8, Jo 438.0. N.s.m. governing genitive *e-qe-o*, (I) and (II) possibly identical, but see *a-to-mo* (III) [p. 288].

P (PY) ***a-to-mo*** (III) PY Jn 832. Place-name parallel with *ro-u-so* [p. 281].

M? W? ***a-to-mo-na*** KN Od 563, 690. A weaver.

a-to-po-qo PY An 39.11, 427.3, Fn 50.7. N.p. A class of men: *ἀρτοπόq^{w}οι* 'bakers' [pp. 227, 229].

M ***a-to-re-u*** KN Pp 495.

a-to-ro-qo PY Ta 722. I.s. After participle *a-ja-me-no*: *ἀνθρώq^{w}ῳ* '(inlaid) with (ivory) man' [pp. 26, 43, 353].

M ***a-tu-ko*** KN X 1052, etc. [p. 200].

M ***a-tu-qo-ta*** KN B 799.

M ***a-tu-qo-te-ra-to*** KN V 1523.

M ***a-u-po-no*** KN U 0478 rev.

a-u-qe KN Sd 0402. Error for *o-u-qe*.

M ***a-wa-ne-u*** PY Vn 865.6.

a-wa-ra-ka-na PY Sb 1314.

a-wa-ra-ka-na-o ibid. G.s. or p. Personal name?

P (PY) ***a-wa-si-ja*** PY An 615.

M ***a-wa-so*** KN Db 1099, etc.

M ***a-wa-ta*** PY An 340.

M ***a-we-ke-se-u*** PY Cn 285.

a-we-ke-se-we PY Cn 131. D.s. [pp. 78, 172].

P (PY) ***a-we-u-pi*** PY An 172.8.9.

M ***a-wi-po-to*** KN C 911.5.

M ***a-wi-to-do-to*** KN U 0478, etc.

M ***a-wo-i-jo*** PY Cn 599.

M ***a-wo-ro*** KN B 800.3.

M ***a-wo-ti-jo*** KN Dd 1157.

M ***a-ze-o*** KN Dv 1226.

M ***a-ze-ta*** KN Dw 1466.

a-ze-ti-nu-ja-i. Misspelling (?). See pp. 22, 233, 297.

a-ze-ti-ri-ja KN Ap 694, E 777, M 683. N.p.f. Class of women connected with cloth-making (see *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*).

P (PY) ***a$_2$-zo-qi-jo*** PY Un 1193.4.

W ***a-zu*** or ***a-zi*** MY Oe 123.

a-*34-to PY La 626.1. Dual? Context: textiles [pp. 23, 55].

a-*35-ka KN Le 787, etc. An article of clothing, the third of a three-piece outfit [p. 295].

W ***a-*64-ja*** PY Vn 1191.2, etc. [p. 22].

E ***a-*64-ja*** PY Aa 701, etc. [p. 114].

M ***a-*64-jo*** KN Sc 261, etc. [p. 22].

P (PY) ***a-*85-ta$_2$*** PY Ma 397 [pp. 21, 38, 303].

da-da-re-jo-de KN Fp 1, etc. *Δαιδαλεῖόνδε* [p. 236].

M ***da-i-je-***[KN V 1631.1.

M ***da-i-qo-ta*** KN Dw 1164+1421.

M ***da-i-ta-ra-ro*** KN De 1231.

M]***da-i-to*** KN X 5953.

M ***da-i-wo-wo*** KN V 1043.1.

M ***da-i-ze-to*** KN Da 1317.

M ***da-ja-ro*** KN X 1420.

P (PY) ***da-ka-ja-pi*** PY Gn 720. L.p.

M ***da-ka-sa-na-ta*** PY An 172.

da-ko-ro PY An 207.8, etc. N.p.

da-ko-ro-i PY Un 219.5. D.p. Occurs in temple and craftsman contexts: *δακόροι*, *δακόροιhι* 'temple attendants' [pp. 137, 229 f.].

M ***da-ko-so*** KN As 1520.6.

da-ma-te PY En 609.1. N.pl. of noun referring to lands at *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*: *δάμαρτες familiae* (?) [p. 190].

M ***da-me***[KN As 1516.3.

da-mi-jo PY Ea 803. *e-ke da-mi-jo*, abbreviated expression for *e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo* (?): δάμιον '*damos* land'.

E ***da-mi-ni-jo/ja*** PY An 610, Ad 697 [pp. 104, 113, 124].

M ***da-mi-ni-jo*** KN V 337, Dv 447, etc. A cattle 'owner' [p. 178].

da-mo KN C 59, E 845; PY Ea 52, etc. At Knossos it appears in conjunction with working bulls and a harvest (?) return. At Pylos usually in the phrase *pa-ro da-mo*, as lessor of *ke-ke-me-na* land, but also in nominative (Ep 704): δᾶμος [pp. 83, 85, 186 ff., 216].

da-mo-de-mi PY Ep 704. δᾶμος δέ μιν . . . [p. 212].

M [***da***]***-mo-ke-re-we-i*** PY Fn 324.

M ***da-mo-ko-ro***. KN L 642 (?), X 7922; PY On 300.7, Ta 711.1. Man's name: *Δάμοκλος*. Not an official title (as *Docs.*) [pp. 33, 89, 340 f., 354 f., 372, 374].

M ***da-na*** KN Ce 152.

M ***da-na-jo*** KN Db 1324, etc.

M ***da-na-ko*** PY An 209.

M ***da-na-ro*** KN Dd 5174.

P (PY) ***da-nu-wa-a-ri-***[PY Mn 1412. Probably a double place-name with 'district' name beginning *a-ri-*. Listed after *ma-to-⟨ro⟩-pu-ro* (q.v.).

da-nu-wo KN Ch 902. Title of a functionary at *wa-to*. Also a description of a man in C 911 in parallel with *po-ku-ta*, etc. [pp. 182 f.].

M?]***da-nwa-re*** KN Db 1302.

M ***da-o-ta*** KN Vc 125.

M ***da-pu$_2$-nu-wi-ko*** KN As 1516.2.

M ***da-pu$_2$-ra*** KN V 479.

M ***da-pu$_2$-ra-zo*** Eleusis [p. 276].

P (KN) ***da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo (po-ti-ni-ja)*** KN Gg 702. *Λαβυρίνθοιο* (?) *Πότνια*) [pp. 22, 238].

P (KN) ***da-ra-ko*** KN Dd 1579, etc. [p. 178].

M ***da-ra-mu-ro*** KN Dw 1220.

M ***da-ra-ro*** KN Dd 5174.

M ***da-ru-pa$_3$*** KN Uf 432.7.

M ***da-si***[.]***-so*** PY Jn 431.3.

M ***da-ta-ja-ro*** KN Dv 1153.

P (KN) ***da-ta-ra-mo*** KN Dl 942 [p. 178].

W ***da-te-ne-ja*** KN Ap 639.2.

M ***da-te-wa*** KN V 147.4.

P (KN) ***da-te-we-ja*** KN L 594, etc. [p. 125].

M ***da-to-re-u*** PY Cn 328.

M ***da-to-ro*** KN Dx 964, etc.

M ***da-u-da-ro*** PY Cn 1287.

W ***da-u-no*** KN Ap 639.1.

M ***da-u-ta-ro*** PY Jn 431.

M ***da-wa-no*** KN Ga 423, etc.

P (PY) ***da-we-u-pi*** PY Cn 925.

M ***da-wi*** KN Db 1212.

P (KN) ***da-wo*** KN C 59, etc. [p. 124].

E ***da-wi-jo/ja*** KN Am 568, etc. [pp. 178, 291].

M ***da-zo*** KN Ra 1547.

P (KN) ***da-*22-to*** KN As 40, etc. [pp. 22, 178, 275].

E ***da-*22-ti-jo/-jo*** KN F 669, etc. [pp. 22, 42].

P (KN) ***da-*83-ja, da-*83-ja-de*** (lat.), ***da-*83-ja-i*** (d.p.) KN Dv 1086, etc. [p. 178].

M ***da-83-jo*** KN V 479 r. 2, etc.

M]***de-a-ta*** KN Dw 1222.

de-de-me-no PY Sa 287, 794. N. dual nt. Description of a pair of wheels: δεδε(σ)μένω 'bound, studded (?) (with silver or bronze)' [p. 52].

de-di-ku-ja KN Ak 611. N.p.f. Description of women, also abbreviated *de*. Cf. *di-da-ka-re* (q.v.), apparently for δεδιδαχυῖαι 'having served their apprenticeship'. The syllables fit only δεδιχυῖαι 'who have been shown' [p. 125 f.].

de-do-me-na KN So 0429, 0440, 0441. N.p. nt. Comment on wheels: δεδομένα 'delivered' (as opposed to 'under construction' see *wo-zo-me-no*) [p. 322].

de-do-wa-re-we PY Fn 187. D.s. Recipient of rations. Man or functionary.

de-ka-sa-to KN L 641. 3rd s. aor. mid. δέξατο 'received' [pp. 298 f.].

(o-)de-ka-sa-to PY Pn 30.1. ὃ δέξατο 'what he received'.

M ***de-ke-se-u*** KN Df 1119, etc.
M ***de-ki-si-wo*** KN C 908, etc.
de-ki-si-wo-jo PY Vn 1191. G.s.
M ***de-ko-to*** PY Cn 600.
de-ko-to-jo PY Jn 413. G.s. [p. 51].
de-ku-tu-wo-ko PY Un 1322.2. Recipient of rations, δικτυοργῷ 'net-maker' (?).
de-ma-si KN Fh 353. D.p. Recipients of a small quantity of oil. Presumably divinities. Not 'in leathern bottles' (*Docs.*) [p. 252].
de-me-o-te PY An 35.1. N.p.m. fut. participle active. Refers to *to-ko-do-mo*: δεμέοντες 'going to build' [pp. 52, 134].
de-mi-ni-ja PY Vn 851. Heading of tablet written in ii/iii. The entries are men's and women's names in the dative followed by the number 1. An issue of 'bedsteads' (δέμνια) seems unlikely. The text SpM 8.168 (Mycenae), where *d.* follows the name *wo-di-je-ja*, suggests that *d.* is a class of women.
de-mi-pe PY Wr 1326 rev. Unclear.
M ***de-mo-qe*** PY Cn 45. D.s.
M ***de-ni-mo*** KN Dc 1303.
M]***de-ro*** KN V 831.4.
de-so-mo KN Ra 1548, etc. I.p. After *a-ra-ru-ja*: δεσμοῖς 'with rivets' [pp. 353 f.].
M ***de-u-ka-ri-jo*** PY An 654.
M ***de-u-ke-ro*** KN U 0478.7.
M ***de-u-ki-jo*** MY Au 102.7.
de-u-ki-jo-jo KN Fp 1. G.s. Name of a month [p. 235].
M ***de-we-ra*** KN Dw M 19.
M ***de-we-ro*** PY Jn 320.
P (PY) ***de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja*** PY Ng 319. *Δεῦρο-αι-κο-ρα-ι-ja* 'places this side of *ai-ko-ra*' = 'The Hither Province' [pp. 19, 310].
de-wi-jo PY An 519. Patronymic? or ethnic? [pp. 142, 145].
di-da-ka-re KN Ak 781, etc. Description of children, also abbreviated *di*: διδασκάλει (?) 'at school' [pp. 47, 125].
M? ***di-da-ma-o*** PY Xa 184.
M ***di-de-ro-***[KN [B 799.4], X 1504.
di-do-si KN Og 0467; PY Ma 365.2. (See also *o-di-do-si*, *o-u-di-do-si*), δίδονσι 'they are giving'.
M ***di-ju-pa-ta*** KN L 1568.2. = *Διϝφαντάς*? [pp. 19 f., 296].
P (KN) ***di-ka-ta-de*** (lat.) *Δίκτανδε* Fp 7, etc. [pp. 49, 236].
E ***di-ka-ta-jo*** KN Fp 1. *Δικταίῳ* (*Διρεί*) [p. 235].
M ***di-ka-ta-ro*** KN As 566.1, etc.
M ***di-ke*** MY Oe 129. D.s.
M ***di-ki-mo***[KN X 7627.
M ***di-ki-nu-wo*** KN Dx 1502.
M ***di-ko-na-ro*** PY An 656.14.
M ***di-nu-wa-ta*** PY Jn 725.24.
di-pa KN K 875; PY Ta 641.
di-pa-e dual, ibid.
Name of a kind of jar: δίπας (?) = δέπας [pp. 41, 228, 344, 364].
di-pi-si-je-wi-jo PY Fr 1218. G.p. of name of festival: *Διψιηρίων* 'at the festival of the dead' [p. 250].
di-pi-si-jo PY Fr 1240. Probably gen. plur. [p. 245].
di-pi-si-jo-i PY Fr 1220, etc. D.p. Recipients of offerings: *Διψίοι(h)ι* 'Thirsty Ones', i.e. the dead [pp. 249 ff.].
di-pte-ra PY Ub 1318. N.p.
di-pte-ra$_3$ PY Ub 1315. Alternative spelling: διφθέραι 'skins' [pp. 229, 328].
di-pte-ra-po-ro PY Fn 50.6, Un 219.6. N.s. and p. A class of men appearing in craftsman and offering contexts. Temple officials with 'hide' connexions. Hardly διφθεραφόροι 'wearers of hides' [pp. 137, 227, 229, 259].
M]***di-qo*** KN Dl 930.
M ***di-ra*** KN Uf 432.4.
M ***di-ra-ro*** KN Dk 1075.
M ***di-ra-wo-no*** PY Jn 750.12.
di-ri-mi-jo PY Tn 316. Name of a god [p. 264].
M ***di-ri-ne-wo*** KN As 1519 [p. 77].
P (KN) ***di-ro*** KN Da 1167, etc. [p. 178].
M ***di-so*** KN Sc 255.
M ***di-ta-ka-so*** KN Og 427.1, etc.

di-u-ja PY Tn 316. D.s. A goddess: *Διρία* [p. 263].

di-u-ja-jo(-qe) PY Tn 316. Shrine of *di-u-ja* [p. 264].

di-u-jo PY Tn 316. L. Name of a shrine: *Δίριον* [p. 264].

M ***di-wa-jo*** KN V 1523.6.

di-we KN Fp 1.2; PY Tn 316. D.s. *Διρεί* 'to Zeus' [pp. 47, 235, 264].

W ***di-we-se-ja*** My Oe 103. D.s.

M ***di-we-so*** KN V 151.3.

di-wi-ja PY An 607.5 G.s. Name of a divinity: *Διρίας*, cf. *di-u-ja* [p. 128].

P (PY) ***di-wi-ja-ta*** PY Nn 228.

M ***di-wi-ja-wo*** KN Vc 293.

di-wi-je-ja KN X 97. *di-wi-ja* is next word. Women attached to the goddess?

di-wi-je-u PY An 656.9. Man or functionary?

di-wi-je-we PY Es 645, etc. [pp. 152, 174].

di-wi-jo-jo KN Fp 5. G.s. Name of a month: *Διρίοιο* [p. 235].

di-wo PY Tn 316. G.s. *Διρός* 'of Zeus' [pp. 234, 264].

M ***di-wo*** KN Dx 1503.

di-wo-nu-so-jo PY Xa 102, Xb 1419. *wo-no-wa-ti-si*, ibid., rev., recurs in Vn 48.6, a text which mentions an offering to *po-ti-ni-ja*. This strengthens the evidence for Dionysus at Pylos.

M ***di-wo-pu-ka-ta*** KN Fp 363.3 Name of functionary.

M ***di-za-so*** KN Pp 493, etc.

M ***di-za-***[KN X 1506.

M ***di-zo*** KN V 479, etc.

do-e-ra KN Ak 824, etc. N.s. and p.

do-e-ra-o KN Ak 7024. G.p. See *do-e-ro*.

do-e-ro passim.

do-e-ro-jo KN C 912. G.s.

do-e-ro-i PY Fn 50, 324, 867. D.p. In the majority of instances the attachment seems to be to divinities and cult personnel: *δόελος* 'slave' only perhaps in sense 'dedicated person'. On ration status see p. 230 [pp. 101, 127, 128, 221, 226, 257, 279].

do-ka-ma-i PY An 1282. D.p. Some part or attachment of chariot, two to each vehicle (?). [pp. 327 f.]

do-ku-tu-wo-ko PY Un 1322. Alternative reading *de-ku-tu-wo-ko-* q.v. Unclear. *δικτυοργοί* (HM) 'net makers'.

do-po-ta PY Tn 316. Name of a divinity *Δο(σ)πόντα* 'House Lord' (??) [p. 263].

do-qe-ja PY An 607. G.s.f. Governed by *do-e-ra*: name of a divinity. Not 'reapers' [pp. 95, 128].

M ***do-qe-u*** KN B 804.2.

M ***do-qo-no*** PY Cn 131.

M ***do-qo-ro*** PY An 654.13.

M ***do-qo-so*** MY Au 609.

do-ra PY Tn 316. N.p. Subject of *pe-re*: *δῶρα* 'gifts' (were brought) [p. 266].

M ***do-re-we*** KN Fh 342. D.s.

M ***do-ri-ka-no*** KN U 0478.8.

M ***do-ri-ka-o*** KN V 958, etc. [p. 288].

M ***do-ri-wo*** KN X 167.

M ***do-ro-jo-jo*** PY Jn 320.

do-ro-jo-jo PY Cn 45. Dittography. D.s. After *pa-ro*.

M ***do-ro-me-u*** PY An 209.

P (PY) ***do-ro-qo-so-wo-te*** PY Na 384. Perhaps word-divider after *-qo-*.

do-se PY Un 718. 3rd s. fut. *δώσει* 'he is to give' [pp. 51, 215 f.].

do-si-mi-ja PY Ma 126. N.p. (?) of adjective or noun *δόσμιον* [pp. 75, 305].

do-si-mi-jo-qe PY Wa 730. Contrast with *do-so-mo* in preceding entry, which is much larger: *δόσμιον*.

do-so-mo PY Es 644, etc., Un 718. N. and a.s. *δοσμός* 'contribution' [pp. 152, 215, 221, 301, 375].

P (KN) ***do-ti-ja*** KN Ce 139, etc. [pp. 178, 297].

do-wa KN V 5113. Context unclear. *Docs.*: *δορά· δοκός*.

do-we-jo KN Sd 0404. Possibly also PY Sb 1314: *do-we-jo-qe*.

N. dual (?). Description of *e-qo-e-qe* 'wooden' (horse saddles?) [pp. 45, 316].

M ***du-ko-so-***[PY Jn 431.

du-ma KN Np 1039, etc.; PY An 192.3. N.s.

du-ma-te-qe PY Jn 829.1. N.p.

du-ma-ti PY On 300.6. Title of an official, possibly of rank superior to a *ko-re-te*, with temple connexions. [pp. 89, 126, 229, 282 f. See also *po-ro-du-ma-te*, *me-ri-du-ma-te*].

M ***du-ni*** KN Dd 1201, etc.

M ***du-ni-jo*** KN Og 426.2, etc.

du-ni-jo-jo PY Ae 8, etc. G.s. [pp. 80, 126, 138, 220]. There are several men with this name. For *du-ni-jo*, apparently *du-ma* in the Hither Province, see pp. 80, 126, 138, 220, 374 f.

M ***du-pi-jo*** KN X 287.

M ***du-pu$_2$-ra-zo*** KN V 479, etc. [p. 19].

M ***du-pu$_2$-so*** KN Fh 343.

M ***du-re-u*** PY Jn 845.4.

M ***du-ro*** KN Da 1193.

M ***du-ru-po*** KN As 1516.17, etc.

du-ru-to-mo PY Vn 10.1. N.pl. Class of men who are to deliver *a-ko-so-ne*, etc.: δρυτόμοι 'wood-cutters' [pp. 26, 135].

W ***du-sa-ni*** KN Ap 639.3.

M ***du-sa-ro*** KN V 653.2.

M ***du-ta-so*** KN Db 1159.

M ***du-to*** KN As 1516.16.

M ***du-wo*** KN Db 5231.

M ***du-wo-jo*** PY Jn 750.12.

du-wo-jo-jo PY An 656. G.s.

M ***du-***[.]***-jo*** KN As 1516.22.

du-wo-u-pi PY Ep 617, etc. L. δϝου(ν)φι 'in two' (plots) [pp. 50, 135, 212].

dwo PY Eb 338.2, Eo 278. δϝώ or δύω 'two' [pp. 211, 328].

E? ***e-da-e-u*** PY Qa 1298 [pp. 144. 372].

M ***e-do-mo-ne-u*** PY Eo 224, etc.

e-do-mo-ne-we PY Cn 925. D.s.

e-e-ro-pa-jo-qe-ne PY Sb 1315.3. Part of the harness: 'bridle' *vel sim.* [p. 329].

e-e-si KN Ai 63, Sd 0422; PY Na 1179. ἐενσί 'they are'. See also *e-ne-e-si* [pp. 52, 125].

e-e-to PY An 607.3. Verb constructed with dative plural *e-qe-ta-i*: ἔεντοι 'have been sent' (?) [pp. 41, 52, 128].

M ***]e-i-ja-si*** KN B 804.3.

M ***e-ju-to*** PY En 74.

e-ka-ma-te PY Ta 642.3. D.s.

e-ka-ma-pi Ta 713.1.3, 715.1. I.p. In the description of a table; some part of the support: ἐχμάτει, ἔχμα(τ)φι, or ἐγμάτει, ἔγμα(τ)φι 'pillar' *vel sim.* [pp. 31, 46, 49, 346, 347.]

M ***e-ka-no*** PY Jn 725.2.

e-ka-ra PY Ta 709.2. N.s. ἐσχάρα 'table of offerings, portable hearth' [pp. 31, 181, 339, 343, 355].

e-ka-ra-e-we KN Dm 1180. N.p. Description of rams: ἐσχαραῆϝες (?) 'for burnt offerings' (?) [p. 181].

M ***e-ka-te-jo*** KN X 768, etc.

e-ka-te-re-ta KN Se 1006. Used in description of wheels. Analysis unclear [p. 318].

e-ke passim. ἔχει 'has'.

e]-ke-a KN R 0481 bis. ἔγχεα 'spears' [p. 337].

M ***e-ke-a*** KN V 831.1.

M ***e-ke-da-mo*** KN Uf 1522, etc. [p. 78].

e-ke-e PY Eb 297.1, Ep 704.5, 6. Infinitive: ἔχεεν [p. 41].

e-ke-i-ja PY Va 1324. A text from the palace workshop listing *e.*, *pe-di-je-wi-ja*, and *a-ko-so-ne*. N.p. f. or nt. ἐγχέϊα(ι) 'shafts, pegs' *vel sim.* See further *po-ro-e-ke* and *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* [pp. 32, 324].

M ***e-ke-i-ja-ta*** PY Jn 750.10. Denominative from preceding? Cf. ἐγχείη.

M ***e-ke-i-jo-jo*** PY Sa 760. G.s.

e-ke-jo-to PY An 218.9. Possibly substantive qualified by *a-ko-to-no*. Class of men [pp. 53, 145].

M ***e-ke-me-de*** KN U 0478.18, etc. [pp. 81, 288].

M ***e-ke-ne*** MY Au 102.4.

e-ke-qe PY Eb 152, etc. Verbal form occurring normally in the 'proposals' for land plots. Analysed as a prospective form with attached particle *-qe*. See also *o-u-qe* [pp. 44, 59, 63, 189 f., 211].

M? ***e-ke-ra-ne*** PY Un 219. D.s. Recipient of offering. For *e-ke-ra*$_2$-⟨*wo-*⟩*ne*? [p. 258].

[*e*]-***ke-ra***$_2$-***u-na*** PY Un 853.1. See *e-ke-ra*$_2$-*wo* [p. 26].

M ***e-ke-ra***$_2$-***wo*** PY Un 718.2.

e-ke-ra$_2$-*wo-no* PY An 610. G.s.

e-ke-ra$_2$-*wo-ne* PY An 724. D.s. [pp. 28, 84, 92, 95, 131, 215, 222].

W ***e-ke-ri-jo-na*** PY Vn 851.2.

M ***e-ke-ro*** PY Jn 832.2.

e-ke-ro-qo-no PY Aa 777, etc. Class of women: *ἐγχερόq*^{w}*οινοι* 'daily wage-earners' [pp. 35, 91, 116, 120].

M ***e-ke-se*** KN B 799.7.

e-ke-si PY Jn 829. D.p.: *ἔγχε(σ)σι* 'for spears' [p. 283].

e-ke-si PY En 74.21. Misspelling of *e-ko-si*.

M ***e-ke-si-jo*** PY Cn 4.

(jo)-e-ke-to-qo KN Gv 863. The phrase *jo-e-ke-to-qo wo-na-si si-*] heads inventory of trees at *Pa*$_2$*-ra*. *Docs.*: *ὡ ἔχει τόq*^{w}*ος . . . .*

M ***e-ke-to-wo*** KN U 0478.12.

M ***e-ki-no*** KN Da 1078.

E ***e-ki-si-jo/-ja*** KN As 821, etc.

M ***e-ki-wo*** PY Jn 320.

e-ko KN Sc 226. Probably = *ἔχων* 'having' rather than *ἔγχος* 'spear'.

M ***e-ko-me-na-ta-o*** PY An 218. G.s. of man's name or g.p. of ethnic [pp. 142, 145].

P (PY) ***e-ko-me-no*** PY Cn 40, etc. *Ἐρχομενός* [pp. 71, 164].

e-ko-si KN G 820; PY Eb 321.1, etc. *ἔχονσι* 'they have' [pp. 42, 306, 330].

P (KN) ***e-ko-so*** KN Dx 46, etc. [pp. 129, 178, 291].

P (PY) ***e-ko-so-no*** PY Na 507.

e-ko-te PY Eb 236.1, etc. *ἔχοντες* 'having' [pp. 52, 279].

M ***e-ko-to*** PY Eb 913.1, etc.

M ***e-ko-to-ri-jo*** PY Cn 45.

e-ku-se-we MY Wt 501. Utensils: *ἐγχυσῆϝες* 'funnels' *vel sim.* [p. 379].

e-ma-a$_2$ PY Tn 316. D.s. Recipient of an offering: *Ἑρμάᾳ* 'to Hermes' [pp. 259, 263, 309].

e-me PY Ta 641. D.s.

e-me-de PY Eb 495.1. Same with added particle *δέ*. *ἐμεί* 'with one, in one' [pp. 50, 344].

e-me-si-jo KN E 843.1.

e-me-si-jo-jo KN E 35, etc. G.s. Name of a month [pp. 232 f.].

M ***e-mi-ja-ta*** KN V 831.1.

e-mo PY Xn 1342. Unclear.

M ***e-na-i-jo-***[KN X 302.

P (PY) ***e-na-po-ro*** PY An 661, etc. [pp. 136, 154].

e-na-ri-po-to KN Sg 884. Context 'chariot-frame'. Could be man's name. *Docs.*: *ἐνάλιπτος* 'oiled, polished'.

e-ne-e-si PY En 609.2. 3rd p. *ἐνέενσι* 'there are in (them)' [pp. 196 f.].

e-ne-ka KN As 821, PY Ae 303, An 37.1, Ea 805, Eq 59.5. Preposition governing genitive. Exx. point to divine and cult use: *ἕνεκα* 'in the service of' (?) [pp. 54, 127, 129, 277 f.].

M ***e-ne-ke-se-u*** KN Da 1081.

e-ne-me-na MY Ge 603. N.f. Name of container or unit used with *σχοῖνος*. Abbreviated E [p. 273].

e-ne-o KN Uf 625. Word possibly not complete. *Docs.*: *ἐνεών* 'being in'.

e-ne-ra KN Ai 762. Description of women.

e-ne-re-ja KN Ak 638. Text from Magazine XV relating to *a-mi-ni-so* and listing girls and boys. Class of women (cf. *e-ne-ro*) (?), ethnic (?), woman's name (?).

e-ne-ro KN L 695. A substance weighed in small quantities, used in connexion with cloth, and described as *re-u-ko*.

e-ne-si-da-o-ne KN M 719.2. D.s. Name of a God: *'Ενεσιδαώνει* [p. 302].

M ***e-ne-ti-jo*** PY Cn 45.

e-ne-wo pe-za (also one word) PY Ta 642, etc. N.s.f. Describing a table: *ἐννεῥόπεζα* 'with nine feet' [pp. 41, 51, 347].

e-ne-wo-pe-zo Ta 715. Dual.

M ***e-ni-ja-u-si-jo*** PY An 39.

P (PY) ***e-ni-pa-te-we*** (l.) PY Jn 658 [p. 280].

e-ni-qe L 647.2, etc. Word with textile affinities; apparently described as *e-ra-pe-me-na ἐρραφμένα* 'sewn, stitched'.

M ***e-ni-to-wo*** PY Eb 1187.1.

P? (PY) ***e-no-wa-ro*** PY An 654 [pp. 153, 158, 239].

e-nu-wa-ri-jo KN V 52.2; PY An 724. *'Ενυάλιος*. PY description of an *e-to-ni-jo* (q.v.) [p. 239].

e-o PY Eo 173.1, Ep 617.11. *ἐών* 'being' (a *ko-to-no-o-ko*) [p. 52, 201. See also *a-pe-o, a-pe-a-sa*].

M ***e-o-te-u*** PY An 661.1

e-pa$_2$-na-(qe) PY Ua 158.1. Word co-ordinated with *o-na* (q.v.), governing genitive *ke-do-jo* (man's name). Possibly derivative from root seen in *ἔμπαμα* 'property', *ἐμπάμων*, *ἔμπασις*, *ἴμπασις*, *πάσασθαι*, *πέπᾱμαι*, *πάστας*, etc. Usually derived from **kᵚā-*. For the suffix compare *δαπ-άνᾱ*, etc.: *e(n)kᵚanā* 'acquisition'. For the representation of original *kᵚ* by the labio-velar sign, cf. *i-qo*.

M ***e-pa-re*** PY An 723.3.

W ***e-pa-sa-na-ti*** PY En 74 [p. 41].

M ***e-pa-ta-***[PY Jn 937.6.

M ***e-pa$_2$-***[PY Cn 436.

e-pe-ke KN Dl 932. Description of ewes: *ἐμπε(σ)κής* (?).

M ***e-pe-ke-u*** PY Jn 431.

e-pi (I) PY Un 2.1. Preposition governing *wa-na-ka-te* with verb *mu-jo-me-no*: (performing some ceremony) 'over' (the *Wanax*) [pp. 54, 206].

e-pi (II) KN V 280. *e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi*. Comment on fourteenth day of the month in what is apparently a fragment of a ritual calendar. See *to-pe-za* and *a-pe-ti-ra$_2$*.

e-pi(-qe) PY Eb 842.2, Ep 617.8. Adverb: 'and in addition' [pp. 54, 206].

M ***e-pi-da-o*** KN Vc 129.

e-pi-da-to PY Jn 389.7, 601.7. 3rd s. aor. mid. *ἐπίδαστο* 'was issued in addition' [pp. 51, 286].

e-pi-de-da-to PY Vn 20.1. 3rd s. perf. mid. *ἐπιδέδαστοι* 'is distributed' [pp. 52, 286, 369].

M ***e-pi-ja-ta*** PY An 115.

P (PY) ***e-pi-ja-ta-ni-ja*** PY Ad 687.

e-pi-jo-ta-na PY Aa 95 [pp. 20, 41, 113].

e-pi-ju-ko PY Vn 46.11. Context is building material. Word apparently describes *ta-to-mo* (q.v.) or *a-ro-wo*: *ἐπίζυγος* 'tie-beam' *vel sim.* [pp. 20, 37, 367].

e-pi-ka PY Sb 1314. Unclear.

e-pi-ke-re KN F 852. Word used with *a-ma* (q.v.) in connexion with large wheat returns.

e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja KN J 693. Text headed *ri-no* with suprascript comment *qe-te-o* 'to be paid' (?) *ἐπιχιτώνια* 'garments worn over the *χιτών*' (?) or 'attachments of *χιτών*' (?).

P (PY) ***e-pi-ko-e*** PY Ad 672. L.s. (?).

e-pi-ko-o Aa 94. N.s.
A place in the Further Province.

e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo KN V 789. N. dual nt.

e-pi-ko-ru-[*si*]*-ja* KN S 8100. N.p. nt.
Describing *o-pa-wo-to* (understood): *ἐπικορυσίω* 'fitting on the helmet' [pp. 42, 54, 331].

e-pi-ko-wa KN Fh 343. Used in connexion with oil entries: *ἐπιχόϝα* 'libation'. Cf. *ἐπιχόα κατάχυσις* Hesych. (*Docs.*).

e-pi-ko-wo PY An 657. N.p. Subject of *u-ru-to* (q.v.): *ἐπίκοϝοι* 'watchers' [pp. 54, 151].

e-pi-pu-ta PY Vn 10.2, 5. Items delivered by *du-ru-to-mo* in same quantities as *a-ko-so-ne* (q.v.). Part of an undercarriage (?) [p. 368].

e-pi-qe-i-si KN Lc 561 (MV's reading). Comment on a single piece of cloth: *ἐπίϙʷεισις* 'after-payment' [pp. 26, 42, 43, 286, 292].

M ***[e]-pi-qe-ra-wo*** KN B 5025.2.

P (PY) ***e-pi-qo-ra₂*** PY Mn 456 [p. 305].

e-pi-ro-pa-ja KN Od 696. Context wool. *Docs.*, p. 321, compares *λώπη* 'cloak': *ἐπιλωπαια*.

M ***e-pi-ta-jo*** PY Jn 927.4.

e-pi-we-ti-ri-jo PY Ea 52. Description of a man.

M ***e-pi-wo-pa₂-ta-o*** PY Sa 1266. G.s. Charioteer.

e-pi-zo-ta KN X 984. Context is description of an artefact: *e-re*]*-pa-te de-de-me-na*. Apparently adjective qualifying *zo-wa*: *ἐπίζωστα* (?).

e-po KN V 283, PY Vn 493.1. The KN text is from the Room of the Chariot Tablets and lists 60+. The PY text records the collection by *a-ke-ro* of *e-po*, the numbers being multiples of five.

M ***e-po-me-ne-u*** PY Nn 831.

e-po-me-ne-we PY Vn 851. D.s. [pp. 139, 309, 311].

e-po-mi-jo KN V 789, S 8100. Description of suit of armour: *ἐπωμίω* (dual) 'shoulder pieces' [pp. 54, 331].

P (PY) ***e-po-wi-ja*** PY An 615.

e-po-wo-ke PY 46.9. N.p. (?). Items of carpentry. Perhaps a compound; for formation of *pa-wo-ke* (q.v.): *ἐμ+ποs+ wr̥g* (??) [p. 367].

e-qe-a-o, see *a-to-mo*.

e-qe-o, see *a-to-mo* [p. 143].

e-qe-si-ja KN Ld 571, etc.; PY Sa 790, etc.

e-qe-si-jo PY Eb 847. Adj. applied to garments, wheels, and *do-e-ro*: *ἑϙʷέσια ἑϙʷέσιοι* 'belonging to *ἑϙʷέτας*' or 'suitable for *ἑ.*' [pp. 42, 292f., 323, 327, 375].

e-qe-ta KN As 821, etc.; PY An 519, etc. Name of a functionary of high rank with cult connexions: *ἑϙʷέτας* 'companion, count' [pp. 87, 142, 151 f., 174, 221, 278, 372, 375].

e-qe-ta-e KN As 821. Dual of preceding (?) [pp. 47, 129].

e-qe-ta-i PY An 607.3. D.p. [p. 128].

e-qo-te PY An 724. Participle (?) with object *o-no*, describing men listed under 'absent rowers'. Are *o-no* some kind of ship? *ἕϙʷοντες* 'looking after' (?), in which case the accepted etymology of *ἕπω* (< **sep*) must be rejected. Or if *o-no* = 'purchase', 'in charge of supplies'.

P (KN) ***e-ra*** (I) KN Dv 440, etc.

e-ra-de (lat.) KN Fh 357 [pp. 178, 275, 292].

e-ra (II) PY Tn 316. Recipient of offering: *Ἥρᾳ* 'to Hera' [pp. 129, 264].

E ***e-ra-jo/-ja*** KN V 431, etc. [p. 291].

e-ra-ne KN Ch 902.5. N.s. Title of a functionary at *pa₃-ko-we* [p. 182].

M ***e-ra[.]-ni-ja*** KN U 0478.13.

e-ra-pe-me-na L 647. Participle used of cloths (q.v.): *ἐρραφμένα(ι)* [pp. 45, 46].

e-ra-pi-ja PY Ub 1316. *ἐλαφίαι (διφθέραι)*? (So Ma L).

M ***e-ra-po*** PY An 657.12 [p. 155].

M ***e-ra-se*** PY Cn 4.10. The parallel entries suggest that this is the name of a herdsman [p. 53].

W ***e-ra-ta-ra*** PY Eo 224.

P (PY) ***e-ra-te-i*** PY Cn 608. L.s.

e-ra-to-de PY Vn 20. L. [pp. 76, 161, 303].

E ***e-ra-te-i-jo*** PY On 300.

P (PY) ***e-ra-te-re-wa-o*** PY Jo 438. G.p.

e-ra-te-re-wa-pi PY Cn 595, etc. L.p. [pp. 74, 76, 164, 172, 303].

P (PY) ***e-ra-te-re-we*** (l.s.) PY Ma 333.

e-ra-wa KN F 841. *ἐλαῖϝα* 'olives' or nt.p. *ἔλαιϝα* 'olives', with *ἔλαιον* used for the fruits.

e-ra$_3$-wo PY Gn 1184, etc. ἔλαιϝον 'olive oil' [pp. 19, 37, 245, 269].

e-ra-wo KN G 726, etc.; PY Fr 1223, etc. Alternative spelling of preceding.

P (PY) ***e-re-de*** PY Fr 1228, Mn 1411 (parallel with *ma-se-de*). Allative form of *e-re-e* = *Ἔλεσ-δε* [pp. 49, 247].

e-re-e. PY An 724. Infin. ἔρεεν, of root verb later replaced by ἐρέσσω, 'to row' [pp. 52, 64, 124].

P (PY) ***e-re-e*** PY An 724, etc.
e-re-i PY Jn 829.
Ἔλεϊ [pp. 71, 157].

M/E ***e-re-e-u*** PY Nn 831 [p. 311].
e-re-e-wo PY Na 284 [pp. 306, 311].

P (PY) ***e-re-e-we*** (l.s.) PY Jn 881. District name from *e-re-e* (?) [p. 281].

e-re-mo PY Er 312.7. N.s. Description of kind of land holding: ἐρῆμος, ἐρῆμον 'uninhabited land' (?) [p. 214].

M ***e-re-ke-***[KN B 5132.2.

e-re-pa KN Sd 0412, PY Va 482. N.s.
e-re-pa-to KN V 684; PY Sa 793.
e-re-pa-te KN Sd 0401, etc.; PY Ta 642.2, etc.
ἐλέφας, ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφάντει 'ivory' [pp. 315, 368].

M ***e-re-pa-i-ro*** KN X 212.

e-re-pa-te-jo KN Se 1006, etc.; PY Ta 642.3, etc. N.s., i.s., i.p.
e-re-pa-te-ja PY Ta 713.2, etc. N.s.f.
e-re-pa-te-ja-pi PY Ta 707.2, etc. I.p.f.
e-re-pa-te-jo-pi KN Se 1006. I.p.m.
ἐλεφάντειος, etc. [pp. 49, 315, 338].

e-re-ta (I) PY An 1.1, etc. N.p.
e-re-ta-o PY Ad 684. G.p.
ἐρέται 'rowers' [pp. 129 f., 183].

e-re-ta (II) KN Ch 902.11. N.s. Title of a functionary [p. 182].

e-re-ti-ri-ja PY Ae 889. VC's reading. Apparently adjective describing the *pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja* of *a-ta-*[ ]*-wo(n)*.

e-re-u-te-re PY Cn 3.2, Wa 917.2. N.p. of agent noun in *-τηρ*; subject of verb *i-je-si* in context of bulls (oxen). Linked on sealing with *e-qe-ta*. VC compare]*-qe-u-te-si* KN Fh 364; this text is one of a set concerned with offerings of oil. Religious functionaries connected with sacrifice: ἐρευτῆρες, lit. 'examiners' [pp. 174, 307. 375].

e-re-u-te-ro PY Na 185, etc.
e-re-u-te-ra PY Na 106, etc. Adj. constructed with dative. Context suggests issue of linseed-oil by cult functionaries to divinities and persons. ἐλεύθερος, ἐλεύθερα in a meaning 'issued' not attested later (?). Or connexion with *e-re-u-te-re* (q.v.) [p. 306].

e-re-u-te-ro-se PY Na 395, etc. 3rd s. fut. or aor. ἐλευθερώσει, ἐλευθερώσε, but see preceding [pp. 306 f.].

e-re-u-ti-ja KN Gg 705.1, etc. A divinity: *Ἐλευθία* [pp. 238, 302].

e-re-wi-jo PY Vn 48.2. *pa-*[*ki*]*-ja-*[*na-de*] *e-re-wi-jo po-ti-ni-ja*. G.p. of name of festival (cf. *wa-na-se-wi-jo*): *Ἡρηΐων* 'at the festival of Hera' (see *e-ra*) [LP 23.14 f.].

e-ri-ka KN So 894, etc. G.s. Parallel with *pte-re-wa*, etc. ἐλίκας 'of willow' [p. 321].

e-ri-ka-we-e PY Un 1319. Name of place (l.) or person (d.)?

M ***e-ri-ke-ta*** KN X 0474.

M ***e-ri-ko-wo*** PY An 656.2, etc.

M ***e-ri-ma-si-jo*** PY Pa 49.

P (PY) ***e-ri-no-wo*** PY Na 106.
e-ri-no-wo-te PY Cn 4, etc. L.
e-ri-no-wo-to PY Eq 213. G. [pp. 74, 160, 305].

e-ri-nu Kn Fp 1+31.8. Recipient of offering: *Ἐριννῖ* [pp. 218, 235].

W ***e-ri-qi-ja*** PY Ep 539.

M ***e-ri-qi-jo*** PY Ea 480.

W ***e-ri-ta*** PY Ep 704.3, 5 [p. 211].

M ***e-ri-ta-ri-jo*** KN X 304.
M ***e-ri-ta-qi-jo*** KN As 604.1.
M ***e-ri-ti-qi-***[KN B 802.3.
M ***e-ri-ṭọ***[KN X 7590.
P (PY) ***e-ri-to-ti-no*** PY Cn 4.7. Possibly a double place name: *e-ri-to* in *ti-no* (q.v.).
W ***e-ri-tu-pi-na*** MY = SpM 8.168.
M ***e-ri-we-ro*** PY Vn 130.
M ***e-ri-**ɪg*** KN Ag 90.
P (PY) ***e-ro$_2$-ne*** PY Na 588. Cf. *'Ελεών*.
W/E ***e-ro-pa-ke-ja*** KN L 595.
M ***e-ro-pa-ke-ta*** MY Fo 101. Probably a man's name.
M ***e-ro-pa-ke-u*** KN As 0493.
M ***e-ro$_2$-qo*** PY Ea 29, etc.
M ***e-ro-u-ta*** KN Da 1162.
e-ru-mi-ni-ja PY Vn 46. Items of carpentry: *ἐλυμνίαι* 'roof beams' [p. 366].
e-ru-sa KN Fh 998. Recipient of oil. Divinity?
M ***e-ru-si-jo*** PY Vn 130.
M ***e-ru-ta-jo*** PY Jn 725.16.
M ***e-ru-ta-ra*** PY An 654.2.
e-ru-ta-ra MY Ge 602. N.s.f. Adj. describing *ka-na-ko* contrasting with *re-u-ka*. PY Sb 1315.1. N.p.f. describing *di-pte-ra$_3$* (q.v.). *ἐρυθρά* 'red' [pp. 272, 328].
e-ru-ta-ra-pi KN Ld 573, etc. I.p.f. Apparently a noun referring to part of a cloth [p. 292].
M ***e-ru-ti-ri-***[***jo***?] KN X 297.
M ***e-ru-to-ro*** KN Dk 1074, etc.
e-sa-pa-ke-mẹ-[***na***] KN L 7375. Context textiles. Cf. *sa-pa* (q.v.). Probably technical specification of cloth; cf. *o*]*-nu-ka*.]*-pi* preceding is presumably instrumental plural governed by the participle.
M ***e-sa-re-u*** PY Na 395, etc.
e-sa-re-we KN As 1517; PY Cn 1197 [pp. 303, 306, 307].
I (PY) ***e-sa-re-wi-ja*** PY An 830, etc. [pp. 76, 133, 303].
M ***e-sa-ro*** PY [En 609.14], Eo 224.
M ***e-se-re-a$_2$*** An 661.2.
e-se-re-e-jo KN Dl 947. A cattle owner. Possibly a possessive adjective; cf. ***e-se-re-a$_2$*** and *a-te-jo, pe-ri-qo-te-jo* [p. 178].
P (PY) ***e-so*** PY An 830.6. Possibly minor place in district of *a-te-re-wi-ja*. Cf. following entry: *e-sa-re-wi-ja ro-ro-ni-ja* (q.v.). The proposed reading *eϙ-* (JC) has not been confirmed.
e-so-to KN Am 601. Analysis unclear.
M ***e-ta-je-u*** PY An 5.
M ***e-ta-wo-ne-u*** PY Sn 64.
e-ta-wo-ne-wo KN L 695. G.s.
e-ta-wo-ne-we KN L 584. D.s. [pp. 293, 319].
e-te (I) KN Am 601. Context unclear.
e-te (II) PY Va 15.2. 3rd sg. (?).
e-to PY Va 15.1. 3rd pl. (?).
ἦλθε, ἦλθον (?). See *a-mo-i-je-to* and **35-ka-te-re* [p. 52].
e-te-do-mo KN Uf 432; PY Ea 808, etc. Man's profession, without contextual clues. Such tenants appear in estates of *Wanax* and *Lawagetas*. *ἔντεα δέμειν* hardly a possible combination of words.
M ***e-te-re-da*** PY Cn 600.
e-te-re-ta KN Se 879. N.s.f. Adj. describing a chariot frame. Cf. *e-ka-te-re-ta* [p. 318].
M ***e-te-wa*** PY An 657.3.
M ***e-te-wa-jo*** PY Xa 639, etc.
e-te-wa-jo-jo PY Sa 769. G.s.
M ***e-te-wa-no*** KN C 913.1.
M ***e-te-wa-o*** KN X 5785.
M ***e-te-wa-tu-o*** KN C 912.
M ***e-te-wa-***[PY Cn 254.
M ***e-te-we*** PY Cn 925. D.s.
M ***e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*** PY An 654.8–9 [pp. 77, 144].
W ***e-ti-je-ja*** PY Vn 851.10.
M ***e-ti-me-de-i*** PY Fn 324. D.s.
M ***e-ti-ra-wo*** PY Cn 131 [pp. 78, 166].
W ***e-ti-ri-ja*** PY Vn 851.9.
P (KN) ***e-ti-wa*** KN Fs 19.
W/E ***e-ti-wa-ja*** KN X 681, Ap 639.
M ***e-ti-wa-no*** PY Wr 1359 [p. 377].
e-ti-we PY Fr 343, 1209, 1224. Description of oil: 'perfumed with *e-ti*' [p. 246].

M]*e-to* KN Dl 1243.

e-to PY Va 15.1. Alternates with *e-te* on same tablet: ἦλθον (?) '(no **35-ka-te-re*) have come' (?).

e-to-ki-ja PY Vn 46.6, 879.3. N.p. nt. Items of carpentry: ἐντοίχια 'posts, etc., forming framework of half-timber construction' [pp. 55, 367].

M *e-to-mo-jo* PY Vn 1191.3. G.s.

e-to-ni-jo PY An 724, Ep 297.1, etc. A species of land holding with divine connexions: ἐτώνιον (?) [pp. 131, 199, 210, 212].

e-to-ro-pa$_2$-ta KN Og 878, U 736. Context *na-u-do-mo* and THONG ideogram. Cf. τροπός 'oar-thong', ἐντροπίδες, ὑποδήματα. The formation remains unclear and the context of Og 878 INGOT+WE is incongruous. *Non liquet!*

e-to-wo-ko KN Fh 462; PY An 39.5, Fn 50.6. D.s. and n.p.

e-to-wo-ko-i Fn 1192.4. D.p. Some kind of craftsman of military importance: ἐντοϝοργός (?) 'armourer' [pp. 227, 229].

M *e-u-da-i-ta* KN Dl 47.1.

M *e-u-da-mo* KN X 57, etc.

P (PY) *e-u-de-we-ro* PY Aa 772, etc. [p. 113].

M *e-u-do-no* PY Jn 310.

M *e-u-ka-no* PY Un 1320. D.s. after *pa-ro*.

M *e-u-ka-ri* KN B 802.2.

M *e-u-ka-ro* PY An 723.2, etc.

e-u-ke-to PY Eb 297.1, Ep 704.5. 3rd sg. pres. indic. εὔχετοι 'declares solemnly' [pp. 43, 212].

M *e-u-ko-me-no* PY Jn 725.23.

M *e-u-ko-ro* KN Ap 482, etc.

M *e-u-me-de* PY Ea 773, etc.

e-u-me-de-i PY Gn 1184. D.s. [pp. 81, 269].

M *e-u-me-ta* KN De 1388.

M *e-u-mo-*[KN X 1390.

M *e-u-na-ta* KN As 1520.9.

M *e-u-na-wo* KN B 799, etc.

M *e-u-o-mo*[KN X 127.

M *e-u-po-ro-* MY Au 102.4.

M *e-u-po-ro-wo* KN X 7620, etc.

M *e-u-qo-ne* PY Vn 130. D.s.

M *e-u-ro-wa*[KN X 408.1.

M *e-u-ru-da-mo* KN X 166.2.

M [*e-u*]*-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo* PY Fn 324. G.s.

M *e-u-ru-qo-ta* KN V 147.

M *e-u-ru-wo-ta* PY Eb 156, etc.

P (PY) *e-u-ta-re-*[PY Na 1085.

M *e-u-ṭọ-ṛọ-qo* PY Jn 478.

M *e-u-wa-ko-ro* PY Jn 431.

M *e-u-wa-re* PY Jn 693.2.

M *e-u-we-to* PY Jn 750.9.

e-u-we-to-ro, ibid. 13. G.s.

M *e-wa-ko-ro* KN V 1005, etc. See *e-u-wa-ko-ro* [pp. 27, 276].

M *e-wa-ra-jo* KN Dx 1391.

M *e-we-ki-ta*[KN X 993.

e-we-pe-se-so-me-na MY Oe 127. N.p. nt. Refers to *pa-we-a*. One word, hence not 'to be well boiled'. Compound of ἐϝ- (= ἐπί) and ἕπω: 'requiring attention, finishing' (?).

P (PY) *e-wi-ku-wo-te* PY Na 604. L.s.

E *e-wi-ri-pi-ja* PY Aa 60 [p. 114].

P (PY) *e-wi-ri-po* PY An 610, *Ἔϝριπος* [pp. 27, 68].

*e-wi-su-**79*-ko* PY Va 404, 482. Some kind of pattern carved on ivory or pieces of this shape. Cf. *e-wi-su-zo-ko* (q.v.) [pp. 318, 368].

e-wi-su-zo-ko KN Se 1007. Item in description of chariot body. Context ivory. See *e-wi-su-**79*-ko* [p. 318].

M *e-wi-ta-jo* KN Vc 102.

M *e-wi-ṭạ*[KN B 805.2.

M *e-wi-te-u* PY Cn 437.

e-wi-te-we PY Cn 40. D.s.

P (PY) *e-wi-te-wi-jo* PY Mn 456, etc. [pp. 160, 305].

e-wi-to-wo KN B 806.

M *e-zo-wo* KN X 5900, etc.

M *i-da-i-jo* KN K 875, etc.

M *i-da-ra-ta* KN X 154.

W *i-do-me-ne-ja* PY Eb 498, etc.

W *i-du* KN Ap 639.

M *i-ja-me-i* PY Fn 324. D.s.

M *i-*[*ja*]*-me-ni-jo* PY Fn 324.7, Gn 428.4.

i-ja-te PY Eq 146.9. Description of holder of a holding of a standard size (one major unit). Not a *te-re-ta*. *ἰατήρ* 'physician'.

M? ***i-ja-wo-ne***[KN X 146.4.

i-je-re-ja KN Fp 1, etc.; PY Ae 303, etc. N.s. and g.s. *ἱέρεια* 'priestess' [pp. 60, 127, 211].

i-je-re-u KN As 821; PY An 218, etc.

i-e-re-u PY En 74, etc.

i-je-re-wo PY Ea 756. G.s. *ἱερεύς* 'priest' [pp. 26, 129, 152].

M ***i-je-re-wi-jo*** KN K 875. A man's name, parallel with *pe-ri-ta*, etc.

i-je-ro (I) KN Fp 363; (II) X 1447. (I) recipient of oil at *da-*83-de*. (II) Probably man's name.

i-je-ro-jo PY Ae 303. G.s. Adj. qualifying *ku-ru-so-jo*: *ἱεροῖο* 'sacred' [p. 127].

i-je-ro-wo-ko PY Ep 617.7. N.s. Description of a holder of a *ka-ma*: *ἱερορεργός* 'sacrificial priest' [p. 207].

(jo)-i-je-si PY Cn 3. 3rd pl. pres. indic. Subject *e-re-u-te-re* (q.v.), context bulls in connexion with *o-ka* arrangements: *ἴενσι*, 'they are sacrificing'. See *i-je-to*, *a-pi-e-ke* [pp. 173, 265].

i-je-to PY Tn 316. Verb co-ordinated with *pe-re* and *a-ke*, and constructed with the locative case. Presumably aor. pass.: *ἴετο* 'offering was made', *vel sim.* Cf. *i-je-si*, *a-pi-e-ke* (qq.v.) [pp. 51, 176, 264 f.].

i-je-we See *i-ju*.

i-jo (I) KN V 1523; (II) MY Au 102. (I) Comment on men's names. (II) Either a man's name or the word for 'son' (cf. *tu-ka-te-qe*, SpM 8.168). If I and II identical, then KN/MY *i-jo* corresponds to PY *i-ju*; cf. *ϝίϝς*, *ϝιός*.

i-jo-te KN B 7041; PY An 1. *ἰόντες* 'going' [p. 130].

i-ju PY Ae 344, An 218.16, Sn 64.7. N.s.

i-je-we Tn 316. rev. 10. *ἰϝς*, *ἰέρει* 'son' [pp. 20, 48, 143, 264].

P (PY) ***i-ka-sa-ja*** PY Gn 720.

M ***i-ka-se*** KN Sc 258.2.

M ***i-ke-se-ra*** KN Dk 1077.

M ***i-ke-ta*** KN B 799.8.

M ***i-ke-***[PY Cn 938.2.

i-ku-wo-i-pi KN V 280. I. dual (?) governed by *e-pi*. Comment on the fourteenth day of the month in a ritual calendar. See *to-pe-za*, *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$. A pair of divinities: 'dedicated to the I.' (?).

W ***i-ma-di-ja*** PY Ea 816.

M ***i-ma-di-jo*** PY Cn 436, etc.

M ***i-mi-ri-jo*** KN Db 1186.

M ***i-mo-ro-ne-u*** KN Vc 55, etc.

M ***i-na*** PY Eb 885.1, etc.

M? ***i-na-ma-ta*** PY Ma 126. Man's name [pp. 75, 305].

P (PY) ***i-na-ne*** PY An 18. N.p.

i-na-pi PY An 5. L.p. [p. 132].

P/E (PY) ***i-na-ni-ja***, PY Ae 8, etc. [pp. 126, 133].

M ***i-na-o*** PY An 209, etc.

i-na-o-te MY Ge 604. D.s.

M ***i-ne-u*** KN Da 1379.

W ***i-ni-ja*** PY En 609.

W ***i-pa-sa-na-ti*** PY Eo 247. See *e-pa-sa-na-ti* [p. 41].

i-pe-me-de-ja PY Tn 316. A divinity [pp. 41, 263 f.].

M ***i-pe-ra-ta*** PY Jn 610.

M ***i-pe-se-wa*** PY Gn 1184 [p. 270].

i-po-no KN Uc 160. Name of a type of bowl: *ἴπνοί* [p. 364].

i-po-po-qo-i PY Fn 1192. D.p. Class of men co-ordinated with *ze-u-ke-u-si* (q.v.): *ἱπποφορβοί* 'horse-tenders' [pp. 43, 227].

i-qe-ja PY 1281.1; Cf. Fn 867. Adj. qualifying *po-ti-ni-ja* *ἱκϝεία* 'horse-goddess' [p. 226].

i-qi-ja KN Sf 0420, etc. N.s. and p.f.

i-qi-jo KN Sd 0401 etc. N. dual.

i-qi-ja-i (emended for *a-qi-ja-i*) An 1282.1. D.p.

ἱκϝία(*ι*) 'horse chariot(s)' [pp. 46, 229, 277, 314].

i-qo (I) KN Ca 895; PY Ta 722.1. (II) PY Fa 16.

i-qo-jo PY Eq 59.5.
(I) Name of animal represented by equine head: *ἵκϙος*, *ἵππος*. (II) Name of recipient of cyperus, on whose behalf (*e-ne-ka*) a piece of land is held: *ἵκϙος*, *ἵκϙοιο* 'Horse God' [pp. 20, 42, 84, 103, 182, 277, 353].

i-qo-e-qe KN Sd 0404. Item of chariot equipment listed between body and harness: 'horse-saddles' (?) [p. 316].

M *i-ra-ko-to* KN V 466.2, etc.

W *i-ra-ta* KN Uf 1011, etc.

M *i-ro-to* KN C 912.6.

M *i-sa-na-o-ti* PY Ca 254. D.s.

M *i-sa-wo* KN Sc 253.

M *i-so-e-ko* PY Fn 187.

i-su-ku-wo-do-to KN Fh 348. Either description of a type of holy oil, or the name of the recipient: *Ἰσχυόδοτος* (?). [p. 312].

M *i-ta* KN As 5869.

W *i-ta-da-wa* MY Oe 106.

W *i-ta-ja* KN Ap 769.2.

M *i-ta-mo* KN X 5922.1.

M]*i-ta-no*[KN X 5608.1.

M *i-ta-ra-jo* PY Jn 431.

i-te-ja-o PY Ad 684. G.p.f. *ἱστειάων* 'weavers' (?) [pp. 114, 121].

P (PY) *i-te-re-wa* PY Jo 438, etc. [p. 288].

M *i-te-u* KN As 1516.9.

i-ṭe-we PY Un 1322.3. Recipient of rations: *ἱστήϝει* 'weaver' (?).

M *i-to* KN As 1519.8.

M *i-to-ma*[KN V 60.4.

i-to-we-sa PY Ta 709. N.s.f. Description (part of the support?) of an *e-ka-ra*: *ἱστόϝεσσα* 'having an upright support', contrasting with *a-pi-qo-to* 'splay-legged' [pp. 31, 60, 343].

M *i-wa-ka* KN V 60.2, etc.

i-wa-ka-o PY Jn 310. G.s.

M *i-wa-ko* KN As 1516.18.

E *i-wa-si-jo-ta* PY Cn 3 [p. 153].

E *i-wa-so* PY An 519, etc. *Ἴϝασοι* [pp. 71, 153].

M *i-we-ro* KN As 1519.2.

i-ʒa-a-to-mo-i PY Fn 50.8. D.p. Class of men with chariot and horse-tender connexions: *ἱκκι-αρθμοιhι* (?) 'chariot-fitters' [pp. 143, 228].

M *i-ʒa-re* KN B 805.3.

ja-ke-te-re PY Mn 11.2. Context is entries of RI (linseed) and ME (honey). Following entry possibly to be completed *me-wi-te-jo ja-ke*]*-te-re* HONEY[ ]. Class of men? See a_2*-ke-te-re*.

M *ja-ma-ra* KN V 503.2.

M *ja-ma-ta-ro* KN V 655.2.

W]*ja-mu-ta* KN Ap 5864.5.

M *ja-pa-ra-ro* KN V 429.3.

ja-pe-re-so KN Fs 23.1. Divinity?

P (KN) *ja-pu*$_2$*-wi-ja* KN Lc 541 [p. 291].

M *ja-qo* KN X 5781.

M *ja-ṛa-to* KN De 1424.

M *ja-ro-no* TH VI. G.s.

M *ja-ru* KN C 911.4.

M *ja-sa-no* KN As 1516.4.

M *ja-sa-ro* KN V 832.4.

M *ja-ti-ri* KN De 1301.

ka-da-mi-ja MY Ge 604. A spice. *καρδαμια* (cf. *κάρδαμον*) [p. 272].

M *ka-da-no* KN Dk 1065.

M?]*ka-da-ra-so* KN F 452.1.

M *ka-da-ro* PY Cn 40.

M *ka-da-si-jo* PY An 519 [p. 288].

M *ka-do-wo* PY Cn 719.1, Sn 64.

M *ka-e-sa-me-no* PY An 656.19.
ka-e-sa-me-no-jo PY Vn 1191. G.s. [p. 372].

M *ka-e-se-u* MY Ge 605; PY Qa 1299.
ka-e-se-we MY Ge 602. D.s. [p. 372].

ka-ja PY Sb 1314. Unclear.

M *ka-jo* KN X 1451.

M *ka-ka-po* PY Jn 320.

ka-ka-re-a KN R 0481 bis. N.p. nt. Adj. describing *e-ke-a*: *χαλκάρεα* 'bronze-tipped' [p. 337].

M *ka-ke* KN As 1516.10.

ka-ke-ja-pi KN Sd 0409. I.p.f. Adj. describing *o-pi-i-ja-pi* 'bits' (q.v.): *χαλκείαφι* 'bronze' [p. 316].

ka-ke-u KN V 958; PY An 607, etc. N.s.

ka-ke-we KN X 386; PY Jn 310, etc. N.p.
ka-ke-wi MY Oe 121. D.s.
ka-ke-u-si PY An 129, etc. D.p.
χαλκεύς, χαλκῆες 'bronze-smith(s)'. At MY probably proper name (cf. PY Jn 750) [pp. 47, 48, 60, 228, 279, 303, 306, 311].

ka-ki-jo KN So 894. N. dual nt. Adj. describing a pair of wheels: χαλκίω (see also *ka-za*) [p. 321].

ka-ko PY Jn 320, etc. N. and i.s. χαλκός, χαλκῷ 'bronze' [pp. 88, 279, 283, 321].

ka-ko-de-ta KN So 894. N.p. nt. Adj. describing wheels: χαλκόδετα 'bronze-bound'. Cf. *ka-ko de-de-me-na* [pp. 53, 322, 336].

ka-ma (I) KN L 520; (II) PY An 724, etc. (I) Name of a weaver [p. 297]. (II) Name of a type of land-holding: possibly καμά 'a working' (cf. Cret. κάμαν· ἀγρός Hesych.) [pp. 100, 131, 144 190, 194, 202, 207, 216].

ka-ma-e-u PY Eb 156, etc.
ka-ma-e-we PY An 616, etc. D.s. and n.p.
'Holder of a *ka-ma*' [pp. 94, 138, 199, 205, 210, 213].

M ***ka-ma-ti-jo-jo*** TH V. G.s.

M ***ka-mi-ni-to*** KN Dk 1073, etc.

M ***ka-mo*** KN Dv 440, etc.

M ***ka-mo-ni-jo*** KN Da 1293.

M ***ka-mu-ko-to*** KN V 831.2.

ka-na-ko MY Ge 602, etc. Name of a spice: κνᾶκος 'safflower' [p. 272].

ka-na-pe-u PY En 74, etc.
ka-na-pe-wo PY Eo 269. G.s.
ka-na-pe-we MY Oe 129. D.s.
Type of occupation: κναφεύς 'cloth-dresser', 'Master of the Cloth' [pp. 48, 193].

M ***ka-na-po*** KN V 7518.

M ***ka-na-po-to*** KN V 961.3.

M ***]ka-na-so*** KN V 5536.2.

ka-na-to MY Ue 611, Wt 502. N.p. Some kind of vessel [p. 365].

W ***ka-na-to-po*** KN Ap 639.9.

M ***ka-ne-u-ta*** KN X 477.

M ***ka-ni-to*** KN X 1449.

M ***ka-nu-se-u*** KN As 602.3.

M ***ka-nu-ta-jo*** PY An 129.

ka-pa PY Un 138.5. Description of olives, contrasting with *po-pa*$_2$. Cf. *ka-po*.

M ***ka-pa-jo***[KN X 5752.

ka-pa-ra PY Un 1321. Preceded by *to-sa* with WINE entry. Some kind of measure or container (?). Cf. σκάφαλος· ἀντλητή Hesych.

M ***ka-pa-ra$_2$*** KN X 5009.1, etc.

E ***ka-pa-ra$_2$-de*** PY Aa 788, etc. N.p.
ka-pa-ra$_2$-do Ad 679. G.p. [pp. 114, 124].

M ***ka-pa-ri-jo*** KN V 60.2, etc.
ka-pa-ri-jo-ne KN Fh 344. D.s.

W ***ka-pa-si-ja*** PY Vn 851.12.

W ***ka-pa-ti-ja*** PY Eb 338, etc. [p. 260].

M ***ka-pa$_3$-na-to*** KN As 1516.16.

M ***ka-pa$_3$-no*** KN Df 1219.

W ***ka-pa$_3$-so-ta*** KN Ap 769.1.

P (PY) ***ka-pe-se-wa-o wo-wo*** PY Cn 453 [p. 77].

ka-pi-ni-ja PY Vn 46. Constructional feature of a house requiring *e-ru-mi-ni-ja* and *ta-ra-nu-we*. Hardly καπνία 'smoke stack' (*Docs.*), where timber would be inappropriate.

ka-po KN F 841. Word applied to olives: καρπός 'fruit'. Cf. the ligatured *KA* + *PO* PY Un 592 [p. 301].

M ***ka-pu-ro*** KN V 961.2.

M ***ka-pu$_2$-ni-jo*** KN X 1018.

ka-ra-a-pi PY 722. I.p. nt. Noun qualified by *re-wo-te-jo*: κράαφι 'with (lion's) heads' [pp. 353, 362].

P (PY) ***ka-ra-do-ro*** PY An 661, etc.
ka-ra-do-ro-de (lat.), PY Vn 20 [pp. 67, 154, 156, 372].

M ***ka-ra-do-wa-ta*** PY Ea 57.

ka-ra-e-ri-jo KN Fp 6, etc.
ka-ra-e-i-jo KN Fp 354. Alternative spelling. Name of a month [p. 235].

M ***ka-ra-i*** PY Es 650.8.

M ***ka-ra-i-no*** KN B 5028.1.

ka-ra-ko MY Ge 605. A spice: *γλάχων*, cf. Att. *βλήχων*, 'penny-royal' [p. 272].

ka-ra-ma-to KN V 684. Word commenting on *e-re-pa-to* *ἐλέφαντος*. *ke-ma-ta* (= *κέρματα*?) in next line: misspelling of *κλάσματα* 'pieces' (?).

M ***ka-ra-na-ta*** KN Vc 65, etc.

ka-ra-ni-jo PY Wa 1199. Category unclear.

M ***ka-ra-pa-so*** PY Jn 389.

M ***ka-ra-pa$_3$-so*** PY En [659.19] etc. [p. 19].

M ***ka-ra-pi*** PY Ea 808.

ka-ra-re-we KN Uc 778; PY Gn 1184. N.p. Name in *-εύς* for stirrup-jar: *χλαρῆϝες* [pp. 270, 276].

M ***ka-ra-so-mo*** PY Fn 79.

M ***ka-ra-su-no*** PY Cc 660.

ka-ra-te-mi-de PY Gn 428.2. Destination of wine. Possibly allative of place-name: perhaps d.s. of man's name.

ka-ra-te-ra MY Ue 611. N.s. Some kind of vessel; *po-ro-ko-wo* and *a-ta-ra* listed next. Almost certainly mixing bowl: *κρατηρα* by-form of *κρατήρ*.

ka-ra-ṭi-ri-jo MY Ue 611. Some kind of vessel. Cf. *ka-ra-se-ti-ri-jo* [p. 365].

ka-ra-to MY Ge 603.1. Some kind of container: *κάλαθος* 'basket' [p. 273].

M ***ka-ra-u-du-ro*** PY Eb 838.1.

P (PY) ***ka-ra-u-jo*** PY An 424 [p. 137].

M ***ka-ra-u-ko*** PY Cn 285, etc.

M ***ka-ra-u-ro*** PY An 192, etc.

M ***ka-ra-wa-ni-ta*** PY Cn 45.

ka-ra-we KN Ap 694. Word not necessarily complete. Some kind of textile specialist. Not 'old women' (*Docs.*).

M ***ka-ra-wi-ko*** PY Jn 389.

ka-ra-wi-po-ro PY Ep 704, etc.

ka-ra-wi-po-ro-jo PY Ae 110. G.s. A female religious functionary: *κλαϝιφόρος* 'key bearer, cf. *κλειδοῦχος* [pp. 44, 88, 199, 260, 283].

M ***ka-ra-wi-so*** PY Ja 1288 [p. 286].

M ***ka-ra-*82[ ]*** PY Jn 431.

M ***ka-ri-se-u*** KN As 1516.9, etc.

M ***ka-ri-si-jo*** PY Jn 706.16.

ka-ro KN Fh 340. Possibly a place name. Text is a record of delivery. Cf. PY *ka-ro-ke-e*, i.e. '*ka-ro* in *ke-e*'.

P (PY) ***ka-ro-ke-e*** PY An 207. [pp. 77, 136].

M ***ka-ro-qo*** KN Sc 257.1, etc.

ka-ru-ke PY Fn 187, Un 219.3. D.s. A religious functionary: *καρύκει* 'herald' [pp. 225, 231, 259].

P (KN) ***ka-ru-no*** KN Dl 412 [p. 178].

ka-ru-we PY Ta 721. L.s.

ka-ru-pi PY Ta 722. I.p. An accessorial motif of decoration: †*καλυρει* †*καλυφι*, 'flower buds' (??) [pp. 48, 352].

M ***ka-sa-no*** KN V 831.5.

M ***ka-sa-to*** KN C 912.8, etc.; PY An 39, Jn 320 [p. 135].

P (PY) ***]-ka-si-da*** PY An 207.

ka-si-ko-no KN Ra 1555, etc.; PY An 128.3. N.s. and p. Type of sword craftsman [p. 335].

M ***ka-so*** PY Cn 599.

M ***ka-ta-no*** PY Eb 890.1.

P (KN) ***ka-ta-ra-i*** (l.p.), ***ka-ta-ra-pi*** (l./abl. p.) KN Co 906 [p. 182].

M ***ka-ta-ro*** MY Z 202 [p. 275].

M ***ka-ta-wa*** PY Cn 40.

M ***ka-ta-wo*** KN Dw 1113.

M ***ka-te-u*** KN Dk 1072, etc.

ka-ti PY Tn 996. N.s. Some kind of jug: *καθίς*, cf. *κηθίς*, *κηθάριον*, Arc. *κάθιδοι· ὑδρίαι* Hesych. (so *Docs.*).

M ***ka-to*** KN Dg 1169, etc.

ka-to-ro KN 438, etc. G.s. [p. 178].

ka-u-da KN Fs 21.1. Place? Person? God?

M ***ka-u-no*** TH I.

M ***ka-wa-do-ro*** PY Ep 212.

W ***ka-wa-ra*** PY Qa 1289. A priestess.

M ***ka-wa-ro*** KN De 1287.

M ***ka-wa-ti-ro*** PY An 340.

ka-wi-jo PY An 192.14. Description of a man. Toponymic? Cf. *pa-da-je-u*, *ke-ki*, *a-no-ke-wa*.

M ***ka-wi-ta*** PY Cn 600.

M? ***ka-wo-ta-ra-***[PY Ad 686 [p. 124].

ka-za KN M 0452. Ideogram dubious. χαλκια 'bronze' (?).

ka-zo-e PY Va 1323. N.p. Adjective describing *a-ko-so-ne*: κακί-οες 'in poor condition' [pp. 37, 50].

M ***ke-da-si***[PY Jn 937.3.

M ***ke-do-jo*** PY Ua 158. G.s. [p. 260].

ke-do-si-ja KN B 804.1. Introduction to list of craftsmen preceded by]-*ke-re* = PY *ke-ro-si-ja*?

P (PY) ***ke-e*** (l.s.) PY Aa 93, etc. [pp. 70, 113, 131, 136].

M ***ke-e-pe*** MY 604. D.s. For *ke-pe-e*?

P (PY) ***ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*** PY Nn 228 [pp. 76, 77].

P/E ***ke-i-jo*** PY Na 577 [p. 77].

M ***ke-ka-to*** KN As 1517.10, etc.

ke-ke-me-na KN Uf 835, etc.; PY Ea 305, etc.

ke-ke-me-na-o PY Eb 236, etc. G.p.

ke-ke-me-no PY An 830, etc. A. dual.

ke-ke-me-no-jo PY Na 395. G.s. Designation of *damos* land: κεκειμένα 'share land' [pp. 85 f., 93, 186 ff., 212, 219, 240].

ke-ke-tu-wo-e PY An 261.1. In the heading of a list of bronze-smiths. To be completed *ka-ke*]-*we ke-ke-tu-wo-e*? For the contextual analysis see pp. 228 f. If this text records emergency postings of bronze-smiths the verbal root *ke-t-*, which emerges from the above analysis, could be linked with κηθείν· βοηθείν, κηθοί· βοηθοί, κήθευον· συνεπορεύοντο (Hesych.).

P (PY) ***ke-ki*** (I) PY An 192. N.s. Description of a man: parallel entries are *du-ma* (function), *a-no-ke-wa* (place name?), *pa-da-je-u* (ethnic), *ka-wi-jo* (?). All the identified persons are of high rank: therefore not connected with *ke-ki-de* (q.v.). If *ke-ki-jo* is the derived ethnic, the *e-qe-ta* of this place is on duty in the vicinity of *ai-ta-re-u-si* (An 657.10–11).

M ***ke-ki*** (II) PY Jn 692.6. A bronze-smith.

ke-ki-de PY An 654, etc. N.p. Description of men on coast-guard duties, qualified by toponymic adjective: 'local levies' (?) [pp. 153, 158, 306].

ke-ki-jo (I) PY An 218.12; (II) An 657.11. N.s. In (I) description of a man (cf. *a-pu-ka*, l. 15, *me-nu-a*$_2$, l. 14). Ethnic from *ke-ki* (I). *q.v.* In (II) designation of *e-qe-ta*: 'the *e-qe-ta* of *ke-ki*' (cf. *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo*) or personal name (ethnic) [pp. 142, 145].

M ***ke-ko-jo*** PY Fn 50. G.s.

M ***ke-ku-ro*** PY Mn 162.

ke-me-ri-jo PY Fn 324 rev. Context is issue of barley (12 'choenices'); parallel entries are personal names in dative. *K.* further identifies the man *ke-sa-me-no* (cf. *a-ta-o ti-nwa-si-jo*, l. 12): toponymic (?), occupation (?). Not 'amount stored away' (as *Docs.*).

M ***ke-me-u*** KN Dx 1427.

M ***ke-po*** MY Ge 602.5.

W ***ke-pu*** KN Ap 639.13.

ke-pu-ke-ne-ja PY Fn 79.1. Woman (?). Now read *ai-pu-ke-ne-ja*.

ke-ra (I) KN X 984. I.s. (?). Constructed with *de-de-me-na* (EB's reading); parallel *e-re*]-*pa-te de-de-me-na*: κερα 'horn' (?).

ke-ra (II) PY Eb 416.1, etc. A.s. Description of land-holding of priestess: γέρας [pp. 190, 199, 211].

ke-ra-a KN K 872. N.p. Final element in description of bull's-head cup: κέραα 'horns' [p. 363].

ke-ra-e PY Sa 840. First word in wheel text followed by *te-*[*mi-dwe-te*]; cf. Sa 793 *e-re-pa-to*. Should mean '(one pair) made of horn': κέραει (?), instrumental of description.

M ***ke-ra-ja*** KN V 831.2.

ke-ra-ja-pi KN Sd 0401, etc.

[*ke*]-*ra-i-ja-pi* KN Sd 0483. I.p.f.

Qualifying *o-pi-i-ja-pi* (q.v.): κεραίαφι 'made of horn' [p. 316].

W ***ke-ra-me-ja*** KN Ap 639.7.

ke-ra-me-we PY An 207. N. dual.

ke-ra-me-wi MY Oe 125. D.s.

ke-ra-me-wo PY En 467. G.s.

κεραμῆϝε, κεραμῆϝι, κεραμῆϝος 'potter' [p. 136].

ke-ra-no(-qe) KN Ch 896. Name of an ox: *Κελαινός* [p. 182].

M ***ke-ra-so*** MY Fo 101.4.

P (PY) ***ke-ra-ti-jo-jo wo-wo*** PY An 424. [pp. 77, 137].

M ***ke-ra-u-jo*** PY Eb 501.

M ***ke-re*** KN B 805.4, etc.

ke-re-a₂ PY Ta 641. A.p. σκέλεα 'legs' (of a tripod) [pp. 44, 344].

M ***ke-re-no*** PY Cn 599.

ke-re-si-jo we-ke PY Ta 641, etc. Compound adjective with word-divider, describing tripods: κρησιοϝεργής 'of Cretan workmanship' [p. 343].

ke-re-ta-o PY Cn 1287. G.s. or p. A divinity (?). A man is described as 'slave of *K*'.

E ***ke-re-te*** PY An 128. *Κρῆτες* [p. 336].

M ***ke-re-te-u*** PY Ea 304 [pp. 219 f.].

P (PY) ***ke-re-ti-wo*** PY Na 547.

M ***ke-re-u*** KN Ag 91; PY Ea 827, Eq 59 [p. 220].

P (KN)]***ke-re-wa*** KN X 282.

P (PY) ***ke-re-za*** PY Aa 762, etc. [p. 121].

ke-ri-mi-ja KN Lc 535 PY An 607. N.p.f. Class of women with textile connexions [pp. 128, 292].

ke-ro KN U 746. Word written over ideogram *172. In the Mc series the number of LBs of the similar *142 is half the number of HORNS. Each animal therefore yields 1 LB of *142: not 'beeswax' (as *Docs.*).

M ***ke-ro*** PY Jn 413.

M ***ke-ro-ke-re-we-o*** PY Sa 487. G.s.

ke-ro-si-ja PY An 261, etc. A unit or organization of bronzesmiths. Not *γερουσία* [pp. 228 f.]

ke-ro-ta KN L 785, etc. N.p. Description of cloths, contrasting with *o-re-ne-a*: not *γέροντα* (as *Docs.*) [p. 295].

ke-ro-te KN B 800 (erased); PY Jn 881. MAN[B] shows the craftsman context at KN; at PY the entry is a small allocation of bronze. A description of a craftsman: *γερόντει* improbable.

M ***ke-ro-u-te-u*** PY Cn 600.

M ***ke-ro-we*** PY Cn 4.

M ***ke-ro-wo*** PY Ae 134, etc.

ke-ro-wo-jo PY Cn 655. G.s. [pp. 126, 166].

W ***ke-sa-da-ra*** PY Ea 828, etc.

M ***ke-sa-do-ro*** KN B 798.2, etc. [p. 370].

M ***ke-sa-me-no*** PY Cn 131.

ke-se-ni-wi-jo PY Fr 1231. G.p.

ke-se]*-nu-wi-jo* PY Fr 1255. Name of a festival: *ξενϝίων* 'At the *Xenia* (Banquet)' [pp. 250, 254].

ke-se-nu-wi-ja KN Ld 573, etc. N.p. nt.

ke-se-ne-[KN Ld 649. Description of cloths: *ξένϝια* 'of foreign type' or 'for guest-gifts' [pp. 45, 292].

M ***ke-se-nu-wo*** PY Cn 286. *Ξένϝος*.

M ***ke-ta*** PY Jn 706.2.

W ***ke-ti-de-(qe)*** MY = SpM 8.168.

M ***ke-ti-ro*** KN U 172, etc.

M ***ke-to*** KN Da 1134, etc.

M ***ke-to-ro*** KN C 954.1.

ke-u-po-da KN X 442, etc.; PY Na 395, etc. At PY description of *e-sa-re-u*: *χευσπόνδας* 'libation pourer' (?). Cf. *ke-u-po-de-ja* [pp. 303, 307, 311].

ke-u-po-de-ja KN G 820. D.s. Noun qualified by *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja* and governed by *a-pu*: feminine of *ke-u-po-da* (q.v.), 'libation pourer' (?) [p. 307].

M ***ke-we-no*** PY Cn 600.

M ***ke-we-to*** PY Jn 310.8.

ke-we-to-jo PY Jn 310.11. G.s.

M ***ke-wo-no-jo*** PY An 519. G.s.

M ***ke-zo*** PY Cn 328.

M ***ke-*83-*18*** KN Dd 1425.

ki-da-pa KN So 894. Item in inventory of wheels. Type of wood (?) or place-name (?) [pp. 321, 323 f.].

ki-da-ro KN E 842.3. Category unclear. Could be divinity in dative; cf. *te-o-i*, *me-na* on same tablet.

M ***ki-do-ro*** KN X 7557.

M ***ki-du-ro*** PY An 192.

ki-e-u PY An 724.9. N.s.

ki-e-wo PY Sn 64.16. G.s. An official [p. 131] of *a-ke-re-wa* and *me-ta-pa*. Absence of glide after *i* suggests *ki(h)-* [p. 131].

M? ***ki-je-u*** KN X 94.

ki-jo-ne-u-si PY Gn 428.5. D.p. Recipients of wine. Some kind of craftsmen. See *tu-ra-te-u-si* [p. 138].

P (PY) ***ki-ka-ne-wi-jo-de*** (lat.) PY Vn 48.

M ***ki-ke-ro*** KN As 1519.8.

M ***ki-ki-jo*** KN Dw 1435+M 23.

E ***ki-ma-ra*** PY Aa 63. N.p.

ki-ma-ra-o Ad 668. G.p. [p. 114].

M ***ki-ma-ta*** KN As 1520.4.

M ***ki-ma-to*** KN V 510.2.

M ***ki-mu-ko*** KN Dv 1085.

E ***ki-ni-di-ja*** PY Aa 792, etc. N.p.

ki-ni-di-ja-o PY Ad 683. G.p. [pp. 114, 124].

W ***ki-nu-pa$_2$*** KN Ap 618.

M ***ki-nu-ra*** PY Qa 1301. *Κινύρας* [p. 372].

W ***ki-ra-(qe)*** MY = SpM 8.168.

M? ***ki-ra-pa$_3$-so*** KN X 360.

M ***ki-ra$_2$-i-jo*** KN Sc 103.

M ***ki-ri-ja-i-jo*** PY An 519.

M ***ki-ri-ja-si*** KN B 801.3.

M? ***ki-ri-jo-te*** KN Da 1163, etc. A cattle owner [p. 178].

M ***]ki-ri-ko*** KN X 1041.

M ***ki-ri-ne-to*** KN Dg 1248.

ki-ri-se-we PY An 298.2. N.p. Men's occupation, other entries *ra-pte-re* (q.v.): *χρισῆϝες* 'dyers' (?) [p. 136].

ki-ri-ta (I) KN L 785. N.p. nt. Description of cloth constructed with *e-ru-ta-ra-pi*: *χριστά* 'dyed' (?) [pp. 53, 136].

ki-ri-ta (II) KN G 820. *pa-sa ki-ri-ta* comment on entry relating to *a-pi* (*ἄλφι*, q.v.): *πᾶσα(ι) κριθα(ι)* [p. 292].

ki-ri-ta-i KN Od 5003. D.p.f. Recipients of WOOL (or MA+RU?)

ki-ri-te-wi-ja KN Fp 363; PY An 607, etc.

ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i KN E 777.

]ki-ri-te-wi-ja-pi PY Fn 1428.1. D./l.p.

A class of women collectively leasing land, entered along with religious personnel, listed also in connexion with *do-qe-ja* (q.v.): A corporation of religious women [pp. 95, 128, 199, 211, 233].

ki-ri-ti-jo-jo PY Es 650.1. G.s. Name of a month?

M ***ki-ri-wo*** KN C 911.3.

M ***ki-ri-*82-jo*** PY Jn 320 [pp. 20, 71].

E ***ki-si-wi-ja*** PY Aa 770. N.p.

ki-si-wi-ja-o PY Ad 675. G.p. [p. 114].

M ***ki-ta-ne-to*** KN As 821.1, etc.

ki-ta-no KN Ga 1530, etc. Some kind of spice delivered by various communities at Knossos.

ki-ti-je-si PY Na 520. 3rd p. subject *pu$_2$-te-re* (q.v.): *κτίενσι* 'are clearing, planting' [pp. 42, 51, 309].

ki-ti-me-na KN X 7753; PY Ea 71, etc. N. and g.s., n.p.f.

ki]-ti-me-no PY Er 880. Dual. Type of land holding connected with *te-re-ta* (q.v.) and *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* (q.v.). Contrasted with *ke-ke-me-na*: *κτιμένᾱ* 'individual holding' (lit. 'cleared land', 'assart') [pp. 83, 85, 93, 186 ff., 217].

ki-ti-ta PY An 610, etc. N.p. Class of men in rower lists; also *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* (q.v.). *κτίται* lit. 'clearers' [pp. 90, 131].

ki-to KN J 693. N.s.

ki-to-ne KN X 771.1. N.p.

ki-to-pi KN Le 787.

χιτών, *χιτῶνες*, *χιτῶ(ν)φι* 'tunic' [p. 294].

ki-to-na KN L 785. Aberrant form: syllables equatable only with accusative. An attempt to render the final consonant of the singular (?). Or = *χιτώνια* (for interchange of *-na* and *ni-ja* cf. *pa-ki-ja-na*) [p. 295].

M ***ki-u-ro*** KN De 47.2.

ki-u-ro-i PY An 1282. D.p. An item of chariot equipment of the same category as *po-qe-wi-ja-i* (q.v.): *κιύροι(h)ι* 'feed baskets' (?) [pp. 327 f.].

ki-wo-qe PY Vn 46. Final item in constructional elements of a house: *κίϝωνq^{w}e* 'and a column, pillar' [p. 366].

W ***ki-zo*** KN Ap 5748.1.

M ***ki-*18-i-so*** KN X 1428.

M ***ko-a*** KN Dx 737.

M ***ko-a$_2$-ta*** PY Jn 706.17.

M ***ko-do*** KN Uf 839.

ko-do-jo PY Ea 71. G.s. [p. 218].

M ***ko-do-ro*** PY Jn 706.17.

M ***ko-ka-ro*** PY Fg 374, etc. [p. 269].

M ***ko-ki-da*** KN Sd 0403, etc. G.s. (?) [pp. 319, 322].

M ***ko-ki-de-jo*** KN X 5465.

M ***ko-ki-jo*** PY An 657.3.

ko-ki-re-ja PY Ta 711, etc. N.s.f. Adj. describing jugs and tables. A decorative motif: *κογχιλεία* 'decorated with shell pattern' [p. 341].

M ***ko-ku*** KN Dl 1270.

M ***ko-ku-ro*** KN B 803.1.

M ***ko-ma-do-ro*** PY Jn 725.8.

M ***ko-ma-ta*** MY Fo 101.6.

M ***ko-ma-we*** PY An 519.

ko-ma-we-to KN Dw 931, etc. G.s.

ko-ma-we-te KN C 913, etc. D.s. [pp. 60, 178].

ko-ma-we-te-ja PY Tn 316. N.s.f. Final element of a marginal comment on a gold cup: *κομαϝεντεία* 'decorated with leafy [ ]' [pp. 267, 362 f.].

M]***ko-me-no*** KN B 799. r. 5.

M ***ko-ne-wa-ta*** PY Jn 431.

M ***ko-ni-da-jo*** KN As 1516.7.

P (PY) ***ko-ni-ja*** An 615.4.

ko-ni-jo PY An 610.14. N.p.m. Description of large contingent of rowers, after the personal contingents and preceding *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*: 'men of the *κοινόν* (?). But cf. *ko-ni-ja* An 615, which is apparently a place-name. Not '(126 lengths of) ship's rope' (*Docs.*).

ko-ni-ti-ja-ja PY Va 879. Apparently items of carpentry, further designated *pe-ju-ka* (q.v.).

ko-no (I) KN F 953; MY Ge 602.

ko-i-no MY Ge 606. A spice: *σχοῖνος* 'ginger grass' [pp. 237, 272].

ko-no (II) PY Eq 213. Word qualifying *o-ro-jo* (q.v.) parallel with place-name in genitive, with biggest entry: *κοινόν* 'belonging to the commune' (?) [pp. 89, 218].

ko-no-ni-pi KN K 434; PY Ta 714. I.p.f. Elements in decoration or construction of jugs and chairs. Hardly = *κανονί(δ)φι* 'cross-bars' [p. 351].

M ***ko-no-pu$_2$-du-ro-(qe)*** MY Au 102.

P (KN) ***ko-no-so*** KN L 641, etc. *Κνωσός*.

E ***ko-no-si-jo/-ja*** KN V 56, etc. [p. 323].

M ***ko-pa-wi-jo*** PY Fn 324.

M ***ko-pe-re-u*** KN As 821.2, etc.

ko-pe-re-wo PY Es 644. G.s.

ko-pe-re-we KN X 5486. D.s. [p. 129].

W ***ko-pi*** KN Ap 639.1.

W ***ko-pi-na*** PY Ep 617.

ko-pu-ra KN Lc 5998. Category unclear. Place name, ethnic, or textile specialists? Not woman's name.

ko-re-te KN Ch 902, etc.; PY Jn 829, etc.

ko-re-te-re PY Jn 829. N.p.

ko-re-te-ri PY On 300. D.s. Official in each of the dependent localities at Pylos and Knossos. No evidence of military functions: *χωρητήρ* (?) 'district headman'. See *po-ro-ko-re-te* [pp. 88, 143, 282 f., 285, 288, 311, 374 f.].

ko-re-te-ri-jo PY An 830. Adj. applied to *ke-ke-me-nǫ* land: belonging to the *ko-re-te* (at *a-te-re-wi-ja*) [p. 88].

M ***ko-re-wo*** KN L 1568.2.

ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na PY Un 267; MY Ge 605. N.p.

ko-ri-ja-da-na MY Ge 605.

ko-ri-ja-do-no KN Ga 415, etc. N.s.

A spice: *κορίαδνα*, *κορίαδνον* (cf. *κορίαννα*, *κορίανδρον*, etc.) [pp. 260, 272, 301, 311, 313].

P (PY) ***ko-ri-to*** PY Ad 921 [pp. 113, 311].

E ***ko-ri-si-jo*** PY An 207, etc. District name derived from *ko-ri-to* (?) [pp. 42, 136].

M ***ko-ro*** (I) KN De 1152; PY Cn 131.

ko-ro (II) PY Eq 146.2. First *te-re-ta* entry. Probably man's name and so word identical with preceding. Not *χώρων* 'of the lands' (*Docs.*).

P (PY) ***ko-ro-du-wo*** PY Na 1041 [p. 222]. Now read *ko-ro-jo-wo-wo*.

ko-ro-ja-ne KN Fh 382. Category unclear.

M ***ko-ro-ja-ta*** PY Ae 72.

P (PY) ***ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja*** PY Mn 456 [pp. 77, 305].

E? ***ko-ro-ki-ja*** PY Aa 354, etc. N.p.

ko-ro-ki-ja-o PY Ad 680. G.p. [pp. 114, 124].

E ***ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*** PY An 656, etc. *Κροκυλαῖοι* [pp. 153, 156 f., 306].

ko-ro-no-we-sa PY Ta 711. N.s.f. Adj. describing a jug, conjoined with *a-mo-te-wi-ja*. Cannot be from *ā*-noun: *κλονόϝεσσα* 'decorated with (chariot) and throng of soldiers' [p. 341].

M ***ko-ro-sa-no*** KN Vc 53.

ko-ro-to MY Oe 106. Further determination of a recipient of wool: parallel *tu-ka-te-re*. Hardly *χρωστόν* or *κλωστόν* (as *Docs.*) [pp. 53, 298].

ko-ro-ta$_2$ KN L 598, etc. N.p. nt. Description of cloths probably relating to colour [p. 298].

M ***ko-ro-tu-no*** PY Jn 478.

M ***ko-ro-ze-ka*** PY An 192.

ko-ru KN G 5670, S 8100. N.s.

ko-ru-to PY Sh 740, etc. G.s.

ko-ru-pi PY Ta 642. I.p.

κόρυς, *κόρυθος*, *κόρυ(θ)φι* 'helmet' [pp. 42, 46, 329, 332, 346].

M ***ko-ru-da-ro-jo*** PY Ae 26. G.s.

M ***ko-ru-no*** PY Cn 131 [p. 166].

M ***ko-ru-ta-ta*** PY Cn 254.

M ***ko-ru-to*** KN Dx 1310.

ko-ru-we-ja KN L 472. N.p. nt. May be a description of cloths or the suppliers: *κορϝεια* 'children's' (*Docs.*) or feminine ethnic (cf. *do-ti-ja* also with CLOTH+PU). Or identical with *ko-u-re-ja* (?).

M ***ko-sa-ma-ne*** PY An 615.16.

M ***ko-sa-ma-to*** KN Ga 685, etc.

M ***ko-si-no*** KN B 806.2.

M ***ko-so*** KN As 40.

W? ***ko-so-jo*** KN Ap 637.2.

M ***ko-so-ne*** PY Cn 45. D.s.

ko-so-u-to KN Ch 900. Name of an ox: *Ξοῦθος* [p. 182].

M ***ko-ta-wo*** PY Jn 431.

ko-te-re PY Xn 1127.1.

ko-te-ri-ja PY Ta 709. N.p. Item of hearth furniture listed among the tools: *χω(σ)τηρια* 'shovels' (?). Hardly 'hammers' or 'chisels' [pp. 29, 343].

M ***ko-te-u*** KN Do 1054.

M ***ko-ti*** KN De 1084.

M ***ko-ti-ro*** KN X 5589.

ko-to-na PY Ea 71, etc. N. and g.s., n. and a.p.

ko-to-i-na KN Uf 1031, etc.

ko-to-na-o PY Eb 236.

ko-to-no PY Eo 278, etc. Dual. Designation of a piece of land: *κτοίνα* [pp. 26, 83, 143, 186 ff., 212, 375].

ko-to-ne-ta PY Eb 901. N.p. *κτοινέται* '*κτοίνα*-holders' [pp. 212f.].

ko-to-ne-we PY Be 995. N.p. A class of MAN^B (craftsmen). Not identical with *ko-to-ne-ta* [p. 138].

ko-to-no-o-ko PY Ep 369, etc.

ko-to-no-ko PY Eo 173. N.s. and p. Designation of *te-re-ta* class in connexion with holdings of *ke-ke-me-na* land: *κτοινόοχος*

[pp. 41, 85, 89, 190 f., 201, 212, 213].

M ***ko-to-ro*** KN C 912.

M ***ko-to-wa***[PY Jn 601.

M ***ko-tu-ro***$_2$ PY Cn 436, etc. [p. 203].

P (PY) ***ko-tu-we*** PY An 615, etc. L.s. *ko-tu-wo* PY Eq 213. G.s. [pp. 71, 89, 160].

ko-u-ra KN Lc 532, etc.. N.p. nt. Word describing light-weight cloths [p. 291].

ko-u-re-ja KN Ap 694, Lc 581. Adj. describing women and cloths. A class of specialists; cf. *ko-u-ra* and *ko-ru-we-ja*.

ko-wa KN Ag 1654, etc.; PY Aa 60, etc. N.s. and p. κόρϝα(ι) 'girl(s)'.

M ***ko-wa-to*** PY Cn 328.

ko-wi-ro-wo-ko KN B 101. N. Class of craftsmen listed before *ai-te-re*. If latter = 'inlayers', the *k.* may be those who hollow out the pattern: κοϝιλοϝοργός [p. 137].

ko-wo (I) KN Ag 87, etc.; PY Aa 60, etc.; MY Oe 121. N.s. and p. κόρϝος 'boy, youth' [pp. 45, 300].

M ***ko-za-ro*** PY Jn 431.

M ***ku-da-jo*** KN V 1004.

M ***ku-da-ma-ro*** PY Es 644.13, etc.

P (KN) ***ku-do-ni-ja, ku-do-ni-ja-de*** (lat.) KN C 59, etc. Κυδωνία [p. 182].

M ***ku-ja-ro*** KN X 44, etc.

M ***ku-jo*** KN U 0478.17, etc.

M ***ku-ka*** MY Oe 121.1.

M ***ku-ka-da-ro*** KN Uf 836.

M ***ku-ka-no*** KN Dc 1337.

M ***ku-ka-ra-so*** PY Cn 643, etc. [p. 166].

M ***ku-ka-ro*** KN V 653.3, etc. [p. 337].

M ***ku-ka-so*** KN V 429.2, etc.

M ***ku-ke-re-u*** PY Jn 845.12 [p. 321].

M ***ku-ke-so*** KN Dd 1306.

M ***ku-ke-to*** KN Dw 1392.

ku-mi-no MY Ge 602, etc. N.s. *ku-mi-na* Ge 605. N.p. A spice: κύμινον 'cumin' [p. 272].

M ***ku-mi-so*** KN X 459, etc.

ku-na-ja PY Ta 711. N.s.f. Item in description of jug after *wa-na-se-wi-ja*: γυναῖα 'decorated with (Wanassa and) women' [pp. 43, 341, 353 f.].

ku-na-ke-ta-i PY Na 248. D.p. Recipients of SA: κυναγέται(h)ι 'huntsmen'. For hunting grounds in the possession of Artemis see F. Poulsen, *Delphische Studien*, p. 25; Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, pp. 58, 63 [p. 306].

M ***ku-ne-u*** KN Dw 1396, etc.

M ***ku-pa-nu-we-to*** KN As 1517.8.

ku-pa-ri-se-ja PY Sa 488. N.p. nt. Description of wheels: κυπαρίσσεια 'of cypress' [pp. 71, 326].

P (PY) [***ku***]-***pa-ri-so*** PY Na 514 [p. 73].

E ***ku-pa-ri-si-jo*** PY An 657. Κυπαρίσσιοι [pp. 153, 159].

ku-pa-ro KN G 519.

ku-pa-ro$_2$ PY Un 249, etc. A spice: κύπαρι̯ος (cf. κύπειρος, etc.) [p. 260].

M ***ku-pe-re-te*** KN B 799 r.1.

M ***ku-pe-se-ro*** KN Og 0467.2.

M ***ku-pe-te-jo*** KN X 974.

ku-pi-ri-jo KN Fh 347, etc.; PY Un 443. N.s. Name of a spice: κύπριος (cf. κύπρος 'henna', κύπρινον 'oil made from k.') [p. 260].

M ***ku-pi-ri-jo*** PY Cn 131 [p. 165].

M ***ku-ra-no*** KN As 1517.6.

E ***ku-re-we*** PY An 519, etc. [pp. 153, 158, 304].

ku-ri-na-ze-ja PY Fn 187. Recipient of rations: woman's name?

M ***ku-ri-sa-to*** KN X 0494, etc. [p. 132].

M ***ku-ro-nu-we-to*** KN As 1517.8.

M ***ku-ro***$_2$ KN U 0478.17, etc.

ku-ro$_2$*-jo* KN B 822.1. G.s.

M ***ku-ru-ka*** KN Vc 5510.

M ***ku-ru-me-ko-jo*** KN X 5502.

M ***ku-ru-me-ni-jo*** KN Dw 1173. A cattle 'owner', or possessive adjective; cf. Κλυμενός [p. 178].

M ***ku-ru-me-no*** KN Sc 236, etc.

ku-ru-me-no-jo PY An 654. G.s. [pp. 146, 154].

M ***ku-ru-ni-ta*** KN X 1525.

M ***ku-ru-no-jo*** PY Ea 801. G.s.

ku-ru-so KN K 872; PY Ta 714, etc. I.s.
ku-ru-so-jo PY Ae 303. G.s.
ku-ru-sa-pi PY Ta 707, etc. I.p.
Both noun and adjective. χρυσῷ, χρυσοῖο, χρυσᾶφι 'gold, golden' [pp. 26, 127, 338, 358].
ku-ru-so-wo-ko PY An 207.10. N.p. χρυσοϝοργοί 'gold-smiths' [pp. 136, 229].
ku-ru-su-pa$_3$ KN K 740. N.s. Name of a three-legged vessel [p. 335].
M ***ku-sa-me-ni-jo*** PY An 218 [p. 145].
M ***ku-so*** PY Eb 893.1, etc.
M ***ku-so-no*** PY Ae 8 [pp. 126, 138].
ku-su KN L 698. Preposition: ξύν [pp. 19, 38, 54].
ku-su-pa KN Fh 367. N.s. nt.
ku-su-pa-ta KN Dl 699. N.p. nt. ξύμπαν, ξύμπαντα 'sum total' [pp. 19, 38, 54].
ku-su-to-ro-pa$_2$ KN B 817, etc.; PY Ec 411, etc. ξυ(ν)στροφά 'global sum' [pp. 39, 54, 218].
M ***ku-ta-i-jo*** KN As 1517.7.
M ***ku-ta-si-jo*** KN Dw 1237, etc.
P (KN) ***ku-ta-to, ku-ta-i-to*** KN X 80, etc. [p. 178].
E ***ku-te-ra$_3$*** PY Aa 506, etc. N.p.
ku-te-ra-o PY Ad 390, etc. G.p. [p. 114].
P (PY) ***ku-te-re-u-pi*** PY An 607, Na 296. L.p. [p. 128].
M ***ku-te-ro*** KN B 822.
ku-te-se-ja PY Ta 713, etc. N.s.f.
ku-te-se-jo PY Ta 707, etc. N.s., i.p.
ku-te-ta-jo PY Ta 707. Misspelling. Description of tables. κυτεσεία 'ebony' [pp. 338, 346, 349].
ku-te-so PY Ta 707. I.s. of description: κυτέσῳ [pp. 41, 349].
M ***ku-to*** KN As 1516.20.
W ***ku-tu-pa$_2$-no*** KN Ap 639.9.
ku-wa-ni-jo PY Ta 714. I.p.m. Adj. describing *po-ni-ki-pi*: κυανίοις 'of cyanus'.
ku-wa-no PY Ta 642, etc. I.s. After *a-ja-me-na*: κυάνῳ 'with cyanus'. Luvian 'loan-word' [pp. 26, 338 f.].
M ***ku-*63-so*** PY En 74, etc.
M ***ma-da-ro*** KN Db 1368.
M ***ma-du-ro*** PY Cn 655.18.
M ***ma-di*** KN As 603.2, etc.
M ***ma-di-qo*** KN B 806.4, etc.
M ***]ma-ja-ro*** KN B 806.
ma-jo KN X 5689. Category unclear.
M ***ma-ka-ta*** PY Jn 725.4.
M ***ma-ka-wo*** PY Jn 658.3.
M ***ma-ke-ra*** KN V 831.3.
M ***ma-ka-re-mo*** [KN X 154.2.
M ***ma-ki*** KN X 107.
W ***ma-ku*** KN Ap 639.3.
M ***ma-mi-di-zo*** KN C 911.1, etc.
M ***ma-na-je-u*** KN V 958.
ma-na-sa PY Tn 316. A divinity [p. 263].
M ***ma-na-si-we-ko*** PY Jn 431.
M ***ma-na-so*** KN Da 5359.
M ***ma-ni-ko*** PY Cn 1287.
W ***ma-no*** MY Fo 101.2, SpM 8.168
M ***ma-no-u-ro*** PY Jn 692.5.
M ***ma-ra*** KN X 7662, etc. PY Cn 328, etc. [p. 165].
ma-ra-ku. Now read *ma-ra-pi* (q.v.).
W ***ma-ra-me-na*** PY Vn 1191.6.
E ***ma-ra-ne-ni-jo*** PY Ma 393 [pp. 69, 304].
P (PY) ***ma-ra-ne-nu-we*** PY An 610. [p. 69].
M ***ma-ra-ni-jo*** PY Cn 643.3, etc. [p. 166].
ma-ra-pi PY Cn 418.3. Formerly read *ma-ra-ku* (q.v.). In colour specifications of an ox: *ma-ra-pi pe-ko* = μάλαφι πέρκος 'dark on the underbelly' (see *LSJ* sub vocc. μάλη, περκάζω).
M ***ma-ra-pi-jo*** KN Dw 1296.
M ***ma-ra-si-jo*** PY An 1281, Jn 706 [p. 227].
M ***ma-ra-ta*** PY Jn 750.5.
M ***ma-ra-te-u*** PY An 218, etc. [pp. 142, 145, 307].
ma-ra-te-we PY Na 245. Class of men designated *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* excused from deliveries. An ethnic (?) [p. 307].
P (PY) ***ma-ra-ti-sa*** PY An 830 [p. 133].
ma-ra-tu-wo MY Ge 602, etc. N.s. A spice: μάραθϝον 'fennel' [p. 272].

W ***ma-ra$_3$-wa*** PY Eb 866, etc.
M? W? ***ma-re-ku-na*** PY En 74, etc.
M ***ma-re-u*** PY An 661.10,
ma-re-wo PY An 657.2. G.s.
M ***ma-ṛe-u-ro*** PY Jn 725.19.
P (KN) ***ma-ri*** KN Dl 947, etc. [p. 178].
M]***ma-ri-jo*** KN As 604.2.
M ***ma-ri-ne-we*** KN X 994.
M ***ma-ri-ta*** PY Jn 832.5.
M ***ma-ri-ti-wi-jo*** KN X 1461, etc. [p. 229].
P (PY) ***ma-ro*** PY Cn 40, etc.
ma-ro-pi PY Cn 40, etc. L.p. [p. 164].
M ***ma-ro*** KN De 1148, etc.
ma-ro-ne KN Fh 347. D.s.
P (KN) ***ma-sa, ma-sa-de*** (lat.) KN Dw 42, etc. [p. 128].
P (PY) ***ma-se-de*** PY Cc 1285. Parallel with *e-re-de* (q.v.).
M? ***ma-se-wi-o*** KN Ws 1701.
M ***ma-si-dwo*** KN X 360.
P (PY) ***ma-so***[PY Vn 48.1. Perhaps lative; cf. *ma-se-de*.
M ***ma-so-(qe)*** KN F 854.2.
P (KN) ***ma-so-mo*** KN Dx 963 [p. 178].
M ***ma-so-ni-jo*** PY Vn 851.13.
P (PY) ***ma-ta a-ka-re-u-te*** PY Cn 4.9. A double place-name [p. 76].
M ***ma-ta-i*** PY An 172.
M ***ma-ta-ko*** PY Jn 845.11.
M ***ma-ta-wo*** PY Ae 27.
ma-te PY An 607. N.s.
ma-te-re PY Fr 1202. D.s.
μάτηρ, ματρεί: latter, in *Ματρεὶ Θείᾳ* [pp. 128, 248, 257].
M ***ma-ti-jo*** KN X 1024.1.
M ***ma-ti-ko*** KN Vc 295, etc.
P (PY) ***ma-to-ro-pu-ro*** PY Cn 595, Mn 1412 [pp. 76, 172].
M? ***ma-tu-we*** KN L 1568.
M ***ma-u-ti-jo*** PY Cn 40.
M ***ma-wa-si-jo*** PY Jn 431.
W ***ma-zi*** or ***ma-zu*** PY En 74, etc.
M ***me-de-i-jo*** KN B 800.4.
P (PY) ***me-ka-o wo-wo*** PY Na 571 [p. 77].
me-ki-ta KN X 537. Context unclear. Reading possibly *me-ki-ṛa* [*KT* iii].
P (PY) ***me-ki-to-de***[PY Fr 1244. A destination of an offering. Cf. *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta*.
P (PY) ***me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta*** PY Ab 575, Ad 955. A double place-name: '*me-ki-to* in *ki-ri-ta*'. Cf. *me-ki-to-de* [p. 123].
me-na KN Fs 3, Gg 717, E 842, X 5927. D.s.f. A recipient of offerings: *Μήνᾳ* 'the Moon' [pp. 234, 302].
me-ni-jo PY Wa 114. Monthly rations (?) [p. 375].
me-no KN Fp 1, etc.; PY Fr 1224, etc. G.s. Date: *μην(ν)ός* 'in the month . . .' [pp. 58, 235, 248].
me-no-e-ja PY Ta 642. N.s.f. Adj. describing a table. Probably name of material rather than 'crescent-shaped' [p. 345].
P (PY) ***me-nu-a$_2$*** PY An 218, etc. [pp. 144, 372].
M ***me-nu-wa*** KN V 60.3, etc. [pp. 28, 41].
M ***me-ra-to*** PY Jn 832. Bronze-smith.
me-re-ti-ri-ja PY Aa 62. N.p.f.
me-re-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 789. Alternative spelling.
me-re-ti-ra$_2$-[*o* PY Ad 308. G.p.f. A class of women: ethnic or occupational designation. *Docs.* *μελέτριαι* 'corngrinders', but verbal root *mel* not found in Greek [p. 115].
M ***me-re-u*** PY Ep 539.
me-re-u-ro PY Un 718. *μέλευρον* 'flour' (cf. *μάλευρον* Alcaeus, etc. [p. 216].
me-ri KN Gg 702, etc. N.s.
me-ri-to PY Un 718. G.s.
μέλι, μέλιτος 'honey' [pp. 215 f., 238].
me-ri-da-ma-te PY An 39, etc. See *du-ma* [pp. 99, 135, 229, 232].
me-ri-du-ma-te PY An 39.2, etc. N.p.
me-ri-du-ma-ṣị PY Fn 867.6. D.p See *du-ma*.
M ***ṃe-ri-ka-no*** KN U 0478.8.
me-ri-te-wo PY Ea 771, etc. G.s. or p. Occupational designation of holder of land on the estate of the Lawagetas: *μελι-τῆϝος* 'honey-man' (?) [p. 219].

me-ri-ṭi-jo PY Wr 1360 rev. Man's name (?) [p. 377].

M ***me-ri-wa-ta*** KN Dw 1255.

P (PY) ***me-sa-po*** PY Na 606.

me-sa-ta KN L 735, etc. N.p. nt.

me-sa-to KN Wb 1714, etc. Word applying to (i) cloths and (ii) *146: *μέσσατα* 'of medium quality' (?) [pp. 323, 374].

W ***me-ta-ka-wa*** PY An 1281. Temple functionary (?) [p. 226].

me-ta-ke-ku-me-na KN Sf 0428. N.s.f. Participle describing chariot body. Syllables fit only *μετακεχυμένα*: 're-furbished' (?) [p. 52].

me-ta-ki-ti-ta PY An 610. N.p.m. A class of men figuring as rowers along with *ki-ti-ta* (q.v.): *μετακτί(σ)ται* 'transported population' (?) [pp. 90, 131].

M ***me-ta-no*** PY Cn 719.3.

me-ta-no-re KN Uf 1522. D.s.

P (PY) ***me-ta-pa*** PY Aa 752, etc.

me-ta-pa-de (lat.) PY Vn 20. *Μέταπα* [pp. 65, 74, 113, 129, 136, 142, 164, 172].

E ***me-ta-pi-jo*** PY An 654 [pp. 153, 158].

me-ta-(qe) PY An 519, etc. Preposition with dative *pe-i* (q.v.): *μετά* [pp. 54, 151].

M]***me-ta-ra-wo*** KN B 799 r. 77.

M ***me-ta-ri-ko-wo*** KN Vc 291.

me-ta-se-we PY Vn 46. N.p.m. Items of carpentry: †*μεταροσῆϝες* (?) [p. 367].

P (PY) ***me-te-to*** PY Mn 456.1.

me-te-to-de (lat.) PY An 35 [pp. 160, 305].

M ***me-te-we*** PY Cn 131. D.s.

M ***me-ti-ja-no*** PY Ub 1318. N.s.

me-ti-ja-no-ro PY Vn 1191.1. G.s.

M ***me-to-qe-u*** PY An 192.

M ***me-to-re*** PY Na 924; KN Og 0467.2 [p. 307].

me-tu-ra PY Ae 8, etc. A.p. Object of verb *su-ra-se* (q.v.), the subject being described as *tu-ra-te-u* (q.v.) and the *m.* as belonging to *du-ni-jo*. In Ae 264 the subject of *su-ra-se* is described as *ai-ki-pa-ta su-ra-te* [p. 126].

me-tu-wo PY Fr 1202. Possibly one word *me-tu-wo-ne-wo*. G.s. or g.p. Indication of time: *μέθυος, μεθύων (νέϝων)* 'At the Festival of the New Wine' [pp. 48, 248, 243].

me-u-jo KN Ak 612, etc. N.s.m. and f.

me-wi-jo KN Ak 627, etc.; PY Ta 641. Alternative spelling.

me-u-jo-e KN Ak 509 bis, etc. N. dual and p., m. and f.

me-wi-jo-e KN Ak 824, etc. Alternative spelling.

me-u-jo-a$_2$ PY Sh 733, etc. N.p. nt. *μεϝίων, μεϝίο(h)ϵ, μεϝίο(h)α* 'smaller' (cf. *μείων*) [pp. 49, 329, 344].

M? ***me-wi*** PY Sn 64 [pp. 144, 146].

M]***me-wi-jo*** PY Cn 202.

me-wi-jo See *me-u-jo-a*$_2$.

me-wi-te-jo PY Mn 11. Category unclear. Man's name?

M ***me-wo-ni-jo*** KN U 0478.2.

me-za-na PY Cn 3, Sh 736. G. and d.s.f. Recipient of offering and occupier of *wo-ke* (q.v.). A divinity (?): *Μέλαινα* (see *me-za-ne*) [pp. 175, 330].

M ***me-za-ne*** PY Fn 50. D.s. A recipient of barley. Man's name [p. 175].

M ***me-za-wo*** KN Sc 222.

me-za-wo-ni PY Un 138. D.s. [p. 47].

me-zo KN Ak 612, etc. N.s.m. and f.

me-zo-e KN Ak 611, etc.; PY Ta 641. N. dual nt., n. dual and p.m. and f.

me-zo-a$_2$ PY Sh 740, etc. N.p. nt. *μέζων, μέζο(h)ϵ, μέζο(h)ϵς, μέζο(h)α* [pp. 37, 44, 49, 329, 344].

M ***me-*86-ta*** KN Ce 61.1

M ***mi-ja-ra-ro*** KN As 1516.5.

mi-ja-ro KN L 1568. N.s. nt. Description of textile: *μιαρόν* 'blood-red' [pp. 291, 296].

W? ***mi-jo-pa***$_2$ PY Fn 50.12, etc. G.s. [p. 226].

M ***mi-ka-ri-jo*** PY Cn 600, etc. [p. 285].
mi-ka-ta PY An 39, etc. N.s. and p.m. Probably a type of temple functionary [pp. 135, 202, 229, 336].
M ***mi-ka-ta*** KN Vc 64.
M ***mi-ka-to*** KN Vc 67.
M ***mi-ko-no*** PY An 209.
M ***mi-ni-so*** KN Uf 1522.4.
mi-ra$_3$ PY Ta 715. G.s. Material of which a table is made: (σ)μίλας 'yew' (?); cf. (σ)μῖλαξ, (σ)μῖλος (so *Docs.*) [p. 338].
W ***mi-ra*** KN X 748.2, etc.
E ***mi-ra-ti-ja*** PY Aa 798.
mi-ra-ti-ja-o G.p. PY Ad 380 [pp. 113 f.].
M ***mi-ru-ro*** KN Ap 482.3, etc. [p. 183].
M ***mi-sa-ra-jo*** KN F 841.
mi-ta MY Ge 602, etc. A spice μίνθα [p. 271 f.].
M ***mi-ta-qo*** KN Dx 1292.
M ***mi-ti*** KN De 463.
mi-to-we-sa KN Sd 0407, etc. N. and p.f.
mi-to-we-sa-e KN Sd 0404. Apparently plural.
Description of chariot bodies: μιλτόρεσσα(ι) 'painted red' [pp. 47, 315].
M ***mo-da*** KN V 7525, etc.
M ***mo-i-da*** MY An 102.8.
M ***mo-ni-ja-ro*** KN X 1498.
M ***mo-ni-ko*** KN Da 1288.
M ***mo-qo-so*** KN X 1497.
mo-qo-so-jo PY Sa 774. G.s. [p. 325].
M ***mo-re*** KN Dw 1214.
M ***mo-re-u*** PY Jn 389, etc.
M ***mo-ri-wo*** PY Cn 1287.
mo-ri-wo-do KN Og 1527. A substance weighed in small quantities. Probably some kind of spice. Not 'lead' (*Docs.*) [pp. 41, 289].
P (PY) ***mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi*** PY La 635.
mo-ro-pa$_3$ KN C 1632; PY An 519, etc. N.s. m. A functionary of high rank: μοιρόπας or μορόπας 'possessor of a μόρος, piece of cult land' (?). For *pa$_3$* = *kṷa* see *e-pa$_3$-na-qe*. Neither phonology nor meaning favours the equation with *brahman* [pp. 142, 143 f., 288].
M ***mo-ro-qo-ro*** PY Ea 439, etc.
mo-ro-qo-ro-jo PY Ea 782, etc. G.s. [p. 218].
M ***mu-da*** KN Dx 1331.
mu-jo-me-no PY Un 2.1. N.s.m. Participle agreeing with *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* (q.v.) used in offering context: μνιόμενος [pp. 52, 258].
M ***mu-ko*** KN X 443, etc.
P (PY) ***mu-ta-pi*** PY An 5, Cn 4.
mṵ-te-ri-ja PY Un 443. New reading. Name of a festival: μυστήρια (cf. *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*).
M ***mu-te-we*** PY Un 1318.
W ***mu-ti*** PY Eb 858.1.
M? ?]***mu-ti-ja*** KN X 430.
M ***mu-ti-ri*** PY Ep 212.
M ***mu-ti-ri-ko*** PY Cn 1287. A slave of *Diwia*.
M ***mu-to-na*** PY An 519 [p. 71].
P PY ***mu-to-wo-ti*** PY Eb 495. Place-name?

W ***na-e-ra-ja*** KN L 1568.3.
M ***na-e-si-jo*** KN V 147.3, etc.
P (PY) ***na-i-se-wi-jo*** PY Jn 692; PY Mn 1408. Order of entry: *ro-o-wa*, *po-ra-pi*, *na-i-se-wi-jo*, *e-na-*[*po-ro*].
M ***na-ma-ru-ko*** PY Cn 1287.
P (PY) ***na-pe-re-wa*** PY Cn 868.4.
M ***na-pu-ti-jo*** KN Db 1232, etc.
M ***na-ru*** KN Db 1304.
M ***na-si-jo*** KN B 800.3.
M ***na-su-to*** MY Au 102.2.
M ***na-su-wo*** KN B 799 r. 5.
W? ***na-ta-ra-ma*** MY Fo 101.6.
na-u-do-mo KN U 736; PY Na 568, Vn 865. N.p. ναυδόμοι 'ship-builders' [pp. 138, 307, 311].
M ***na-u-si-ke-re-***[*we*?] KN X 214.
M ***na-wa-to*** PY Jn 415.
na-wi-jo PY Jn 829. A.s.m. Description of *ka-ko* (q.v.): νάϝιον 'temple', rather than 'ships' [pp. 88, 283].
M ***na-wi-ro*** KN Db 1507.

M/E ***ne-da-wa-ta*** PY Jo 438.
ne-da-wa-ta-o PY An 657. G.s. [pp. 159, 288].
P (PY) ***ne-do-wo-ta-de*** (lat.) PY An 661 [pp. 154, 157].
M ***ne-e-ra-wo*** PY Fn 79 [p. 80].
M ***ne-ka-ta-ta*** PY Vn 851.11.
ne-ki-ri-de KN L 1568 (also on unpublished sealing). N.p.f.
ne-ki-ri-si KN Od 687. D.p. Class of women with cloth connexions; parallel with *a-ze-ti-*γi_2*-ja* [p. 297].
M ***ne-me-ta-wo*** PY Cn 4.
M ***ne-o-ta*** KN As 1516.13.
M ***ne-o-to*** KN As 1519.3.
ne-pa*$_2$*-sa-pi KN K 872. I.p. Decoration on bull's-head vessel and Vapheio cup [p. 363].
M ***ne-pa*$_2$*-sa-ta*** PY Fn 324.
M ***ne-qe-u*** PY Jn 725.14, etc.
ne-qe-wo PY Eb 833. G.s. [pp. 144, 372].
M ***ne-ri-to*** PY Cn 131.
M ***ne-ri-wa-to*** KN Og 0467.3.
P (PY) ***ne-se-e-we*** PY Cn 868.2.
M ***ne-ti-ja-no*** KN Np 273, etc.
ne-ti-ja-no-re PY Cn 40. D.s. [p. 80].
E ***ne-we-wi-ja*** PY Aa 695, etc. N.p.
ne-we-wi-ja-o Ad 357. G.p. [p. 144].
ne-wo (I) KN Fh 362, Od 689, X 658; MY Oe 129. N.s.
ne-wo-jo KN X 5506. G.s.
ne-wa KN So 0430, etc.; MY Oe 111; PY Sa 843, etc. N.p. nt. Description of oil, wool, etc., opposed to *pe-ru-si-nwa*. In KN X 658 followed by *za-we-*[*te* (q.v.): *νέϝον*, *νέϝα* 'new'.
P (PY) ***ne-wo*** (II) PY An 656 [pp. 153, 157].
P (PY) ***ne-wo-ki-to*** PY An 218, etc. [pp. 76, 152, 154, 158].
P (PY) ***ne-wo-pe-o*** PY Aa 786, etc. [pp. 34, 113, 120, 177, 239].
M ***no-da-ro*** KN As 609.3, etc.
M ***no-di-zo*** Ti III.
M ***no-e-u*** PY Jn 431.
no-pe-ne-o[PY Xb 1419.
***no-pe-re-a*$_2$ PY Sa 790, etc. N.p. nt.
no-pe-re-e PY Sa 794. N. dual nt. Adjective applied to wheels. Probably not *νωφελέ(h)α* 'useless' [pp. 50, 325, 326].
P (PY) ***no-ri-wo-ko*** PY Aa 98.
no-ri-wo-ko-jo PY Ad 669. G.s. [p. 113].
M ***no-sa-ro*** KN Dx 6059.
M ***no-si-ro*** KN As 603.1.
M ***nu-to*** KN Ap 482.3.
nu-wa-ja L 647. N.s.f. Adj. applied to cloths.

***o-a*$_2$ PY Vn 20. Introductory particle. If it were a defective spelling for *o-da-a*$_2$ the text would be one (not the first) of a set. This is sole text written by hand 25 [pp. 57, 369].
o-a-ke-re-se, see *a-ke-re-se* [p. 143].
o-a-po-te KN L 641. Hardly *ἄπωθεν* 'from afar' (*Docs.*) [pp. 57, 299].
***o-da-a*$_2$ PY An 218, etc. Itemizing word introducing entries after the first. Constant use of *a*$_2$ suggests aspirate: *Docs.* *ὧδα ἄρ* [pp. 57, 145, 375].
M ***o-da-ra-o*** KN X 5913.
o-da-sa-[***to***] PY Wa 917. Particle +3rd s. aor. middle: *ὁ* (*ὡς*) *δάσσατο* 'he allotted' [pp. 174, 375].
o-da-**87-ta KN So 0430. N.p. nt.
o-da-ke-we-ta KN So 0446.
o-da-ku-we-ta KN L 870, So 0435.
o-da-tu-we-ta KN So 894. Alternative spellings. Description of wooden wheels, contrasting with *te-mi-dwe-ta* (q.v.). Probably some kind of tire [pp. 20, 321].
o-de-ka-sa-to, see *de-ka-sa-to*.
o-di-do-si, see *di-do-si*.
o-do-ke, see *do-ke*.
M ***o-du-pa*$_3$*-ro*** PY An 261.
P (KN) ***o-du-ru-we*** (l.), ***o-du-ru-wo*** (g. KN Ch 902 [p. 182].
P/E (KN) ***o-du-ru-wi-jo*** KN Ch 902; TH I [pp. 182, 275].
E ***o-du-ru-wi-ja*** KN Ai 982.
P (KN) ***o-ja-de*** KN Fs 9.
o-ka (I) PY An 519, etc. N.s.f. Word

describing military command or district: *ὀρχά* = *ἀρχή* (?). Not *ὁλκάς* 'freighter' [pp. 142, 151, 154, 306].

o-ka (II) PY Ub 1318. In a return relating to skins. Not same as preceding.

M ***o-ka*** (III) PY Es 650.b2.

E ***o-ka-ra$_3$*** PY An 519, etc. [pp. 71, 153, 173].

M ***o-ka-ri-jo*** PY Cn 665.8.

M ***o-ke-te-u*** PY Jn 693.6 [p. 51].

M ***o-ke-u*** PY Ea 259.

M ***o-ki-ra*** PY Cn 285.

M ***o-ki-ri-so*** PY Cn 202.2.

M ***o-ki-ro***[KN X 1509.

M ***o-ko*** PY Cn 436.

M ***o-ko-me-ne-u*** PY Ea 780.

M ***o-ku*** KN Da 1170.

M ***o-ku-ka*** PY Cn 131 [p. 166].

M ***o-ku-na-wo*** KN V 60.4.

M ***o-ku-no*** KN Da 1082.

M ***o-me-no*** KN X 1025.

M ***o-mi-ri-jo*** KN C 911.9.

o-mi-ri-jo-i KN Fh 356. D.p. Recipients of oil, probably divinities: *ὀμβρίοι(h)ι* (?) 'rain gods'.

o-mo-pi KN Se 1006. I.p. Part of chariot body made of ivory: *ὁλμόφι* 'pillars' (?) or *οἰμόφι* 'bands' (?) [pp. 49, 318].

M ***o-mu-di*** KN As 1520.11.

o-na KN M 559; PY Ua 158. In PY co-ordinated with *e-pa$_2$-na* (q.v.) and preceded by name in genitive. In KN preceded by *o-jo* (MV, *o-no* EB). Possibly *ὠνά*, or *ὦνα*. See also *o-no* [p. 260].

M ***o-na-jo*** KN X 1511.

M ***o-na-se-u*** KN V 1523 [pp. 78, 227].

o-na-te-re PY En 74, etc. N.p.m. Agent noun: 'those possessing an *o-na-to*' [pp. 189, 375].

o-na-to PY Ea 825, etc. A.s. nt.
o-na-ta PY Ep 236, etc. A.p. nt. A land-holding [pp. 189 f.].

M ***o-ne-u*** KN Dd 1207.

o-ni-ti-ja-pi PY Ta 707. I.p.f. Description of a chair: *ὀρνιθίαφι* 'with (golden) birds' [pp. 348 f.].

o-no (I) KN Ca 895. N.p. Name of animal represented by EQUINE: *ὄνοι* 'asses' [p. 182].

o-no (II) KN Fh 347, etc., PY Un 443; MY Oe 108, etc. Contexts aromatics (esp. *ku-pi-ri-jo*), wool, and rations. Several times occurs as second word written smaller. Alternates with *qe-te-o* (q.v.): *ὦνος*, (*ὦνον* if *o-na* is plural) [pp. 53, 161, 312].

o-nu-ka KN Lc 485, etc. N.s. (?).
o-nu-ke KN L 1568, etc. N.p. Material used in textile manufacture which can be weighed as wool: 'wool thread' *vel sim.* *o-nu-ka* is accounted for as regular spelling of *onux*. See *o-nu-ke-ja*, *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* [pp. 293, 376].

o-nu-ke-ja PY Ab 194. N.p.f.
o-nu-ke-ja-o PY Ad 675. G.p.f. Textile specialists concerned with *o-nu-ke* (q.v.) [pp. 115].

o-pa (I) KN As 821. G.s. Word governed by preposition *e-ne-ka* and parallel with *ti-mi-to*. Name of a divinity: *Ὄμφας* (?) [pp. 129, 278].

o-pa (II) KN C 50. Place-name (?) or possibly identical with III (*cf.*]*-we-to o-pa* KN Dm 1184) [p. 184].

o-pa (III) KN L 695, Sd 0403, Sf 0420, So 0430, Ws 1704; PY Sh 736, Wr 1325, etc. Noun often accompanied by genitive of personal name, with workshop connexions: 'workshop' [pp. 293, 319, 322, 330, 376].

M ***o-pa$_2$*** PY Jn 601.

W? ***o-pa-wo-ne-ja*** KN Fh 339. Category unclear; perhaps ethnic.

M ***o-pa$_2$-wo-ni*** PY Fn 324. D.s. [pp. 40, 47].

o-pa-wo-ta KN G 5670, S 8100; PY Sh 740, etc. N.p. nt. Items in construction of corslet and helmet: *ὀπάρτα* 'attachments' (bronze plates) [pp. 54, 329].

M ***o-pe-pa$_2$*** PY Cn 570 [p. 43].

M ***o-pe-ra-no*** PY Jn 658.9.

o-pe-ra-no-re MY Oe 126, etc. D.s.

M ***o-pe-re-ta*** PY An 209, etc.

o-pe-ro KN G 461, etc.; PY Ad 357, etc. ὄφελος 'deficit' [pp. 74, 132].

(o-)o-pe-ro-si PY Nn 228. ὁ (ὡς) ὀφέλονσι 'what (how) they owe' [pp. 56, 310].

o-pe-ro-ta PY An 724. A.s.m.

o-pe-ro-te PY An 724. N.p.m.

o-pe-ro-sa PY Ep 704, etc. N.s.f. ὀφέλοντα, ὀφέλοντες, ὀφέλονσα 'who ought to . . .' [pp. 47, 52, 130 f., 210 f.].

M ***o-pe-se-to*** PY Cn 600.

M ***o-pe-ta*** KN B 799.6.

M ***o-pe-te-re-u*** PY Ea 805, etc.

P (KN) ***o-pe-te-we*** KN So 0447 [p. 322].

M ***o-pe-to-re-u*** PY Ep 704.1.

o-pi (I) KN Fh 368, Uf 983, As 1517; PY Ae 26, 108, 134. Preposition with dative: ὀπί 'over', 'in charge of' [p. 54].

o-pi (II) KN X 524, 567, Od 689, 690, 691, X 692, L 1568, 5646, V 1523. Word, often written first majuscule, with textile connexions (note frequency of the man *po-po*). Name of a workshop: *Ὄφις* 'snake goddess' (??). Cf. *po-ti-ni-ja e-qe-ja*, etc., and pp. 95 f., 103, 280, on temple establishments.

o-pi-a$_2$-ra PY An 657. A.p. nt. Object of verb *u-ru-to* (q.v.): ὀπί(*h*)αλα 'coastal areas [pp. 54, 151].

o-pi-da-mi-jo PY An 830, Cn 608. N.p.m. Adj. describing *qo-u-ko-ro*: ὀπιδάμιοι 'those who are in the *damos*'. See further *(jo)-a-se-so-si*.

o-pi-i-ja-pi KN Sd 0401, etc. I.p.f. Part of harness mentioned after *o-po-qo* (q.v.) made of bronze or horn: 'bits' (basic noun ἰλλάς?) [p. 315].

o-pi-i-ta-ja KN X 537. Fragment from Magazine XI, where the texts are largely concerned with textiles: ὀπι(*h*)ισταῖαι 'loom-women'.

o-pi-ka-pe-e-we PY Jn 829. N.p.m. Members of group of functionaries required to deliver temple bronze. Basic noun a neuter s-stem: ὀπισκαφεῦες (?), 'those in charge of (sacred) vessels'. 'Supervisors of hoeing' not better [p. 283].

M ***o-pi-ke-de-i*** PY An 1281. D.s. (?)

o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja PY Ta 708, etc. N.p.f.

o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi PY Ta 707, etc. I.p.f.
Part of a chair: back (?), sides (?). MV compares ἀμφικελεμνίς, ἀμφικέλεμνον [p. 349].

P (PY) ***o-pi-ke-ri-jo*** PY An 615.

o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de (lat.) PY An 724.

o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u PY Ta 709. N.s.m. Description of a tripod: 'having a *ke-wi-ri* (κεῖρις?) on it' (?) [pp. 23, 343].

o-pi-ko-wo PY Jn 881. Man's name (?).

P (PY) ***o-pi-me-ne*** PY An 7. Description of recipients of olives, etc. Place-name?

o-pi-po-ni-ke-ja KN L 1568. N.p.f. Possibly to be taken as two words (see *o-pi* II). Textile specialists: dyers (?). From φοῖνιξ 'purple'. For the formation cf. *o-nu-ke-ja*.

o-pi-qi-na KN L 584. N.p. nt. Word referring to textiles.

o-pi-ra-i-ja PY Cn 1286. Name of place or person (?).

M ***o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo*** KN Sc 230.

(o-)pi-ro-qe-mo, see *pi-ro-qe-mo*.

o-pi-ro-qo PY Aa 777, etc. N.p.f. Class of women: ὀπίλοιϙ^{w}οι, 'remainder, supernumerary' [pp. 35, 43, 54, 91, 116, 120].

M ***o-pi-si-jo*** KN As 1516.

o-pi-su-ko PY Jn 829, etc. N.p. Functionaries among those required to deliver temple bronze: hardly 'supervisors of figs'.

o-pi-te-ke-e-u PY Un 2.2. Man in charge of the *te-ko(s)*: 'tomb warden' (?) [p. 258].

[o]-pi-te-te KN K 872. Reading doubtful. Followed by *ku-ru-so*:

ὀπιτέθη χρυσός (?), or as *Docs.* [see p. 363].

o-pi-te-te-re PY Vn 46. N.p. Items of carpentry, half the number of **35-ki-no-o*. *Docs.*: ὀπιθετῆρες 'covers, lids' [pp. 366 f.].

E ***o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*** PY An 39, etc. N.p.

o-pi-te-u-ke-we KN B 798. N. dual. Group of craftsmen with chariot connexions: ὀπιτευχε(ϝ)ῆϝες 'armourers' (cf. *te-u-ke-pi* (q.v.) [pp. 227, 229].

o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta PY Ep 472, 477. N.s. Description of *we-te-re-u*: ethnic (cf. *ti-no*).

o-pi-tu-ra-jo PY Fn 187.9. Recipient of barley in cult context. A temple functionary attached to *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (q.v.): ὀπιθυραίῳ (?).

o-po-qo KN Sd 0401. I.p. Item of harness, made of leather or ivory: ὀπώϙʷοις 'face pieces' [p. 315].

(jo-)o-po-ro MY Ge 602. 1st s. aor. ὀ (ὡς) ὤφλον 'I owed' [pp. 56, 273].

M ***o-po-ro-me-no*** PY Es 644.4, etc.

P (PY) ***o-qe*** PY Cn 4.10. The parallel entries suggest that this is a place name in the locative case. See *e-ra-se*.

M ***o-qe-pa₂*** PY Cn 45 [p. 43].

M ***o-re-a₂*** PY Ep 705.7.

P (PY) ***o-re-e-wo wo-wo*** PY Cn 600 [pp. 77, 164, 167].

P (PY) ***o-re-mo a-ke-re-u*** PY Jn 320 [pp. 76, 280].

o-re-ne-ja KN Ld 579. N.p. nt.

o-re-ne-a KN L 593. Alternative spelling.

Description of cloths alternating with *ke-ro-ta* (q.v.) [p. 295].

M ***o-re-ta*** PY An 657.3.

M ***o-re-te-wo*** KN Dc 439. G.s. A cattle 'owner' [p. 178].

M ***o-ro-do-ko*** PY Vn 865.8.

o-ro-jo PY Eq 213. N.s.m. or nt. Preceded by genitive of place-name or *ko-no* (q.v.). Place where grain can be inspected: 'granary' (?) [p. 218].

M ***o-ro-ke-we*** PY Gn 428. D.s. [p. 138].

o-ro-me-no PY Ae 27, 108, 134. N.s.m. ὀρόμενος 'watching' [pp. 45, 126 f.].

M ***o-ro-pa₂*** KN V 479.

M ***o-ro-ti-jo*** PY An 724.

P (PY) ***o-ru-ma-to*** PY Cn 3.

E ***o-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*** PY An 519 [p. 153].

M ***o-ru-we-ro*** PY Jn 725.6.

M? ***]o-se-ko-do*** KN Fh 371.

M ***o-ta-ki*** MY Fo 101.8.

o-te PY Ta 711. Conjunction ὅτε [pp. 89, 339 f.].

P (PY) ***o-te-pe-o-jo*** PY Eq 213. G.s. [pp. 89, 218].

W ***o-te-ra*** MY Oe 106.2.

M ***o-ti-na-wo*** PY Cn 285 [pp. 42, 78].

o-ti-ri-ja PY Aa 313. N.p.f.

o-ti-ra₂ PY Ab 417. Alternative spelling.

o-ti-ra₂-o PY Ad 663. G.p.f. Group of women. Occupation or ethnic [p. 115].

M ***o-to-ro-me*** PY Vn 493.

M ***o-to-ro-pa₂*** PY Vn 493.

W ***o-to-wo-wi-je*** MY = SpM 8.168.

M ***o-tu*** PY An 5.

M ***o-two-we-o*** PY An 261.1–5.

o-to-wo-[*we-o*] PY An 261 rev. G.s.

o-to-wo-we-i PY Vn 851. D.s.

o-tu-wo-we PY Jn 658. N.s. [pp. 24, 228].

o-u-(di-do-si) PY Ma 90, etc.

o-u-(*di-do-to*) PY Ng 319.

o-u-(*pa-ro-ke-ne*]) PY Ad 686.

o-u-(*wo-ze*) PY Ep 704.

o-[*wo-ze*] PY Eb 338.

Negative particle οὐ, always written as a proclitic [p. 55].

o-u-ka MY Oe 111. N.p.

o-u-ko MY Oe 108. N.s. (?). Adjective referring to wool described as 'new' and 'last year's'; ὀϝικά 'sheep's'; see *wo-ro-ne-ja*.

o-u-qe KN L 641, Sd 0403, etc.; PY Eb 940, etc. οὔϙʷε 'and not',

'but not'. In PY Sn 64 *-qe* appears to have 'prospective' force [pp. 56, 143].

o-u-ru-to PY An 657. Particle (*ὥς*) plus 3rd p. pres. indicative: *ϝρύντοι*, 'are watching, are to watch' [pp. 26, 56, 151].

o-u-te-mi KN V 280.

o-u-ki-te-mi ibid.

Comment on fourth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth day of month in fragment of ritual calendar: *οὐ θέμις*, *οὔκι θέμις* '*nefastus*'.

M ***o-wa-ko*** PY Cn 131.

M ***o-wa-si-jo*** KN Ra 1558.

M ***o-wi-da*** PY Jn 725.24.

o-wi-de PY Eq 213, Ta 711. Particle *o-* (*ὁ*) plus 3rd s. active: (*ὁ*) *ϝίδε* 'he saw' [pp. 51, 56, 218, 339 ff.].

o-wi-de-ta PY Wa 731. N.p.m.

o-wi-de-ta-i PY Un 718.2. D.p. Cult functionaries, recipients of deliveries, connected with Poseidon. Not *ὡς ϝιδέσθαι* (as *Docs.*) [pp. 52, 216].

M ***o-wi-ro*** KN Dd 1218.

P (PY) ***o-wi-to-no*** PY Aa 775, etc. [pp. 113, 142, 154, 158 ff.].

E ***o-wi-ti-ni-jo*** PY An 657 [p. 153].

M ***o-wo-ta*** PY Jn 725.6.

M ***o-wo-to*** PY An 261, etc.

o-wo-we PY Ta 641. N.s.m. Description of tripod with round handles: *ὀϝ(ϝ)όϝενς* 'with ear-shaped handles' (cf. *ὠτώεντα*) [p. 344].

***o-za-mi-*[*o-to*]** PY An 37. Context list of men *e-ne-ka pa-ra-we-wo* [*wo-no*]*-jo* (cf. Vn 30). Cf. *za-mi-jo* KN As 1517; PY An 129. 'Levied, conscripted' (?).

o-ze-to PY Vn 130. Particle *o-* (*ὁ*, *ὡς*) plus 3rd s. aor. *γέντο* 'got, received' (?) [pp. 51, 56, 370].

M ***o-*22-di*** KN As 1520 [p. 21].

P (PY) ***o-*34-ta*** PY An 654, etc. [pp. 23, 154, 156, 158].

pa PY Ja 749, etc. N.s.m.

pa-sa KN G 820. N.s. or p.f.

pa-te KN B 1055. N.p.m.

pa-ṭọ PY Ec 411. G.s.n.

pa-si PY Jn 389. D.p.m.

πάνς, *πᾶσα*, *πάντες*, *παντός*, *πᾶσι* 'all'.

pa$_2$-a$_2$ PY On 300. If separate word, possibly 3rd p. of verb. Introduces entries containing n.s. *ko-re-te* as contrasted with *ko-re-te-ri* in first paragraph. The officials of the Hither Province have been given the commodity, those of the Further Province have 'acquired' it. For *pa$_2$* 'acquire' see *e-pa$_2$-na-qe* and *mo-ro-pa$_2$*. 3rd p. of aorist with aspiration of *-s-*: *κṛά(h)αν* [pp. 374 f.].

E ***pa-da-je-u*** PY An 192, Eb 159, etc. N.s.

pa-da-je-we PY Eo 444, etc. D.s. [pp. 192, 198, 202].

M ***pa$_2$-da-ro*** KN V 831.5.

M ***pa$_2$-da-so*** KN Db 1297.

M ***pa$_2$-da-wa-so*** MY Oe 130.1.

pa-de KN Fp 1+31.4. D.s. A divinity [p. 235].

pa-de-i KN F 953+955.2. D.s. A divinity [p. 235].

pa-de-we PY Un 219. D.s. Recipient of offering. Either temple functionary or divinity. Perhaps *pa-de-we-*⟨*we*⟩ [p. 259].

E ***pa-de-we-u*** PY Ep 617. See *pa-da-je-u* [pp. 192, 202].

M ***pa$_2$-di-ja*** KN C 911.6.

M ***pa-di-jo*** KN Sc 224+228.

M ***pa$_3$-du-nu-ka*** KN 1132, etc.

M ***pa$_2$-i-po*** KN Dg 1101.

pa$_3$-i-ti KN Fh 1057, etc.

pa$_3$-ti KN Fp 15. A divinity.

P (KN) ***pa-i-to***, *Φαιστός* KN E 36, etc.

E ***pa-i-ti-jo/-ja*** KN X 681, etc. [pp. 178, 233].

pa-ja-ni-jo KN Fp 354.2. A divinity.

W/E ***pa-i-ti-ja*** KN Ap 639.4.

M ***pa-ja-ro*** KN As 1519.6, etc. [p. 82].

M ***pa-ja-so*** KN Dc 1203.

pa-ja-wo-[***ne***?] KN V 52.2. A divinity.

M ***pa-ka*** KN V 1523.6, etc.

M ***]pa$_2$-ka*** KN F 452.2.

P (PY) ***pa-ka-a-ka-ri*** PY Na 926 [pp. 76, 309].

pa-ka-na KN Ra 1540. N.p. nt. *φάσγανα* 'swords' [pp. 26, 335].

M ***pa-ke-ta*** KN U 0478.21.

E ***pa-ke-te-ja*** PY Aa 662, etc. [p. 114].

pa-ke-te-re PY Vn 46, 879; Wr 1415; MY Ue 611. At PY small pieces of carpentry 'pegs' (?), cf. *πάσσαλος*. At MY apparently some kind of small vessel (30 listed) [pp. 364, 367].

pa-ke-te-ri-ja MY Wt 506. Apparently diminutive (n.p. nt.) of *pa-ke-te-re*, some kind of vessel.

pa-ke-we KN V 505. Description of textiles (?): *Docs.* *παχέες* 'thick'.

P (PY) ***pa-ki-ja-na-de*** PY Fn 187, etc. Lat.

pa-ki-ja-ne PY Vn 19, etc. N.p.

pa-ki-ja-pi PY Jn 829, etc. L.p.

pa-ki-ja-si PY An 18, etc. L.p. [pp. 47, 83, 92, 133, 192, 225, 231, 247, 263, 267].

P (PY) ***pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*** PY En 609 [pp. 67, 69, 192].

E ***pa-ki-ja-ni-jo***, PY Fr 1236. Adj. qualifying *a-ko-ro*: the *ἀγροί* of *pa-ki-ja-ne* [p. 247].

E ***pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i*** PY Fr 1216. D.p. Recipients of offering, possibly dual [p. 249].

E ***pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo*** PY Fr 1224. Adj. qualifying *me-no*: name of a month [p. 248].

P (PY) ***pa-ko*** PY An 427.

pa-ko PY Fr 1216. Description of oil (cf. *pa-ko-we*). If reading complete, then instrumental dative of description: *σφάκῳ*.

pa-ko-to PY Ta 709. N. dual. Some kind of jar. M. Lang compares *φακταί· ληνοίς, σιπύαι, πύελον* Hesych. [pp. 342 f.].

P (PY) ***pa-ko-wa*** PY La 624.

pa-ko-we PY Fr 1200, etc. N.s. nt. Description of oil: *σφάκόρεν* 'perfumed with salvia' [pp. 245 f.].

P (KN) ***pa$_3$-ko-we, pa$_3$-ko-we-e/-i*** (l.s.) KN Ap 618, etc. [pp. 38, 178, 275].

E ***pa$_3$-ko-we-i-jo/-ja*** KN Og 424, etc. [p. 277].

M ***pa-ku-ro$_2$*** PY An 218, etc. [p. 142].

pa-ma-ko PY Sb 1314. Preceded by *a-wa-ra-ka-na-o* (g.s.?). Obscure.

M ***pa$_2$-me-si-jo*** KN As 1516.5 [p. 41].

M ***pa$_2$-mi-si-jo*** KN Sc 135+5149 [p. 41].

P (KN) ***pa$_2$-mo*** KN Ga 417, etc.

E ***pa$_2$-mi-jo/-ja*** KN E 749, etc. [pp. 124, 178, 233, 291].

M? W? ***pa-na-ki*** MY Fo 101.1.

P (PY) ***pa-na-pi*** (l.p.) PY Cn 45 [pp. 164, 167].

M ***pa-na-re-jo*** KN V 1004.1, etc.

P (KN) ***pa-na-so*** KN E 843. *Παρνασσός*(?).

M ***pa$_2$-ni-ko*** KN Dd 1283.

M ***pa$_3$-ni-sa-ta*** KN As 607.3.

M ***pa-no*** KN X 309.

M ***pa$_2$-nu-wa-so*** KN 1516.17.

P (KN) ***pa$_2$-nwa-so*** KN Dl 943 [p. 178].

M ***pa-pa-jo*** PY Jn 389.

M ***pa$_2$-pa$_2$-jo*** PY Vn 1191.6.

M ***pa-pa-ra-ko*** PY Jn 845.5.

M ***pa-pa-ro*** KN X 206, etc. [p. 166].

M ***pa$_2$-pa$_2$-ro*** KN As 604.3 [p. 82].

M ***pa-pu-so*** PY Jn 415.

pa-pu$_2$-to MY Wt 505. Name of some kind of vessel rather than *†πάμφυρτοι* 'miscellaneous' (JC) [p. 377].

M ***pa-qo-si-jo*** PY Jn 310, etc.

pa-qo-si-jo-jo PY Jn 310. G.s.

M ***pa-qo-ta*** PY Jn 658.4.

P (KN) ***pa$_2$-ra*** KN L 473, etc.

M ***pa$_2$-ra$_2$*** PY An 192.

pa$_2$-ra$_2$-te PY An 7, etc. D.s. [pp. 91, 135].

pa$_2$-ra-de-ro PY Vn 879. Description of items of carpentry, *e-to-ki-ja* and *pa-ke-te-re* (qq.v.).

M ***pa$_2$-ra-i-so*** KN V 466 (not P.).

pa-ra-jo PY An 298, etc.

pa-ra-ja KN U 124, etc. Adj. applied to men, cattle, corslets, the objects represented by *173 (tablet found in Room of Chariot Tablets), cloths, chariot bodies, and wheels. *παλαιοί, παλαιά* fits the

contexts except perhaps the cattle (see *wo-ne-we*) [pp. 50, 165, 168, 327, 329 f.].

E ***pa$_2$-ra-jo*** KN Ga 423 etc. [pp. 88, 178, 223].

M ***pa$_2$-ra-jo*** KN V 429.1, etc.

M ***pa-ra-ke-se-we*** PY Fn 324. D.s. [pp. 60, 78].

P (PY) ***pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*** PY Jn 750. N.p.m. Basic noun neuter s-stem. Probably place-name [p. 280].

pa-ra-ke-[we] PY Ta 642. See *pa-ra-ku-we*.

M ***pa-ra-ko*** KN Sc 258.1, etc. [pp. 198, 203, 207].

pa-ra-ku-ja KN Ld 580. N.p. nt.

pa$_3$-ra-ku-ja KN L 587. Alternative spelling.

Adj. describing cloths: 'of the colour of *pa-ra-ku*' (?) [pp. 19, 298].

pa-ra-ku-we PY Ta 714. I.s. Name of a decorative material used in combination with cyanus and gold: 'tin' (?) 'niello' (?) [pp. 338, 348, 351].

M ***pa$_2$-ra$_2$-ro*** KN Dl 932+963.

M ***pa$_2$-ra-su-ti-jo*** KN X 154.3, etc.

M ***pa-ra-ti-jo*** KN C 914.

M ***pa$_2$-ra$_2$-ti-jo*** KN Dg 1235.

M ***pa-ra-to*** KN Db 1373.

pa$_2$-ra-to-ro PY Ta 709. N.s. Name of some kind of fire-iron: *σκυάλαθρον* cf. *σπάλαθρον, σκάλαυθρον, σκάλευθρον* [pp. 29, 39, 342, 361].

pa-ra-ṷa PY Sa 787. F.l. for *pa-ra-ja* (q.v.).

pa-ra-wa-jo KN V 789, S 8100; PY Sh 737. N. dual. Last item of suit of armour: *παραϝ(ϝ)-αίω* 'cheek pieces'. Cf. *παρήϊον* [pp. 329, 331].

M ***pa-ra-we-wo*** PY An 37, Vn 20. Description of *wo-wo*. Man's name in gen. sg. (?).

M ***pa$_2$-ra$_2$-wo*** KN C 50 [p. 184].

M ***pa-re*** KN Sc 247.

M ***pa-ri-je-we*** PY Fn 867.5. D.s.

M ***pa$_3$-ri-to*** KN Db 1423, etc.

pa-ro KN Ai 115, etc.; PY An 129, etc.; MY Oe 111. Preposition with dative: *παρό* [p. 54].

M ***pa$_3$-ro$_2$*** KN Dw 1422.

(o-u-)pa-ro-ke-ne-[to] PY Ad 686. 3rd s. aor. mid. *παρογένετο* 'did (not) arrive' [pp. 51, 54, 124].

pa-sa-ja KN X 451.2. A divinity [p. 237].

M ***pa$_2$-sa-ko*** KN C 912.

M ***pa-sa-ko-me-no*** KN Vc 211.

M ***pa$_2$-sa-re-o*** PY Sa 755. G.s.

pa-sa-ro PY Ta 716. Dual. Objects of gold listed along with swords and double axes: *ψάλω* '(golden) chairs'. Not *πασσάλω* 'rivets' [pp. 45, 358].

P (KN) ***pa$_2$-sa-ro-we*** KN Db 1329 [p. 178].

M ***pa-se-ri-jo*** MY Oe 121.2. Followed by *ko-wo* = 'P. junior'.

pa-si PY Ep 704. 3rd s. with subject *da-mo*: *φασί* 'says' [pp. 42, 211 f.].

M ***pa$_2$-si-da-ro*** KN Db 1110, etc.

pa$_2$-si-re-u PY Jn 431, etc. N.s. Official responsible for royal bronze-smiths as opposed to *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*; for gold levy see Jo 438.20. Not *βασιλεύς* [pp. 39, 115, 138, 227 f., 280, 283, 288].

pa$_2$-si-re-wi-ja KN K 875; PY Ae 889, etc. Establishment of a *pa$_2$-si-re-u* (q.v.) [pp. 98, 127, 227 f., 364].

pa$_2$-si]-ṛe-wi-jo-te, see pp. 52, 142.

pa-si-te-o-i KN Fp 1, etc. Written as one word: *πᾶσι θεοῖϊι* 'to all the gods' [p. 236].

pa-ta (I) KN C 918. Word possibly not complete. If *πάντα*, then n.p. nt.

M ***pa-ta*** (II) PY Cn 40.

pa-ta-ja KN Ws 1704. N.p. nt. Name of objects represented by arrow ideogram: *πάλταια* [p. 376].

pa-ta-jo-i PY Jn 829. D.p. Noun co-ordinated with *e-ke-si*: *παλ-ταίοι(h)ι* 'for arrows (and spears)'; cf. *πάλτον* [p. 284].

pa-te PY An 607. N.s. Word paired with *ma-te*: *πατήρ* 'father' [p. 127 f.].

M ***pa-te-ko-to*** PY An 7.
M ***pa-ti*** KN Dd 1281, etc.
M ***pa$_2$-ti-ja*** KN Fh 355.
P (PY) ***pa-to-do-te*** PY Jn 706 [p. 280].
M ***pa$_2$-to-no-ro*** KN As 1516.7.
M ***pa-to-ro*** KN Uf 198.
M ***pa-u-ro*** KN Da 1196.
M ***pa-wa-so*** KN Sc 258.1, etc.
M ***pa-wa-wo*** KN Sc 254, etc.
pa-we-a KN Lc 532, etc. N.p. nt.
pa-we-a$_2$ KN L 7378, MY Oe 127.
pa-we-o KN X 651. G.s. or p.
pa-we-pi KN L 104. I.p.
pa-we-si[? MY Oe 111. D.p.
pa-wo KN (unpublished sealing). Name of cloth: *φάρϝε(h)α* etc. [pp. 290, 292].
M ***pa-wi-no*** KN B 799, etc.
pa-wo-ke PY Aa 795, etc. N.p.f.
pa-wo-ko PY Ad 691, La 632. G.p. Class of women, also concerned with textiles; sub-group of *o-pi-ro-qo* (q.v.), co-ordinated with *e-ke-ro-qo-no* (q.v.): *πάρϝοργες, παρϝόργων* 'ancillaries' *vel sim.* [pp. 35, 54, 91, 116, 120, 294].
P (PY) ***pa$_3$-wo-na-de*** (lat.), new reading for *ki-wo-na-de* in PY Vn 48.
M ***pa-za-ti*** KN Dl 948.
M ***pa-ze*** KN X 114, etc.
M ***]pa-*34-so*** KN X 328, etc.
M ***pa$_2$-*83-to*** KN Sc 257.2.
pe-da KN X 114. Preposition with accus. *wa-tu*: *πεδά (ϝάστυ)* 'to the town' [p. 54].
M ***pe-da-i-o*** KN Fh 341.
pe-de-we-sa PY Ta 709. N.s.f. Description of a portable hearth (*e-ka-ra*, q.v.). Some part of the support: *πέδϝεσσα* 'footed' [pp. 60, 343].
pe-di-e PY Wr 1328.
E ***pe-di-je-we*** PY An 654. N.p. Probably an ethnic [p. 154].
pe-di-je-wi-ja PY Va 1324. N.p.f. or nt. Some component of an undercarriage, listed between *e-ke-i-ja* and *a-ko-ṣọ-ṇẹ* (qq.v.). Perhaps related to *πέζα* as in Il. 24. 271–2: *ἐπὶ ῥυμῷ πέζῃ ἐπὶ πρώτῃ*.
pe-di-ra PY Ub 1318. N.p.
pe-di-ro, ibid. Dual?
pe-di-ro-i, ibid. D.p. *πέδιλα* 'sandals' [p. 227].
pe-i PY An 519, etc. D.p. Pronoun: *σφε(h)ί* '(with) them', '(to) them' [pp. 50, 151, 309].
pe-ju-ka PY Vn 879. N.p. nt. Describes items of carpentry: *πέρ(ι)ινγα* cf. *e-pi-ju-ko* (q.v.), 'tie-beams' (?) [pp. 20, 37, 55, 294, 367].
M ***pe-ka-wo*** KN Vc 66.
M ***pe-ke-u*** MY Ge 602, etc.
M ***pe-ki-ta*** PY En 74, etc.
pe-ki-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 578. N.p.f.
pe-ki-ti-ra$_2$-o PY Ad 694. G.p.f.
pe-ki-ti-[KN L 656. Group of women, occupational name connected with textiles: *πέκτριαι* [p. 115].
pe-ko KN Dw 1621, D 7067 bis, 7098; PY Cn 418. At KN the word occurs in the 'owner' position on the tablet. At PY the version in the text (p. 177) is ruled out by the new reading *ma-ra-pi* for *ma-ra-kụ*. The word forms part of a description of a bull (ox) with colour specifications: *re-*[*u-ko*] *ma-ra-pi pe-ko a-ko-ro-we* 'white, dark (*πέρκος*) in the *μάλαι*'. See further *a-ko-ro-we* [p. 177].
pe-ko-to KN Lc 526, etc. Type of cloth [p. 290].
pe-ma KN Ga 675, etc.; PY Er 312, etc. Alternative spelling for *pe-mo*: *σπέρμα* 'seed' [pp. 41, 42, 48, 214].
pe-mo PY Eb 152, etc. *σπέρμο* 'seed'. Alternative spelling for preceding.
pe-ne-we-te KN Ld 5108. N. dual or p.
pe-ne-we-ta KN Ld 571, etc. N.p. nt. Description of cloths: 'possessing *pe-no(s)*' [p. 293].
pe-pa$_2$-to KN Sd 0402, etc. Part of a chariot described as 'under' (*u-po*). 'Step' (?), 'floor' (?): *βεβατον* (?) [pp. 37, 317].
M ***pe-po-ro*** KN De 6060, etc.

M ***pe-qe-ro-jo*** PY Sa 768. G.s. [p. 51].

M ***pe-qe-u***? KN Vd 137 bis.

pe-qe-we PY etc. Cn 45, etc.

M ***pe-qo-no*** KN B 798.6.

E? ***pe-qo-ta*** PY En 659, Eo 444. Description of a man. Ethnic(?) [pp. 196, 198].

M ***pe-qo-no*** KN B 798 [p. 51].

pe-ra MY Ue 611. N.p. Vessels: πέλλαι 'bowls, pails' [p. 364].

M ***pe-ra-ko-no*** MY Oe 118.2.

P (PY) ***pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja*** PY Ng 332, etc.

pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja PY Ae 398.

pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo PY On 300. περα-ai-ko-ra-i-ja 'Places trans-Ai.' = The Further Province [pp. 19, 66, 127, 310].

E ***pe-ra$_3$-qo*** PY Ma 193 [p. 304].

pe-re (I) KN Od 562. Occurs in comment on wool entries: φέρει (?) 'is bringing'.

pe-re (II) PY Tn 316. Verb co-ordinated with *i-je-to* and *a-ke* with subject *do-ra*. 3rd s. aor. passive. φρῆ 'were brought'. Not 3rd s. pres. act. [pp. 51, 264 f.].

pe-re-i-to PY Wr 1327. Unclear.

pe-re-ke KN L 520. Comment on cloths with fixed numerical relationship to the wool entries: πλέκει 'weaves' (?) [p. 297].

pe-re-ke-u PY Cn 1287. Occupation. Parallel entries: *a-ke-ro*, *ka-na-pe-u*, *ke-ra-me-u*. See following.

pe-re-ke-we PY Ae 574, 765; MY Oe 130. N.p. Class of men, presumably connected with cloth-making; cf. *pe-re-ke*: πλεκῆϝες (?) [p. 297].

M ***pe-re-ko*** KN Ag 88.

pe-re-ku-ta PY An 172; KN As 602. Class of men mentioned in PY along with a *ra-pte* (q.v.). At KN the context is textiles. Hardly πρεσγύται 'old men', but some kind of textile specialists.

pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka PY Va 15. Category unclear. Man's name?

M ***pe-re-qo-ni-jo*** PY An 656.6.

M ***pe-re-qo-no-jo*** PY Ea 270. G.s. [pp. 219, 285].

M ***pe-re-qo-ta*** PY An 192, etc. [pp. 43, 184, 192].

M ***pe-re-ta*** PY Jn 658.8, etc.

P (PY) ***pe-re-u-ro-na-de*** (lat.) PY An 1. Πλευρῶνάδε [p. 130].

M/E? ***pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo*** PY An 656. Man's name? [p. 150].

M ***pe-re-wa-ta*** KN X 183; PY An 129.

P (PY) ***pe-re-wo-te*** (l.), PY Na 513, etc.

pe-re-*82 PY Tn 316. Πελείᾳ 'The Dove' (?) [pp. 20, 27, 103, 263].

pe-re-*82-jo PY Tn 316. Shrine of *pe-re-*82* [p. 264].

M ***pe-ri-je-ja*** KN Uf 1031+5738.

M ***pe-ri-jo-ta(-qe)*** KN V 1002.1.

pe-ri-ke MY Ue 611. N.p. Name of a vessel: πέλικες [pp. 47, 364].

M ***pe-ri-me-de*** PY An 656.12.

pe-ri-me-de-o PY Sn 64. G.s. [pp. 55, 81, 146].

M ***pe-ri-mo*** PY Sn 64.

M ***pe-ri-no*** PY An 654.12, etc.

M ***pe-ri-qo-ta*** PY Jn 693.7.

pe-ri-qo-ta-o KN Dw 42, etc. G.s. [p. 55].

M ***pe-ri-qo-te-jo*** KN Dw 1192, etc. A cattle-owner. Possibly possessive adjective: cf. *e-se-re-e-jo*, etc.

M ***pe-ri-ra-wo*** PY An 654.13.

pe-ri-ro-qo KN V 479. Heading introducing list of men on reverse of tablet: περίλοιq^{w}οι (?); cf. *o-pi-ro-qo* (q.v.).

M ***pe-ri-ta*** KN V 60.5, etc.

M ***pe-ri-te*** PY Vn 130. D.s.

M ***pe-ri-te-u*** KN C 954, etc.

M ***pe-ri-to*** KN Vc 174.

M ***pe-ri-to-wo*** KN Vc 195.

M ***pe-ro*** KN As 5869.

pe-ru-si-nu-wo PY Ma 216, etc. Adj. qualifying *o-pe-ro*: περυσινϝὸν (ὄφελος) 'last year's deficit' [pp. 21, 41, 304].

pe-ru-si-nu-wa PY Ma 126, 225. Defective spelling of preceding.

pe-ru-si-nwa KN So 0442; MY Oe 111. Refers to *ta-ra-si-ja* and

o-u-ka. G.s.f., n.p. nt. *περυσινϝᾶς, περυσινϝά*.

M ***pe-se-ro*** MY Ge 602.1.

pe-se-ro-jo KN Ai 63. G.s. [pp. 125, 273].

M ***pe-ta-ro*** PY Jn 310.

M ***pe-te-ki-ja*** KN As 1516.7.

M ***pe-te-u*** KN As 603.3.

E ***pe-ti-ni-jo*** PY Ac 1275.

P (PY) ***pe-to-no*** PY Cn 608, etc.

pe-to-no-de (lat.) PY Vn 20 [p. 75].

M ***pe-we-ri-jo*** KN As 1517.11.

pi-a$_2$-ra PY Tn 996. N.p.f. *φιάλαι* 'boiling pans' [p. 333].

P (PY) ***pi-ja***. New reading. PY An 218.2 [p. 142].

M ***pi-ja-ma-so*** PY Fn 324.

M ***pi-ja-mu-nu***[KN L 5901.

M ***pi-ja-se-me*** KN As 1516.19.

M ***pi-ja-si-ro*** KN As 1516.3.

M]***pi-ja-to*** KN B 805.2.

pi-je-ra$_3$ PY Ta 709. Alternative spelling to *pi-a$_2$-ra*: *φιέλαι* [pp. 29, 333, 342.]

P (PY) ***pi-jo-de*** (lat.) PY 1230 [pp. 20, 41, 248].

P (PY) ***pi-ka-na*** PY Na 334 [p. 308].

M ***pi-ke-re-u*** PY Eb 496, etc.

pi-ke-re-wo PY En 74, etc. G.s.

pi-ke-re-we PY Eo 160. D.s. [p. 196].

M ***pi-ke-te-i*** PY Gn 720.1. D.s.

M ***pi-ki-nu-wo*** KN Da 5217.

M ***pi-ko-da-ke*** MY Oe 128.2. D.s.

M ***pi-ma-na-ro*** KN As 1520, etc.

M ***pi-me-ta*** PY Cn 131.

W ***pi-mo(-qe)*** MY SpM 8.168.

M ***pi-mo-no*** KN X 692.1.

M ***pi-pi*** TH VI.

pi-pi-tu-na KN Fp 13.1. A divinity [p. 236].

P (PY) ***pi-pu-te*** (l.) PY An 427.

M ***pi-ra-jo*** PY Ae 264 [p. 126].

W ***pi-ra-ka-ra*** KN Ap 639.4.

M ***pi-ra-ki-jo*** KN V 1002.1.

M ***pi-ra-me-no*** KN E 36, etc.

M ***pi-ra-qo*** KN Vc 181.

pi-ra-si-ja KN X 924+5742. Category unclear.

M ***pi-re-se*** PY Fn 324.

W? ***pi-ri-ja-me-ja*** PY An 39. Person responsible for technical personnel. Possibly woman's name. Cf. Fn 837: *pi-ri-*[*ja-me-ja*], *i-na, e-ri-*[*qi-ja*], *a-ko-ṣọ-ta*, etc. Cf. Ep 539.

pi-ṛi-ja-o PY Vn 46. G.p. Items of carpentry: *φλιάων* (*θράννες*) 'doorposts, jambs, lintels'. [New reading for *pi-wọ-ta-o* by J. Chadwick: see pp. 366 f.].

pi-ri-je KN K 740. Name of object represented by ideogram ZE. Cf. *pi-ri-je-te* and PY Va 482, where one is issued along with ivory. A saw †*πρίης* (?) [p. 334].

pi-ri-je-te KN Ra 1548, etc. N.s.

pi-ri-je-te-re PY An 207. N.p.

pi-ri-e-te-si PY An 7. D.p.

Name of a specialist concerned with swords: cf. *pi-ri-je*, and see *a-de-te-re*: †*πριετήρ* 'sawyer' [pp. 136, 335 ff.].

M ***pi-ri-no*** KN As 1516.6.

M ***pi-ri-sa-ta*** KN U 0478.16.

W ***pi-ri-ta*** PY Vn 1191.4.

M ***pi-ri-ta-wo*** PY Eo 371.

pi-ri-ta-wo-no PY En 467. G.s. [pp. 191, 196].

M ***pi-ri-to-wo*** KN B 803.2.

M ***pi-ro-i-ta*** KN V 1523.5 [p. 82].

M ***pi-ro-ka-te*** PY Jn 832. Bronzesmith.

W ***pi-ro-na*** PY Ep 539.

M ***pi-ro-ne-ta*** PY Jn 658.3.

W ***pi-ro-pa-ta-ra*** PY Vn 1191.5 [p. 78].

M ***pi-ro-pa$_2$-wo*** KN As 609.2.

M ***pi-ro-qe-mo*** MY Ue 611 rev. [p. 365].

M ***pi-ro-qo-***[***ta***] PY Cn 254.

M ***pi-ro-ta-wo*** PY Es 644.12, etc.

M ***pi-ro-te-ko-to*** PY Es 650 r. 5.

M ***pi-ro-we-ko*** PY Jn 389 [pp. 44, 78].

W ***pi-ro-wo-na*** MY = SpM 8.168.

P (PY) ***pi-ru-te*** (l.) PY An 519, etc. [pp. 158, 304].

M ***pi-sa-wa-ta*** KN B 1055.2.

M ***pi-ta-ke-u*** PY Jn 389.

pi-ti-ro$_2$-we-sa PY Ta 713. N.s.f. Description of a table: *πτιλόϝεσσα* 'decorated with feather pattern' [p. 347].

P (PY) ***pi-we-re*** PY Aa 1182 [p. 113].

W/E ***pi-we-ri-di*** MY Oe 103. D.s.
M/E ***pi-we-ri-ja-ta*** PY Jn 389.
E ***pi-we-ri-si*** MY Fo 101. D.p.
pi-wo-ta-o, now read *pi-ri-ja-o*, q.v.
M ***pi-za-ra*** KN X 36.
P (PY) ***pi-*82*** An 830, etc.
*pi-*82-de* (lat.), PY Vn 20. *Φιαί* (?) [pp. 20, 41, 65, 133, 164].
po-da KN V 1524. Description of men listed in tablet from Corridor of the Sword Tablets. Probably some kind of craftsman.
po-da-ko(-qe) KN Ch 899. Name of an ox: *Πόδαργος* [p. 182].
po-de PY Ta 641. Description of a tripod: *e-me po-de ἐμεὶ ποδεί* 'with one foot' [p. 344].
M ***po-i-te-u*** KN Da 1083.
M ***po-i-ti-jo*** KN Da 1314.
M ***po-ka-ro*** KN X 5195.
po-ka-ta-ma PY Tn 996. Probably the name of the gold and bronze shallow cups depicted in the ideogram.
M ***po-ke-we*** PY Cn 131. D.s.
po-ki-ro-nu-ka KN Ld 579, etc. N.p.nt. Describes textiles: 'with variegated (*ποικιλο-*) *o-nu-k*. Cf. *re-u-ko-nu-ka* and *o-nu-ke* [pp. 292, 295].
M ***po-ki-ro-qo*** PY An 654.12. [pp. 144, 146, 288].
M ***po-ki-te*** KN B 806.
M ***po-ko-ro*** PY Cn 45.
po-ku-ta KN B 815, C 911, etc.; PY An 207. N.p. Some kind of craftsman. Not 'wine-pourers' [pp. 131, 136 f., 183].
po-ku-te-ro KN C 911. Evidently connected with the preceding: *po-ku-te-ro da-mo*, designation parallel with *po-ku-ta ra-ri-di-jo* and *a-pi-me-de-o po-ku-ta*. Formation unclear: suffix apparently 'contrastive' *-τερος*.
M ***po-ma-ko*** PY Cn 45.
po-me KN As 821, etc.; PY Ae 134, etc. N.s.
po-me-ne PY Ea 439, etc. N.p. and d.s.
po-me-no PY Ea 782. G.s. *ποιμήν*, etc. [pp. 47, 126, 191, 311].
M ***po-me*** KN Dd 1376.
M ***po-mi-ni-jo*** KN V 503.3.
po-ni-ke PY Ta 722. I.s.
po-ni-ki-pi PY Ta 714. I.p. Occurs at end of descriptive formulae. An accessorial motif of decoration: *φοῖνιξ* 'palm tree'. Not 'griffin' [pp. 46, 49, 351, 353].
po-ni-ki-ja KN Sd 0402, etc. N.s. and p.f.
po-ni-ke-a KN X 1017. Alternative spelling.
Description of chariot bodies: *φοινικία(ι)* 'crimson' (cf. *mi-to-we-sa*); or 'of palm wood' [pp. 315, 318].
po-ni-ki-jo KN Ga 418, etc. A spice: *φοινίκιος* [p. 277].
M ***po-no-pa$_2$-ta*** PY Fn 324.
po-pa$_2$ KN Gv 862; PY Un 138. A variety of olive trees contrasting with *ka-po* (q.v.). Listed with barley, wine, and cattle. *φορβά* (*Docs.*) does not fit this sense [p. 301].
po-pa$_2$-te-u PY Qa 1295. Ethnic (?), or occupation (?).
po-pi PY Ta 642. I.p. Description of a table: *πό(δ)φι* 'with (ivory) feet' [p. 346].
M ***po-po*** KN V 429.2.
po-pu-re-ja KN L 474. N.p.f. First word written majuscule in return of cloths. Probably *πορφυρείαι* 'dyers (women)' [p. 297].
po-pu-ro$_2$ KN L 758. N. dual nt. *πορφυρίω* 'purple' [p. 292].
P (PY) ***po-ra-i*** PY An 656. L.p.
po-ra-pi PY An 1, etc. L.p. [pp. 70, 130, 136, 154, 157, 160].
po-re-na PY Tn 316. Noun parallel with *do-ra* and subject of verb *a-ke* (q.v.): 'defilements' (?). See following [pp. 53, 63, 260, 267].
po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja PY Un 443. Word division uncertain. Possibly festival name (cf. *tu-ru-*

pte-ri-ja in preceding line). See also *po-re-no-tu-te-*[.

po-re-no-tu-te-[PY Un 1413: *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro po-re-no-tu-te-*[*146 7 *166 1. Text records offering of the sacrificial substances (see pp. 300 ff.) at *r. a.* on the occasion of the *p.*, which may be a festival name (see preceding).

M ***po-ri-ko*** PY Cn 328.

po-ri-wa KN L 587. N.p. nt. Description of cloths: πολιϝά 'grey' [p. 298].

M ***po-ri-wo*** KN C 911.3.

po-ro KN Ca 895. N. dual. Name of maneless equine: πώλω 'two foals' [p. 182].

M ***po-ro*** KN Dd 1171.

po-ro-du-ma-te PY Fn 50.7. See *du-ma.*

po-ro-e-ke PY Ta 713, 715. N.s.f. Description of tables; in both cases immediately after *e-re-pa-te-ja*: 'having an *e-ko-*(*s*) of *po-ro*'. πωρο-έγχης 'with a shaft of marble'. Cf. *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* (q.v.). Not προεχής 'jutting' [pp. 31, 55, 347].

po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja PY Ta 709. Name of a utensil resembling a ladle or dipper mentioned after wide-mouthed jars: προελκτηρία 'ladle' (?). Not 'chisel' [p. 342].

W? ***po-ro-i-ra*** KN Od 690. Probably name of woman in textile establishment of *o-pi* (q.v.).

M ***po-ro-ko*** KN X 1416, etc.

po-ro-ko-re-te PY Jn 829, etc. An official of subordinate status to the *ko-re-te* (q.v.) [pp. 55, 88, 227].

po-ro-ko-wa KN Fh 350. Context is issue of oil: προχοϝά 'libation' (?). Cf. *e-pi-ko-wa* (q.v.) [p. 55].

po-ro-ko-wo MY Ue 611. N.p. Name of vessels listed after *ka-ra-te-ra*: πρόχοϝοι 'jugs' [p. 364].

M ***po-ro-pa$_2$-ta-jo*** PY Cn 655.

M ***po-ro-qe-re-***[ ]***-je-wo*** KN B 822. G. s.

M ***po-ro-te-u*** PY Eq 146.

M (?) ***po-ro-to*** KN Od 562. Entry in return of wool, parallel with *a-ti-pa-mo* (q.v.): probably man's name. Not 'first' (*Docs.*).

M ***po-ro-tu-qo-no*** KN Vc 54.

M ***po-ro-u-jo*** PY Jn 658.5, etc.

M ***po-ro-u-te-u*** KN De 1129, etc.

po-ro-u-te-wo PY Jn 310. G.s.

po-ro-u-te-we PY Cn 131. D.s.

po-ro-wi-to PY Fr 1221, 1232. N.s.

po-ro-wi-to-jo PY Tn 316. G.s. Probably name of a month: Πλωϝιστός, Πλωϝιστοῖο [pp. 248, 253 ff., 265].

po-ru-da-ma-te PY An 39. rev. 1. See *po-ro-du-ma-te.*

M ***po-ru-da-si-jo*** PY An 218.

M ***po-ru-e-ro*** PY Jn 658.9.

M ***po-ru-ka-to*** KN Vc 74.

po-ru-po-de-(qe) PY Ta 722. I.s. Item in decoration of a footstool: πολυπόδει 'with an octopus' [p. 353].

M ***po-ru-qo-ta*** PY Cn 40, etc.

po-ru-qo-to PY An 128. Possibly name of man supplying personnel. Alternatively description of *mi*]*-ka-ta.*

M ***po-ru-qo-to*** KN Da 1137+1437.

M ***po-ru-te-we*** KN Vc 176.

M ***po-ru-to*** PY An 5.

M ***po-ru-we-wo*** PY Sa 796. G.s.

po-se-da-o KN X 5560, etc.

po-se-da-o-no PY Es 649. G.s.

po-se-da-o-ne PY Es 645, etc. D.s.

po-se-da-o-ni PY Un 718. D.s. Ποσειδάων [pp. 47, 268].

po-si KN Sd 0402, etc. In comments on items missing from fitted chariot bodies: e.g. *o-u-qe po-si e-re-pa* 'there is no ivory on it'. ποσί 'on, attached to'. Cf. Arc.-Cypr. πός, Dor. ποτί [pp. 42, 55, 62].

po-si-da-e-ja PY Tn 316. A divinity [p. 263].

E ***po-si-da-i-je-u-si*** PY Fn 187 [pp. 29, 225].

po-si-da-i-jo PY Tn 316.

po-si-da-i-jo-de Lat. PY Fn 187. Ποσιδαῖον [pp. 49, 225, 231, 264].

P? (PY) ***po-si-ke-te-re*** PY An 610. Rower entry occurring between *e-wi-ri-po* and *a-ke-re-wa*. Probably a place-name. Not 'suppliants, refugees' (*Docs.*) [pp. 130 ff.].

M ***po-so-pe-re-i*** PY Cn 40. D.s. [p. 55].

M ***po-so-ra-ko*** PY Jn 725.8.

W ***po-so-re-ja*** PY Eo 224, etc. [p. 207].

M ***po-so-ri-jo*** PY Jo 438, etc.
po-so-ri-jo-no PY Sn 64. G.s. [pp. 143, 288].

M ***po-so-ro*** PY Jn 601 [p. 227].

po-te-re-we PY Fn 187. D.s. A divinity (?) [p. 231].

M ***po-te-u*** PY An 519.7.
po-te-wo PY En 467, etc. G.s.

P (PY) ***po-ti-ja-ke-e*** PY An 298, etc. [pp. 69, 77, 136].

P (PY) ***po-ti-ja-ke-ja*** PY An 1281 [p. 226].

M ***po-ti-jo*** KN B 804.3 [p. 196].

M ***po-ti-na-jo*** PY Jn 692.7.

po-ti-ni-ja KN V 52, etc.; PY Cc 665, etc. Name of divinity, often preceded by place-name in genitive, the phrase being written as one word. See *a-ta-na, u-po, da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*. Πότνια 'Lady, Mistress' [pp. 83, 177, 226, 250, 259, 263].

po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo KN Dl 930, etc.; PY Jn 310. N.p.m.
po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo PY Eq 213. G.s. Adj. applied to bronze-smiths, cattle, and a place: ποτνιαρειοι 'belonging to Potnia' [pp. 60, 89, 95, 177, 178, 218, 228, 270, 279, 285].

po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo PY Qa 1299.

po-ti-pi PY Ta 707. I.p. Items of decoration incised on ivory parts of a chair co-ordinated with *a-di-ri-ja-te*: πόρτιφι 'with heifers' (?) [pp. 48, 348 f.].

po-ti-ro KN V 1002, etc. Comment written suprascript on named pairs of men (the second name with attached *-qe*). An occupational designation?

M ***po-to*** KN As 1516.4.

M ***po-to-re-ma-ta*** PY Jn 601 [pp. 64, 81].

M ***po-to-ri-jo*** KN As 1517.11.

M ***po-to-ri-ka-ta*** KN Uf 983 [pp. 64, 81].

P (PY) ***po-to-ro-wa-pi*** (l.p.) PY Aa 76, etc. [p. 113].

P (PY) ***po-wi-te-ja*** PY Jn 601, etc. [p. 280].

M ***po-*34-wi-do*** KN Sc 235 [p. 23].

M ***pte-jo-ri*** PY An 39.

pte-no KN Sd 0402, etc. Part of chariot body described as 'not attached': πτέρνον 'heel' in figurative sense [p. 317].

pte-re-wa KN Se 879, etc.
pe-te-re-wa KN So 894. Alternative spelling. G.s.
In descriptions of chariot bodies and wheels: πτελέρας 'of elm-wood' [pp. 318, 321].

M ***pu-ka-ro*** MY Fo 101.7.

pu-ka-ta-ri-ja KN L 474, etc.; MY X 508. N.p. nt. Probably technical name of CLOTH+PU. A common type of cloth [p. 295].

pu-ka-wo PY An 39, etc. Class of men (highest number in An 39) occurring in mixed lists of craftsmen and temple functionaries. If πυρκάροι (so *Docs.*), function perhaps ancillary to bronze-founding [pp. 229, 336].

M ***pu$_2$-ke*** MY Ge 602.

M ***pu-ke-o*** MY Ge 603.2, etc.

M? W? ***pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri*** PY Ta 711.1. Man or woman?

M ***pu-ke-se-ro*** PY Jn 845.3.

M ***pu-ko-ro*** PY An 39, etc.

pu-ko-so e-ke-e PY Ta 715. N. dual f. In description of tables immediately after *e-re-pa-te-ja* (cf. *po-ro-e-ke*): πυξο-εγχεε 'with ἔγχος (shaft) of box-wood' [pp. 31, 338, 348].

pu-ko-to KN X 796. Category unclear.

M ***pu-ko-wo*** PY Ep 705.9.

M ***pu-ma-ra-ko*** PY Cn 643.5.

P (KN) ***pu-na-so*** KN X 967, etc. [p. 178].

E ***pu-na-si-jo*** (I) KN Ga 34, etc.

M ***pu-na-si-jo*** (II) KN B 806+6053.6.

M ***pu-na-to*** KN C 912.5.

M ***pu-nu-so*** KN Pf 1233.
P (PY) ***pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ke-re-u*** PY Nn 228 [p. 76].
P (PY) ***pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ki-ri-jo*** PY Na 425 [p. 76].
M ***pu-ra-ko*** KN X 141.
M ***pu$_2$-ra-ne-jo*** KN B 799.6.
M ***pu-ra-so*** KN Dv 5677+5706.
M ***pu-ra-ta*** PY Jn 605.
pu-ra-ta-o, ibid. G.s. Bronze-smith [p. 285].
pu-ra-u-to-ro PY Ta 709. N. dual f. or nt. Items of hearth furniture mentioned before *pa$_2$-ra-to-ro* (q.v.): *παυραύστρω* 'fire-tongs' (cf. *πύραυστρα LSJ* sub voc.) [pp. 29, 342].
M ***]pu$_2$-re$_2$-o*** KN Se 243.
M ***pu-re-wa*** KN U 0478.5.
pu-ri KN F 452.2, etc.
M ***pu-[ri]-a$_2$-ko*** PY An 340.
M ***pu$_2$-ri-ja-ko*** PY Jn 310.
P (PY) ***pu-ro,*** passim; ***pu-ro-jo*** PY An 129 G.s. [pp. 67, 113].
P (PY) ***pu-ro-ra-u-ra-ti-jo,*** PY Ad 664 [pp. 119, 164, 167].
M ***pu$_2$-ru-da-ro*** KN Uf 432.3.
P (KN) ***pu-so*** KN As 604, etc.
E ***pu-si-jo/-ja*** KN E 749, etc. [p. 233].
pu-ta KN Gv 864. Name of plant indicated by SEEDLING, ideogram: *φυτά* 'plants'.
pu-ta-ri-ja KN E 849. First word of wheat return, apparently qualified by word beginning *pe-ra-*[: *φυταλιαί* 'plantations': wheat grown in olive plantations?
M ***pu-te*** KN As 1516.4.
pu-te KN Uf 835. N.s.
pu$_2$-te-re KN V 159; PY Na 520. *φυτήρ, φυτῆρες*' planters'[p.309].
[pe]-pu$_2$-te-me-no PY Er 880. N. dual f. Description of *sa-ra-pe-do* (q.v.): *πεφυτημένω* 'two planted (orchard plots)' [pp. 216 f.].
pu-te-ri-ja KN Uf 981, etc. A.s.f. describing *ko-to-i-na*: *e-ke pu-te-ri-ja ko-to-i-na* 'a plantation'.
M ***pu-te-u*** PY Jn 431.
M ***pu-ti-ja*** PY An 340 [p. 372].
M ***pu$_2$-ti-ja*** PY An 656.13.
M ***pu$_2$-to*** KN Uf 1522.
M ***pu-to-ro*** KN As 1516.9, etc.
W ***pu-wa*** KN Ap 639.11.
M ***pu-wa-ne*** PY Jn 832. Bronze-smith.
M ***pu-wi-no*** PY Cn 131, etc. [p. 166].
M ***pu-wo*** KN C 912.2, etc.
M ***pu-za-ko*** PY Cn 328.

M ***qe-da-do-ro*** KN X 121, etc.
qe-ja-me-no PY Eb 294.1, Ep 704.1. Title of a cult functionary [pp. 199, 211].
M ***qe-pa-ta-no*** KN L 1568.3.
qe-qi-no-me-no PY Va 482. N.p.m.
qe-qi-no-me-na PY Ta 707, etc. N.s. and p.f.
Participle used in connexion with patterns on decorative materials: 'incised, drilled' *vel sim.* Cf. *ἀμφιδεδίνηται* (so MV) and perhaps *βινέω*: *g^{w}ge^{w}ινωμένος* [pp. 266, 338].
qe-qi-no-to PY Ta 642.2. 3rd s. perf. indic. mid. *g^{w}εg^{w}ίνωτοι*: see preceding [pp. 52, 59, 346].
M ***qe-ra-di-ri-jo*** KN Sc 246.
M ***qe-ra-jo*** KN Ap 482.2.
qe-ra-na PY Ta 711. Name of a jug. N.s.f. [pp. 251, 338, 341, 353].
qe-ra-si-ja KN Fp 1, etc. D.s.f.
qe-ra-si-jo KN Fp 16. Defective spelling.
Recipient of offerings. A divinity: *Q^{w}ηρασίᾳ* 'the Huntress' (?), or perhaps an ethnic designation, cf. *Ἀθηναία* [pp. 41, 236].
M ***qe-re-ma-o*** KN V 7513.
P (PY) ***qe-re-me-e***, PY Na 540. L.s.
M ***qe-re-me-ne-u*** PY Jn 845.13 = *βελεμνεύς* (?).
P (PY) ***qe-re-me-ti-re*** PY Cn 4.3.
P (PY) ***qe-re-me-ti-wo*** PY Cn 875.
M ***qe-re-qo-ta-o*** PY En 659.1; 2. G.s. [pp. 43, 192].
qe-re-ti-ri-jo PY Vn 46.8. N. dual. A piece of carpentry: *g^{w}λητρίω*, cf. *βλήτροισι*, 'bands, hoops' [p. 367].

M ***qe-re-wa*** KN X 122, etc.
qe-re-wa-o PY Cn 655. G.s. [p. 79].
M ***qe-ri-jo*** KN Ag 1654.
W ***qe-ri-ta*** PY Eb 900.1.
M ***qe-ro*** KN V 479, etc.
qe-ro-me-no PY Ad 697. N.p.m. Comment on group of men: $g^{w}\eta\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu o\iota$ 'willing (to row)' more probably than $q^{w}\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu o\iota$ 'habitually acting as (rowers)' [pp. 64, 124].
qe-ro₂ KN G 5670, etc. N. dual. Item first listed in inventories of suits of armour, followed by ***e-po-mi-jo*** (q.v.). Name of the two-piece corslet [pp. 35, 321, 331 f.].
]***qe-sa-ma-pa₂*** KN Fs 11. A divinity? [p. 237].
M ***qe-ta-ko*** PY Cn 45, etc.
qe-[ta-ko]-jo PY Jn 431. G.s. [p. 167].
M ***qe-ta-ra-je-u*** PY Jn 845.4 [p. 50].
M ***qe-ta-se-u*** KN As 5869.
M ***qe-ta-wo*** PY Jn 310.
qe-te-a KN Fp 363. N.p. nt.
qe-te-a₂ PY Un 138. Alternative spelling.
qe-te-jo PY Fr 1206, 1241.
qe-te-o KN Fh 348, J 693, L 513. Word used in transactions concerning oil, mixed comestibles, bronze as payment for linen, (etc. ?), and cloths. Contrasts with ***o-no***: $q^{w}\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon a$ 'to be paid'; cf. ***e-pi-qe-i-si*** (q.v.) [pp. 53, 260, 297].
M ***qe-te-re-u*** PY Vn 865.3.
M ***qe-te-se-u*** KN As 5866.
qe-ti-ja MY Ue 611, Wt 504. N.p. nt. Probably diminutive of ***qe-to*** (q.v.) [p. 364].
qe-to PY Ta 641; MY Ue 611. N.p.m. Name of a vessel with handles on shoulders: $q^{w}\acute{\epsilon}\theta o\iota$ = $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta o\iota$ (?) [pp. 344, 364].
M ***qe-to-ro-ṇo*** PY Jn 431 [p. 50].
qe-to-ro-po-pi PY Ae 27, etc. I.p. Governed by preposition ***o-pi***: $q^{w}\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi o(\delta)\phi\iota$ 'animals' [pp. 41, 50].
qe-to-ro-we PY Ta 641. N.s.m. Item in description of ***di-pa*** correlating with four-handled jar: $q^{w}\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{o}\digamma(\digamma)\epsilon s$, $q^{w}\epsilon\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\digamma\epsilon s$, 'with four handles' [p. 344].
M ***qi-ja-to*** KN Db 1140.
M ***qi-ja-zọ*** KN X 1500, etc.
M ***qi-nwa-so*** KN Dw 1515.
M ***qi-qe-ro*** KN As 1517.5.
qi-ri-ja-to KN B 822, X 1037. Comment on an entry (without ideogram) in a MAN^{B} context. Verb, 3rd aor. $q^{w}\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau o$ '(*Si-ra-ko*) has bought him' [pp. 43, 51].
M ***qi-ri-ta-ko*** PY Cn 655.11.
M ***qi-ri-ta-ro*** KN Dw 1216.
M ***qi-si-ja-ko*** PY Jn 706.6.
qi-si-pe-e PY Ta 716. N. dual nt. $q^{w}\sigma\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon = \xi\acute{\iota}\phi\epsilon\epsilon$ 'two swords' [pp. 43, 48, 357 f.].
M ***qi-si-ta*** KN Dv 1264.
M ***qi-ta-ro*** KN Dk 936.
M ***qi-to-no-ro*** KN As 1516.7.
M ***qi-zo*** KN Dd 1291.
W ***qo-ja-ni*** KN Ap 639.2.
M ***qo-ja-ro*** KN X 681.
M ***qo-ja-si*** KN B 799.
qo-ja-te KN Od 667. Category unclear. Man's name?
qo-o PY Cn 3. A.s. or p. Object of ***i-je-si*** (q.v.). If singular, plenary writing for $g^{w}\hat{\omega}v$ to avoid monosyllable (E. Risch). If plural, for $*g^{w}o\digamma ns$ 'bull(s), ox(en)' [pp. 27, 48, 175].
P (PY) ***qo-pi-ja*** PY Na 329.
qo-qo-ta-o PY Ea 270, etc. G.s. or p.
qo-u-qo-[KN X 480.
$g^{w}ou g^{w}\acute{o}\tau as$ 'herdsman' [pp. 43, 219].
M ***qo-re-po-do-ti*** PY Fn 324. D.s.
P (PY) ***qo-ro-mu-ro*** PY Na 841.
P (PY) ***qo-ta*** PY Na 532.
W ***qo-ta(-qe)*** MY SpM 8.168.
P (PY) ***qo-ta-wo*** PY Na 522.
M ***qọ-ta-wo*** PY An 39. Possibly ***ạ-ta-wo***.
M ***qo-te-ro*** KN X 1495, etc. [p. 219].
qo-u-ka-ra PY Ta 711. Item in description of ***qe-ra-na*** conjoined with ***wa-na-se-wi-ja***. Dual ***-ka-ra-o-i*** and plural ***-ka-ra-a-pi***

(see also *se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi*) with adjective *re-wo-te-jo*: *gʷουκρα(ς)* 'decorated with (Wanassa and) boucranion' [pp. 249, 341].

qo-u-ko-ro KN [As 6067, X 5610], PY An 18, etc. N.p. *gʷουκόλοι* 'herdsmen' (generalized meaning) [pp. 43, 133, 218, 311].

M ***qo-u-ko-ro-jo*** PY Ea 781. G.s.

M ***qo-wa-ke-se-u*** KN As 602.4.

qo-wi-ja PY Tn 316. Marginal comment on entry relating to gold cup and women: *gʷοϝία* 'decorated with bull(s)' [pp. 267, 362].

M ***qo-wo-***[ ] PY Jo 438 [p. 288].

qo-zo MY Oe 118. Word preceded by *to-so-ne* 'so many' in wool entry. N.p.m. = *πόκοι* 'fleeces' (?) [p. 45].

ra-e-ja PY Ta 642, etc. N.s.f. First item in description of tables: *λαεία* 'of stone' (?) [pp. 338, 345].

P (PY) ***ra-i-pi*** (l.p.) PY Na 530.

P (KN) ***ra-ja*** KN Da 1202, etc. [p. 178].

ra-ka PY Un 592.5. Part of an aromatic plant: *ῥάξ*, 'berry' [p. 301].

ra-ke PY Eb 159, Ep 617. Word preceded by *si-ri-jo-jo* in specification of a land holding. L.s. *λάχει* from *λάχος* (m.) 'in the allotment of S.' (?) [pp. 53, 207].

M ***ra-ke-da-no*** MY Ge 603.4.

ra-ke-da-no-re MY Ge 604. D.s.

M ***ra-ke-u*** PY Cn 254.

M ***ra-ku*** KN V 653.3.

M ***ra-ku-ro*** PY Eb 566.

ra-ku-ro-jo PY En 659. G.s. [p. 196].

M ***ra-ma-jo*** PY Cn 285, etc.

P (KN) ***ra-ma-na-de*** (lat.) KN Fh 353 [p. 252].

M ***ra-ma-o*** PY Ub 1316.

M/E ***ra-mi-ni-ja/-jo*** PY An 209, Ab 186.

M ***ra-na-ko*** KN Dx 988.

M ***ra-ni*** KN X 36, etc.

P (PY) ***ra-ni-jo-ne*** PY An 207.

M ***ra-o-no*** KN Dv 1249.

M ***ra-pa-do*** PY Ec 481.

M ***ra-pa-sa-ko*** PY Cn 131.

ra-pa-sa-ko-jo PY Cn 655. G.s. [p. 166].

ra-pa-to KN Fp 13. Name of a month: *Λάπαθος* [p. 235].

M ***ra-pe-do*** PY An 654.13.

ra-pi-ti-ra₂ PY Ab 555. N.p.f. A class of women (cf. *ra-pte-re*): *ῥάπτριαι* 'sewing women'. See also *e-ra-pe-me-na* [pp. 43, 115].

ra-pte PY An 172, etc. N.s.

ra-pte-re KN Fh 1056, V 159; PY An 207, etc. N.p. Class of men, prominent on estate of *Lawagetas* and figuring in craftsmen musters: *ῥαπτήρ* 'sewing man' (for armour?) [pp. 45, 136, 229].

ra-pte-ri-ja PY Sb 1315. N.p.f. Description of *a-ni-ja*: *ῥαπτήριαι* 'sewn' [pp. 229, 328].

ra-qi-ti-ra₂ PY Ab 356. N.p.f.

ra-qi-ti-ra₂-o PY Ad 667. G.p.f. Identity with *ra-pi-ti-ra₂* not certain.

M ***]ra-ro*** KN Db 1340.

M ***ra-su-ro*** PY Eb 1174.1.

P (KN) ***ra-su-to*** KN As 606, etc. [pp. 124, 125, 178, 291].

E ***ra-su-ti-jo*** KN Lc 761.

M ***ra-te-me*** KN U 653.4.

P (KN) ***ra-to*** KN J 58, etc. *Λατώ* [p. 178].

E ***ra-ti-jo*** KN E 668 [p. 42, 233].

P (PY) ***ra-u-ra-ti-ja*** PY On 300.

ra-wa-ra-ta₂ PY An 298, etc. [pp. 27, 76].

ra-u-ra-ti-jo see *pu-ro-ra-u-ra-ti-jo*.

M ***ra-u-ta*** PY An 5, etc.

ra-wa-ke-ja KN As 1516. Paragraph heading in list of men. Either defective spelling for following or derived from alternative form *λαϝαγός*: *λαϝαγεια*.

ra-wa-ke-si-jo KN E 1569; PY Ea 132, etc.

ra-wa-ke-si-jo-jo PY Ea 421, etc.

ra-wa-e-si-jo KN E 846. Defective spelling (?).

Λαϝαγέσιος 'belonging to the Lawagetas' [pp. 42, 84, 192, 220, 307].

ra-wa-ke-ta PY An 724, etc. N.

and d.s. *Λαϝαγέταϛ* (lit.) 'leader of the *λαός*' [pp. 28, 42, 80, 92, 214, 216, 259, 300].

M ***ra-wa-mo*** KN C 911.8.

P (PY) ***ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*** PY An 830.

ra-wa-ra-ta$_2$ PY An 298, etc.

ra-wa-ra-ta PY An 723 [pp. 27, 69, 113, 133, 303].

ra-wa-si-jo KN F 288. Category unclear.

E? ***ra-wi-ja-ja*** PY Aa 807, etc. N.p.f.

ra-wi-ja-ja-o PY Ad 686. G.p.f. Group of women. Probably an ethnic; not 'captives' [pp. 114, 121].

M ***ra-wi-zo*** KN Dw 1245.

M ***ra-wo-do-ko*** PY Ea 802.

M ***ra-wo-ke-ta*** KN As 5869, etc.

M ***ra-wo-po-qo*** KN As 0493.3.

M ***ra-wo-qo-no*** KN B 798.7.

ra-wo-qo-no-jo KN Dl 928, etc. G.s. [p. 178].

M ***ra-wo-qo-ta*** PY Jn 750.7.

M ***ra-wo-ti-jo*** KN Ce 61.2, etc.

M ***re-a-mo*** PY An 209.

re-di-na-to-mo PY Eq 146. Description of a land-holder. May be occupation, rank, or place-name.

W ***re-ka*** PY Eb 886.1, etc.

W ***re-ka-sa*** MY Oe 110.1.

P (PY) ***re-ka-ta-ne*** PY An 207.

re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo PY Fr 343.

re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo PY Fr 1217. G.p. nt.

Name of a festival: *λεχε(ε)στρωτηρίων* 'at the Spreading of the Couch' [pp. 41, 250].

M? ***re-ko-no*** KN C 918.

re-ko-no-jo KN C 912, etc. G.s.

M ***re-me-to*** KN Pp 494, etc.

M ***re-mi-si-jo*** KN X 329.

P (PY) ***re-pa$_2$-se-wo wo-wo*** PY Cn 600 [pp. 77, 164, 167].

P (PY) ***re-pe-u-ri-jo*** PY Cn 40 [p. 164].

M ***re-pi-ri-jo*** PY Eq 146.

re-po-to KN J 693. N.s. Adj. qualifying *ri-no* (*λίνον*): *λεπτόν* 'fine'.

re-qo-me-no KN As 1517. N.p.m. Heading of list of men (craftsmen?): *λειqʷόμενοι* 'remainder' (cf. *o-pi-ro-qo*, *pe-ri-ro-qo*).

M ***re-qo-we*** PY Jn 845.3.

P (PY) ***rẹ-si-we-i*** See *ạ-si-we-i*.

M ***re-si-wo*** PY An 1281.

M ***re-ta-mo*** PY Cn 285.

M ***re-u-ka-so*** PY Pa 53.

M ***re-u-ka-ta*** KN Ce 61.3, etc.

W ***re-u-ka-ta-ra-ja*** PY Vn 851.12.

re-u-ko KN L 695; PY Cn 418. In KN specification of a substance (*e-ne-ro*) weighed in small quantities. At PY description of bull(s), ox(en). *λευκός* 'white'.

re-u-ka KN L 471; MY Ge 603, etc. At KN n.p.f. Description of cloths: *λευκαί*. At MY designation of *ka-na-ko* contrasting with *e-ru-ta-ra* [p. 272].

M ***re-u-ko-jo*** TH III, IV. G.s.

re-u-ko-nu-ka KN L 587, etc. N.p. nt. Adj. describing cloths; cf. *po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, *o-nu-ke*, *o-nu-ke-ja*: *λευκώννυκα* 'with white *o-nu-k-*' [p. 292].

M ***re-u-ko-⟨ro⟩-o-pu$_2$-ru*** PY Jn 415.

re-u-ko-to PY Un 1319. Name of place (?) or person (?).

P (PY) ***re-u-ko-to-ro*** PY Ad 290, etc. *Λεῦκτρον* [pp. 65, 71, 74, 104, 113, 305].

re-ụ-no PY Un 853.2. Category unclear. Perhaps name of the commodity contributed to Poseidon, since the numerical entry lacks an ideogram.

M ***re-u-si-wo*** PY Jn 692.6 [p. 227].

M ***re-wa-jo*** KN Ld 871 [p. 294].

M ***re-wa-o*** PY Fn 324.

M ***re-wo*** KN X 7663.

re-wo-pi PY Ta 708. I.p. Items in decoration of a footstool, conjoined with *a-di-ri-ja-pi*: *λέ-ϝο(ντ)φι* '(decorated with men and) lions' [pp. 46, 350].

re-wo-te-jo PY Ta 722. I.p. Adj. qualifying *ka-ra-a-pi*: *λεϝοντείοις* 'lion's (heads)' [p. 362].

re-wo-te-re-jo PY Tn 996. Adj. describing bath-tubs and conjoined with *a-te-re-e-te-jo* (q.v.). *λεϝοτρείω* '(tubs) for bathing'.

P (PY) ***re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*** PY Aa 783,

etc. A place-name. Possibly *Λεϝοτροχόϝοι* 'Bath(s)' [pp. 115, 120].

M ***ri-di-ne-to*** KN X 1412.

M ***ri-ja-ko*** PY Jn 692.2.

M ***]ri-ja-ta*** KN X 1411 [p. 20].

P (PY) ***ri-jo*** PY An 1, etc.

ri-jo-de PY Vn 20 [pp. 66, 69, 130, 131, 157].

P (KN) ***ri-jo-no*** KN Dm 1174 etc.

ri-u-no KN X 149.

ri-ju-no KN U 49.

E ***ri-jo-ni-jo/-ja*** KN Od 563, etc. [p. 125].

M ***ri-ma-zo*** KN Dx 1415.

M ***ri-me-ne*** PY An 657.12 [p. 155].

P (PY) ***ri-na-ko-ro*** PY An 129. Designation of a man with bronze-smith/craftsman connexions. More probably identification by means of place-name, as often: *Λίναγρος* [p. 370].

ri-ne-ja PY Ab 745, etc. N.p.f.

ri-ne-ja-o PY Ad 295, etc. G.p.f. A class of women: *λινέαι* 'flax workers' [pp. 114, 119].

ri-no KN J 693, X 7741; PY Nn 228. At KN described as ***re-po-to***: *λίνον* (*λεπτόν*) '(fine) linen'. At PY more probably 'linseed' [pp. 274, 301, 311].

P (PY) ***ri-sa-pi*** (l.p.) PY Na 924.

P (PY) ***ri-so-wa*** PY An 218 [p. 152].

P (PY) ***ri-so-we-ja*** PY Na 1040.

W ***ri-su-ra*** MY = SpM 8.168.

ri-ta KN L 594, etc. N.p. nt. Adj. describing ***pa-we-a***: *λῖτα* 'linen' [p. 294].

M ***ri-wi-so*** KN Ga 419.2, etc.

M ***ri-zo*** KN B 800.4, etc.

M ***ri-*82-ta-o*** TH II; cf. ***ri-ja-ta*** [pp. 20, 276].

ro-i-ko PY Va 482. N.p.m. Name for ornamental pieces of ivory: *ῥοΐσκοι* 'small pomegranates'. Not 'crooked' (as *Docs.*) [p. 368].

M ***ro-ko*** PY Cn 40.

P (PY) ***ro-o-wa*** PY An 1, etc. [pp. 130, 151, 154 f., 158].

M ***ro-qo-ta*** PY An 661.10. Possibly reading is ***pa-qo-ta***.

M ***ro-re-jo*** PY Cn 655.13.

P (PY) ***ro-ro-ni-ja*** PY An 830. Linked with ***e-sa-re-wi-ja*** (q.v.).

M ***ro-ru*** KN C 50, etc. [p. 184].

M ***ro-u-ko*** PY An 519, etc.

ro-u-si-je-wi-ja PY Sb 1315. N.p. Some part of the horse trappings, made of leather.

P (PY) ***ro-u-so*** PY An 717, etc., *Λουσοί* [pp. 76, 113, 280, 303, 305].

E ***ro-u-si-jo*** PY Un 47, etc. [pp. 71, 160, 247].

M ***ro-wo*** PY Jn 750.3.

ru-de-a$_2$ PY Ub 1318. Unclear. Could be an adjective qualifying ***to-pa***. Context is articles of leather: *Λυδεια* (?).

M ***ru-do-ro-no*** KN Fh 5498.

P (PY) ***ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*** PY Na 1053 [p. 77].

ru-ki-ja PY An 724. Perhaps *Λυκίας* 'Lycia'. See ***a-ko-wo***.

M ***ru-ki-jo*** PY Jn 720.2, etc.

P (KN) ***ru-ki-to*** KN V 159, etc. [pp. 178, 233].

E ***ru-ki-ti-jo/-ja*** KN X 37, etc.

W/E ***ru-ki-ti-ja*** KN L 1568.1.

M ***ru-ko*** PY Pn 30.

P (PY) ***ru-ko-a$_3$-[]-re-u-te*** PY Jn 415 [pp. 76, 280].

M ***ru-ko-ro*** PY Ea 132, etc.

ru-ko-ro-jo PY Ea 823.

M ***ru-ko-u-ro*** PY Es 729.1.

M ***ru-ko-wo-ro*** PY Es 650. See preceding.

M ***ru-ma-no*** KN Dg 1438+1604.

M ***ru-na*** KN As 1516.10.

M ***ru-na-mo*** KN Da 1098.

M ***ru-na-so*** KN X 1439, etc.

M ***ru-pa$_3$-ra-so*** KN Da 1172.

M ***ru-ro*** KN V 832.1, etc. [p. 288].

W ***ru-sa-ma*** KN L 1568.3.

M ***ru-si(-qe)*** KN L 588.1.

M ***ru-ta$_2$*** KN Dx 5294.

W ***ru-ta$_2$-no*** KN Ap 639.12.

M ***ru-we-ta*** PY Cn 599.

M ***ru-*83-o*** PY En 74. G.s.

ru-*83-e PY Eo 276. D.s. [pp. 93, 196].

P (KN) ***sa-jo*** KN Dw 931 [p. 178].

W ***sa-ju*** KN Ap 639.10.

M ***sa-ka-ri-jo*** KN V 1523.3.

M ***sa-ke-re-u*** PY Ea 776.

sa-ke-re-wo PY Ea 756. G.s.
sa-ke-re-we PY Ea 56, etc. D.s. [pp. 218, 219].
M? ***sa-ma-da*** KN Np 267.
M ***sa-ma-ki-nu-wo*** KN Np 858.
P (PY) ***sa-ma-ra, sa-ma-ra-de*** (lat.) PY Ma 378, etc. [p. 76].
M ***sa-ma-ri-jo*** KN Da 1147.
P (PY) ***sa-ma-ri-wa*** PY Na 527.
M ***sa-ma-ri-wa-ta*** KN Dw 1188, etc.
W ***sa-ma-ti-ja*** KN Ap 639.8.
M ***sa-me-ti-jo*** KN K 875.5.
W ***sa-mi*** KN Ap 639.10.
M ***sa-mu-ta-jo*** KN L 520.3, etc. [p. 297].
P (KN) ***sa-na-to-de*** (lat.) KN Fs 2.
M ***sa-ni-jo*** PY An 5, etc. [p. 132].
M? ***sa-nu-we*** PY Vn 851.8. D.s.
M ***sa-nu-we-ta*** KN Db 1227.
sa-pa KN J 693; My Oe 108. Name of a textile or a material used in its manufacture. Measured as WOOL in MY; minutely measured in KN.
M? ***sa-pa-nu-wo-me-no*** KN X 999.
M ***sa-pa$_2$-re-jo*** KN Dl 412, etc. Name of cattle 'owner'. Possibly a possessive adjective; cf. *e-se-re-e-jo, a-te-jo, pe-ri-qo-te-jo* [p. 178].
sa-pe-ra PY Fr 1215. An indication of the perfume? Perhaps a noun in the instrumental dative of description; cf. *pa-ko*.
P (PY) ***sa-pi-da*** PY An 656 [pp. 154, 158].
sa-pi-de PY Vn 19; MY Ge 602. N.p. Apparently a container of spices, etc. σαρπίδες 'boxes' (?): VC compare σαρπίς and σάρπους· κιβωτούς Hesych. [pp. 273 f., 313].
M? ***sa-pi-ti-ṇu-we-jo*** KN F 841. Possibly possessive adjective from personal name. See following.
M ***sa-pi-ti-nu-wo*** KN As 1516.15.
sa-ra-pe-da PY Un 718. N.s.f. *sa-ra-pe-do* PY Er 880. A. dual. Name of a holding of plantation land: 'orchard' [pp. 82, 215 f.].
P (PY) ***sa-ri-no-te*** PY Vn 130. See following.
P (PY) ***sa-ri-nu-wo-te*** PY An 424, etc. [pp. 137, 160, 305].
M ***sa-ri-qo-ro*** PY An 172, etc.
M ***sa-sa-jo*** KN Df 1290.
sa-sa-ma MY Ge 602, etc. N.p. nt. Name of a spice: σάσαμα 'sesame' [p. 272].
M ***sa-sa-wo*** PY Eb 842.1.
W ***sa-ti-***[KN Ap 639.9.
M? ***sa-u-ko*** KN X 179.
M ***sa-u-ri-jo*** KN As 1516.21.
M ***sa-ze-ro*** KN Dw 1262.
M ***sa-zo*** KN As 1520.10.
M ***se-me-tu-ro*** KN Dc 1364+1397.
M ***se-no*** PY Cn 131, etc. [p. 166].
se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi PY Ta 708. I.p.
se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i PY Ta 707, etc. I. dual. Decorative feature of chairs: 'with *s.* heads' (?). *se-re-mo-* some kind of animal rather than 'sirens' [p. 349].
M ***se-ri-na-ta*** KN U 0478.20.
se-ri-no MY Ge 604. N.s. A spice: σέλινον 'celery' [p. 272].
P (PY) ***se-ri-no-wo-te,*** PY Qa 1290. [pp. 371].
P (KN) ***se-to-i-ja,*** Σηταία (?) KN As 40, etc. [pp. 124, 178, 291].
M ***se-we-ri-ko-jo*** PY Sa 753. G.s. A charioteer [p. 327].
M ***se-we-ri-wo-wa-zo*** PY Fn 324 [p. 327].
M ***se-wo-to*** KN Da 1268. A cattle 'owner' [p. 178].
si-a$_2$-ro PY Cn 608. A.p. σιάλους 'fat hogs'.
M ***si-da-jo*** KN Od 562.2, etc.
P (KN) ***si-ja-du-we*** KN Dl 930, etc. [p. 178].
M ***si-ja-ma*** KN V 1526.2.
si-ja-ma-to KN Fp 48.1. A divinity [p. 236].
M ***si-ja-pu$_2$-ro*** KN As 1516.11.
P (PY) ***si-jo-wo-te*** (l.s.) PY Cn 4.
M ***si-ki-to*** KN Da 1339.
W ***si-ma*** PY En 609, etc.
M ***si-ma-ko*** PY Pn 30.
M ***si-mo*** KN Sc 263.
M ***si-mu-ta*** PY Jn 832.

W ***si-ne-e-ja*** KN Ap 639.2.
M ***si-ni-to*** KN Dg 1280.
M ***si-no-u-ro*** PY Cn 285.
W ***si-nu-ke*** KN Ap 639.11.
M ***si-nu-mo-ro*** KN Mc 0456+0477.
M ***si-pa-ta-do*** KN Dx 5663.
M ***si-pa-ta-no*** PY Jn 832. Bronzesmith.
M ***si-pu$_2$*** KN As 1516.4.
M ***si-ra-no*** KN U 466.1.
M ***si-ra-pe-te-so*** KN V 961.2.
P (KN) ***si-ra-ro*** KN Ch 902 [p. 182].
E ***si-ra-ri-ja*** KN Lc 512 [p. 291].
M ***si-ra-ta*** PY Jn 750.6.
P (PY) ***si-re-wa*** PY Ma 126 [pp. 75, 303, 305].
M ***si-ri-jo*** PY Ep 617.
si-ri-jo-jo PY Eb 159. G.s. [p. 207].
M ***si-ta-ro*** KN Dg 1316, etc.
si-to KN Am 819. Monthly issue of BARLEY. Hence *σῖτος* in general sense 'grain'. See *ki-ri-ta*.
si-to-ko-wo PY An 292. Heading of tablet listing women and children: *σιτοχόροι* 'grain-pourers, bread-makers' [p. 118].
M ***si-za*** KN As 1520.6.
P (PY) ***]-so-na-pe*** PY An 233. Cf. *te-ko-to-na-pe*.
P (PY) ***so-ro-pe-o*** PY An 207 [p. 136].
M ***so-u-ro*** PY Eo 224.
so-we-ne-ja PY Ta 709. Item in decoration of a portable hearth: 'decorated with *so-we-no*' (q.v.) = 'flame pattern' (?) [pp. 32, 342].
so-we-no PY Ta 721, etc. Accessorial decorative detail, usually associated with **85-de-pi* (q.v.). I.s. or p. *so-we-voις* 'with flame motif', or 'with "notched plumes" ' [p. 343].
so-wo-te, see *do-ro-qo*.
M ***su-di-ni-ko*** KN De 1151.
M? ***su-ja-to*** KN M 719. Analysis unclear [pp. 22, 41].
M ***su-ke-re*** KN As 40.
su-ke-re-o KN As 1516. G.s.
P (KN) ***su-ki-ri-ta*** KN Dn 1092, etc. [p. 178].
E ***su-ki-ri-ta-jo*** KN C 911, etc.
M ***su-ki-ri-to*** KN As 1516.12.
M ***su-ko*** KN V 479 [p. 19].
M ***su-ma-no*** KN Dx 1406.
M ***su-mi*** KN As 1516.18.
M? ***su-mo-no-(qe)*** KN Od 563. See *a-to-mo-na*.
M ***su-pu-wo*** KN C 912.
su-qo-ta PY Ea 822. D.s.
su-qo-ta-o PY Ea 109, etc. G.s. or p.
συg^{w}ότᾳ, *συg^{w}όταο* 'swineherd' [p. 19].
su-ra-se PY Ae 8, etc. 3rd s. fut. Verb of unknown meaning, referring to activity of a *su-ra-te* and a *tu-ra-te-u* (q.v.) [p. 126].
su-ra-te PY Ae 72, etc. Agent noun in *-τήρ*; cf. verb *su-ra-se* (q.v.).
P (KN) ***su-ri-mo*** KN As 821, etc. [pp. 21, 129, 178].
E ***su-ri-mi-jo*** KN Ga 418 [p. 233].
M ***su-ru-so*** KN Dx 1312.
M ***su-se*** KN Da 5192.
P (PY) ***su-we-ro-wi-jo*** PY An 657 [pp. 154 f.].
su-za KN F 841, etc.; PY Er 880. Name of trees: *συκίαι* 'fig trees' [pp. 36, 64, 217].

M ***ta-de-so*** KN Pf 1285, etc.
M ***ta-di-*22-so*** KN X 5564 [pp. 22, 180, 276].
M ***ta-mi-de-so*** KN Dl 944 [pp. 22, 180].
M ***ta-mi-je-u*** PY Jn 310.
P (PY) ***ta-mi-ta-na*** PY Na 248 [p. 308].
ta-mi-te-mo KN Fs 11. Recipient of food stuffs. Divinity or cult functionary? [p. 237].
M ***ta-na-po-so*** KN Db 1198, etc.
M ***ta-na-to*** KN X 1618.
ta-na-wa PY Sa 793. N.p. nt. Final item in description of old ivory wheels. Syllables fit *ταναϝά*, but this does not yield acceptable sense.
M ***ta-na-wo*** PY Jn 693.10.
M ***ta-ni-ko*** PY An 657.7 [p. 41].
M ***ta-nu-ko*** PY An 209 [p. 41].
M ***ta-pa-da-no*** KN Uf 625.4.
ta-pa-e-o-te KN B 823. Entry in entry of MAN^{B} (craftsmen)

contrasting with *a-pe-o-te*. The verb may refer to the technical activities of the *tu-wi-jo*, the first entry on the tablet.

M ***ta-pa-no*** KN Sc 240, etc.

M ***ta-pa$_2$-ra-te*** KN X 524.2.

M ***ta-pe-ro*** KN Dx 1407, etc.

P (PY) ***ta-ra-ke-wi-***[PY An 172.

M ***ta-ra-ma-ta*** PY Ea 336, etc.

ta-ra-ma-ta-o PY Ae 108, etc. G.s. [pp. 127, 218].

W ***ta-ra-mi-ka*** PY Eb 464.

ta-ra-nu KN X 1521; PY Ta 707, etc.

ta-ra-nu-we PY Ta 721, Vn 46. N.p.

(1) *θρᾶνυς* 'footstool'. (2) Item of carpentry, 'planks, beams' *vel sim.* [pp. 48, 349, 366].

M ***ta-ra-pe-se*** PY Vn 865.4.

P (KN) ***ta-ra-qo*** KN E 843.3.

ta-ra-si-ja KN Lc 535, So 0442; PY Jn 310, etc.; MY Oe 110. N. and a.s.f. Word describing entries of cloth, wheels, bronze, and wool: *ταλανσίαν* '*pensum*, task' [pp. 279, 292].

M ***ta-ra-to*** PY An 192, etc.

M ***ta-ra-to-no*** KN De 1130.

M ***ta-ra$_2$-to*** PY En 74, etc.

M ***ta-re-u*** PY Jn 693.8.

M? ***ta-re-wa*** PY Fn 41.13. Man's name (?).

M ***ta-su*** KN L 1568.2.

M ***ta-ta-ke-u*** PY Cn 655.20.

M ***ta-ta-ro*** PY Eo 224, etc. [p. 207].

M ***ta-ta-ta*** KN Ce 152.

ta-te-re PY An 209.1. *ko-ri-si-jo ta-te-re* is heading of a list of men. See *ko-ri-si-jo*.

M ***ta-ti-qo-we-u*** PY An 724.8.

ta-ti-qo-we-wo PY An 654.11. G.s. [pp. 42, 60, 78, 131, 207, 281].

P (PY) ***ta-to*** PY Cn 4 [p. 76].

M ***ta-to*** KN As 602.3.

ta-to-mo (I) KN Ws 1703; (II) PY Cn 4.1, 595.1, (III) Vn 46.11.

(I) Figures on a sealing along with *o-nu-ke*. Context, therefore, textiles [p. 374]. (II) Both texts are concerned with 'deficits' of animals [p. 172]. (III) = *σταθμός* 'a post' [p. 366].

M ***ta-u-na-so*** KN Ga 417, etc.

P (KN) ***ta-u-pa-du-we*** KN E 843.4.

M ***ta-u-ro*** KN V 832.2.

M ***ta-wa-ko-to*** KN Od 715.

M ***ta-we-si-jo*** KN Dw 1332.

ta-we-si-jo-jo PY An 261, etc. G.s.

M ***ta-za*** KN Db 1246, etc.

M ***ta-za-ro***[KN V 503.1, etc. [p. 182].

W ***ta-zo-te-ja*** PY Vn 851.11.

M ***ta-*22-de-so*** TH VII.

M ***ta-*49-ro*** KN Dw 1588.

W ***te-do-ne-ja*** PY Vn 851.10.

te-i-ja PY Fr 1202. D.s. *ma-te-re te-i-ja Ματρεὶ Θείᾳ* 'to the Divine Mother' [p. 248].

M ***te-ja-ro*** KN V 479.

te-ke PY Ta 711. 3rd s. aorist. *θῆκε* in sense 'buried' [pp. 51, 340, 354].

M ***te-ki-ri-ne-to*** KN Dw 686.

P (PY) ***te-ko-to-a-pe*** PY An 5. See following.

P (PY) ***te-ko-to-na-pe*** PY An 18.2.7. A double place-name: *te-ko-to(n)* in *a-pe*. Not 'a carpenter was absent' (as *Docs.*) [pp. 33, 52, 77, 132].

te-ko-to-ne KN Am 826, PY An 18. *τέκτονες* 'carpenters', or more general sense 'craftsmen' as contrasted with *qo-u-ko-ro* 'herdsmen'. At KN contrasted with *te-re-ta* 'service-men' [pp. 26, 133, 194].

te-me-no PY Er 312. Designation of holdings of the Wanax and the Lawagetas: *τέμενος* [pp. 83, 214].

M ***te-me-u*** KN X 319.

te-mi, see *o-u-te-mi*.

te-mi-dwe KN So 894. N.s.

te-mi-dwe-ta KN So 894, etc. PY Sa 791, etc. N.p. nt.

te-mi-dwe-te KN So 0437. N. dual nt.

te-mi-de-we-te PY Sa 1266. Adj. describing wooden wheels, contrasting with *o-da-ku-we-ta* (q.v.): *τέρμιδϝεν* 'having a tyre' (?) [pp. 20, 321, 324].

M ***te-mi-ro*** KN Da 1338+1448.

P (PY) ***te-mi-ti-ja*** PY On 300 [pp. 41, 76].

E ***te-mi-ti-jo*** PY Ac 1278. N.p. Group of men.

M ***te-na-ja-so*** KN As 5863.3.

te-o PY Eb 297, etc. A. or d.s.

te-o-jo PY *passim*. G.s.

te-o-i KN E 842, etc. D.p. θεόν or θεῷ, θεοῖο, θεοῖ(*h*)ι: 'god, goddess' [pp. 196, 234, 302].

W ***te-o-do-ra-(qe)*** MY = SpM 8.168.

te-o-po-ri-ja KN F 1058. Offering of barley at place *ma-sa*. Name of functionary or festival (?). Θεοφορια (?).

M ***te-o-po-***[ ] PY An 39.

te-o-qo-ri-ja KN Od 696. Heading of wool tablet. N.p.f. (?). θεοπολίαι (?).

P (MY) ***te-pa$_2$-de*** MY X 508 [p. 40].

P (MY) ***te-pa-i*** MY Oe 107 [p. 40].

W/E ***te-pa$_2$-ja*** KN Ap 5864.4, etc.

P (KN) ***te-pa-ra*** KN C 50 [p. 184].

M ***te-pe*** PY Jn 725.2.

te-pe-ja KN L 641. N.p.f.

te-pe-ja-o PY Ad 921. G.p.f. Group of cloth specialists at PY and KN [p. 115].

M ***te-pe-u*** PY An 340.

M ***te-po-se-u*** PY Jo 438.21, On 300.12. A prominent personality of the Further Province, described as *ti-nwa-si-jo ko-re-te* [pp. 89, 340, 374 f.].

M ***te-qi-ri-jo-ne*** PY Fn 187. D.s. [pp. 225, 231, 259].

M ***te-ra-pe-te*** KN V 147.5.

te-ra-pi-ke PY Eb 842. Possibly d.s. of man's name [pp. 53, 205].

M ***te-ra-po-si-jo*** KN X 446, Db 1263, etc. A cattle 'owner' [p. 178].

M ***te-ra-u-re-o*** PY Sa 22. G.s.

M ***te-ra-wo*** MY Au 102.3.

te-ra-wo-ne PY Fn 79.11. D.s. [p. 232].

M ***te-re-do*** PY Cn 1287. A fuller.

te-re-ja PY Eb 940, etc. 3rd s. pres.

te-re-ja-e PY Eb 940, etc. Infinitive. Athematic verb referring to some kind of obligation attaching to a land-holding (*ka-ma*): τελεία, τελείαεν 'perform services' (?) [pp. 52, 63,203 f.].

P (PY) ***te-re-ne-we*** PY An 18. L.s. [pp. 76, 128, 133].

P (PY) ***te-re-ne-wi-ja*** PY An 852 etc. See preceding.

(jo-)te-re-pa-to KN Fp 14. Apparently verb introduced by *jo-* with dative of recipients *e-ke-se-si*; context is offering of oil.

te-re-ta KN Am 826, etc.; PY Eb 149, etc. N.s. and p.

te-re-ta-o PY Er 312. G.p. Designation of holders of *ki-ti-me-na* land: τελεστάς 'man of the τέλος, service man'. Not 'initiation priest' [pp. 83, 85, 93, 138, 190 ff., 213, 216].

P (PY) ***te-re-te-we*** PY An 607. L.s. (?). Possibly a place-name [p. 128].

M ***te-re-wa-ko*** KN Np 973.

te-ri-ja PY Un 443.2, 3. Non-existent word: see *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja, mu-te-ri-ja*.

te-ro-a PY Xa 627.

M ***te-ro-ri-jo*** KN Uf 1522.1.

P (PY) ***te-se-e*** PY Na 531.

M ***te-se-u*** PY En 74.

P (PY) ***te-so-qe*** PY Un 1193.4.

P (PY) ***te-ta-ra-ne,*** PY An 1, etc. [pp. 69–70].

M ***te-ta-ro*** KN V 479 r. 3.

M ***te-te-re-u*** PY Eb 1176.1, etc.

M ***te-te-u*** KN V 958.

te-tu-ko-wo-a KN Ld 871. N.p. nt.

te-tu-ko-wo-a$_2$ PY Sa 682. Participle describing textiles and wheels: τετυχϝό(*h*)α. Exact meaning unclear. With such wheels at PY the ideogram lacks the surcharged TE found with wooden wheels [pp. 44, 294, 326].

P (PY) ***te-tu-ru-we*** PY Na 1054, etc. See *te-ta-ra-ne* [p. 160].

te-u-ke-pi PY Sb 1315. I.p. τεύχεσφι '(reins) with gear, trappings' [pp. 229, 328].

P (PY) ***te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro*** PY An 424, etc.

Probably a place-name. Not 'beetroot-gatherer' [pp. 93, 137].

M ***te-u-to*** KN X 292, etc.

M ***te-wa-jo*** KN Ce 156.2, etc.

M ***te-wa-ko-no*** PY An 209.

M ***te-wa-ro*** MY Oe 111.5.

M ***ti-ke-wo*** PY Cn 655.7.

M ***ti-ki-jo*** PY An 129 [p. 139].

M ***ti-ko-ro*** PY Cn 1197.3.

M ***ti-ma*** KN V 317.

P (PY) ***ti-mi-ti-ja*** PY Jo 438, etc. See *te-mi-ti-ja* [p. 41].

ti-mi-to KN As 821. G.s. Name of a divinity: *Θίμιτος*, for *Θέμιτος* [pp. 129, 152, 278].

P (PY) ***ti-mi-to-a-ke-e/-i*** (l.s.) PY Cn 600, etc. *Θέμιστος ἀγέει* [pp. 41, 67, 154, 157, 164, 167, 278].

M ***ti-mi-za*** KN Dk 1076.

ti-mu-nu-we KN M 683.2. Personal name (?).

E ***ti-ni-ja-ta*** PY Fn 79 [pp. 138, 220].

P (PY) ***ti-no*** PY An 18, etc.

ti-no-de (lat.) PY Fr 1223 [pp. 84, 92, 133, 220, 247].

E ***ti-nwa-si-jo/-ja*** PY Ea 810, etc. Place in Further Province: see *te-po-se-u* [pp. 42, 114, 121].

M ***ti-nwa-si-jo*** PY Ea 810.

E ***ti-nwa-ti-ja-o*** PY Ad 684. G.p.

P (PY) ***ti-o-ri-jo*** PY An 661 [p. 154].

M ***ti-pa$_2$-jo*** KN As 1517.3, etc.

ti-pa$_2$-jo-jo PY En 467. G.s. [pp. 191, 192, 196, 285].

M ***ti-ri-da-ro*** PY Ea 28, etc.

M ***ti-ri-jo*** KN X 1384, etc.

M ***ti-ri-jo-pa$_2$*** KN Sc 226, etc.

ti-ri-jo-we PY Ta 641. N.s. nt.

ti-ri-o-we-e PY Ta 641. Adj. describing a three-handled *di-pa*: *τριόϝ(ϝ)ες*, *τριῶϝες*, [pp. 26, 344].

ti-ri-po PY Ta 641, etc. N.s.

ti-ri-po-de PY Ta 641. N. dual. *τρίπως* 'tripod cauldron' [p. 50, 338 ff.].

ti-ri-po-di-ko MY Ue 611. N.p. Name of a vessel: *τριποδίσκοι* 'small tripods' [p. 364].

M ***ti-ri-po-di-ko*** PY Cn 599.

M ***ti-ri-sa-ta*** KN Ce 61.4.

ti-ri-se-ro-e PY Tn 316, Fr 1204. Name of a divinity: *τρισηρώει*(?), 'Clan Ancestor' (?) [pp. 241, 263].

P (KN) ***ti-ri-to*** KN Uf 120, etc. [p. 178].

M ***ti-ri-to*** KN Dx 1386.

E ***ti-ri-ti-jo/-ja*** KN E 749, etc. [p. 233].

M ***ti-ri-we-ro*** PY Un 1320. D.s. After *pa-ro*.

M (?) ***ti-se*** PY Un 1321. Man's name (?); subject of *o-pa-ro*[.]*ze*.

M ***ti-ta-ra*** PY An 1281.

M ***ti-tu-so*** MY Oe 112.1.

W ***ti-wa-ti-ja*** KN Ap 633.

to-e PY Ep 842. 3rd s. aor. subj.

to-me PY Ep 617. Athem. aor. infin.

to-jo PY Eb 156. 3rd s. pres. opt. A verb designating some obligation arising out of landholding: *θώη*, *θῶμεν*, *θώιοι* 'pay'. See further *to-o* [pp. 50, 52, 63, 203 f., 205].

to-i-qe PY Na 520. D.p. *τοῖ(h)ι-q^{w}ε* 'and to them' [pp. 50, 309].

M ***to-ke-u*** PY An 209.

to-ko-do-mo PY An 7, etc. N.p. *τοιχοδόμοι* 'masons' [pp. 91, 131].

to-ko-so-ta KN X 7624. Category unclear.

to-ko-so-wo-ko PY An 207. N.p. Description of group of men along with other craft designations: *τοξοϝοργοί* 'bow-makers' [pp. 136, 229].

to-ma-ko KN Ch 897. Name of an ox: *Στόμαργος* [p. 182].

to-me-o PY Xn 1342. Unclear.

to-mi-ka KN Lc 761, etc. Adj. describing cloths. VC compare *θῶμιγξ* 'cord string'.

M ***to-na-ta*** KN B 803.

to-ni-ja KN X 192. Text fragmentary, analysis unclear.

to-ni-jo PY Ta 716. In description of *pa-sa-ro*. Possibly compound adjective *a-pi to-ni-jo*: cf. *τόνιον* 'strand' (of rope, etc.). 'Double-stranded' (gold necklaces) [pp. 54, 358].

to-no PY Ta 707. N.s. *θόρνος* for *θρόνος* 'chair'; cf. *θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον* (Cypr.), Hesych. [pp. 61, 349].

M ***to-no-(qe)*** KN V 1043.

to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo PY Fr 1222. G.p. Name of a festival: στονο-εγερτηρίων 'the Lamentation'(?) [pp. 250 f.].

to-o PY Un 1321. In description of an *ai-te*. Perhaps participle corresponding to *wo-zo* as *to-e* does to *wo-ze* (see *to-e*).

to-pa PY Ub 1318. An article made of leather: στοιβά 'cushion' (?). See also *ru-de-a*$_2$.

***to-pa*$_2$** KN Fh 339. Designation of oil. Faulty spelling of *to-ro-pa*$_2$ or metathesis τορφά.

M ***to-pe-si*** KN B 805.

to-pe-za KN V 280; PY Ta 642, etc. N.s.

to-pe-zo PY Ta 715. Dual. τόρπεζα, τορπέζω 'table'. At KN apparently name of a festival on the fourth day of the month, the day being described as *o-u-ki-te-mi* (q.v.) [pp. 19, 36, 41, 61, 348].

M ***to-qi-da-so*** PY Fn 324.

to-qi-de PY Ta 642, etc. I.s. Accessorial item of decoration: τορϙ^{w}ίδει 'with a spiral'.

to-qi-de-ja PY Ta 709. N.s.f.

to-qi-de-jo PY Ta 715. N. dual f. τορϙ^{w}ιδεία, τορϙ^{w}ιδείω 'decorated with a spiral' [p. 29, 339 f.].

to-qi-de-we-sa PY Ta 711. N.s.f. Description of a jug: τορϙ^{w}ίδ-ϝεσσα 'decorated with a spiral' [pp. 60, 339, 341].

to-ra-ke PY Sh 736, etc. N.p. θώρακες 'corslets' [pp. 329, 376].

M ***to-ri-jo*** PY Jn 605.

W ***to-ro-ja*** PY Ep 705.

M ***to-ro-ki-no*** KN V 831.

to-ro-no-wo-ko KN As 1517. D.s. Description of *e-sa-re-we* or (n.p.) description of the men in his charge. If 'chairmakers', dialect distinction between PY and KN: θρονοϝοργοί.

M ***to-ro-o*** PY An 519. G.s. [p. 151].

***to-ro-pa*$_2$** KN Fh 358, etc. Designation of oil, in Fh 5446 contrasting with *ku-pi-ri-jo*. Possibly 'for consumption': τροφά (so *Docs.*).

to-ro-qe-jo-me-no PY Eq 213.1. N.s.m. middle participle: τροϙ^{w}εόμενος 'causing to plough' or στροϙ^{w}εόμενος 'on a tour of inspection' [pp. 52, 218].

to-ro-qo KN Od 563. A comment *e-ze-to to-ro-qo* on a wool return relating to men of *Ri-jo-no*. The word could refer (1) to the two men (see *a-to-mo-na*) or (2) to the wool. If (2), cf. στρόφος 'twisted band or cord', 'wool twist', *vel sim.* If (1), a corresponding action noun; cf. Engl. (cotton) *throwsters*. For *e-ze-to* see *ze-to*.

P (PY) ***to-ro-wa-so*** PY Na 405 [p. 157].

M ***to-ro-wi*** PY Cn 131, etc.

M ***to-ro-wi-ka*** PY An 5.

to-ro-wi-ko PY Cn 655. G.s. [p. 132].

M ***to-ro-wo*** KN Ag 89, etc. [pp. 139, 370].

M ***to-ru-ko-ro*** PY Cn 655.

E ***to-sa-me-ja-o*** (g.p.) PY Ad 685 [p. 114].

M ***to-sa-no*** PY Fn 79.

to-sa-no-jo PY Jn 431. G.s. [p. 138].

M ***to-si-ta*** PY Cn 719.

to-so, to-sa, passim. τόσσος 'so much'.

to-so-de, to-sa-de, passim. τοσσόσδε 'the following amount'.

to-so-jo PY Er 312. N.s. nt. Qualifies *pe-ma*: τόσϝον (an attempt to render palatalized *s*?) [pp. 45, 215].

to-so-ne MY Oe 118. In a wool return followed by *qo-zo* (q.v.): τοσσοινε (?). For Cypr. τόν(ν)ε see p. 204 [pp. 13, 50].

E (?) ***to-te-ja*** KN Ak 611 [p. 125].

W ***to-ti-ja*** MY Fo 101.2.

to-to PY Sn 64. Followed by *we-to*, phrase sometimes written without word-divider: τοτο ϝέτος 'this year' (?) [pp. 80, 143].

M ***to-tu-no*** KN Da 1276.

to-u-ka KN Lc 504, etc. Endorsement written on reverse relating to large numbers of cloths:

noun from same verb as *te-tu-ko-wo-a* (q.v.): †τουχά 'manufacture', i.e. stocks of finished articles (thus G. Björck) [p. 294].

M ***to-u-na-ta*** KN Dm 1182.

P (PY) ***to-wa*** PY An 654 [pp. 154, 158].

M ***to-wa-no*** KN B 806.

to-wa-no-re PY Fn 1192. D.s.

M ***to-wa-te-u*** PY Eb 1188, etc.

M ***]to-wi-no*** KN Do 923.

M ***to-ze-u*** PY An 1281.

W ***tu-ka-na*** KN Ap 639.

tu-ka-te-(qe) MY SpM 8.168. N.s.

tu-ka-te-re MY Oe 106. D.s. θυγάτηρ 'daughter'. In Oe 106 apparently a qualification: 'to *o-te-ra* junior'. Cf. *i-jo*.

W ***tu-ka-to*** KN Ap 639.

M ***tu-ke-ne-u*** PY Jn 310.

tu-ma-ko KN Np 973. Possibly name of an ox. Cf. *to-ma-ko*.

M ***tu-ma-we-to*** KN Dw 920. G.s. A cattle 'owner' [p. 178].

tu-na-no Lc 525, etc. A category of cloths of light weight [pp. 290, 297].

M ***tu-na-no-to*** KN Da 1351.

P (KN) ***tu-ni-ja*** KN Db 1606 [p. 178].

M ***tu-ni-jo*** PY Cn 4.

M ***tu-pa$_3$-ni-ja-so*** KN Db 1279.

M ***tu-pa$_3$-da-ro*** KN X 1488.

tu-ra-te-u PY Ae 8, etc.

tu-ra-te-we KN B 755. N.p.

tu-ra-te-u-si PY Gn 428, Vn 48. Some kind of craftsman (MAN^{B}); in PY Gn 424 listed along with *ki-jo-ne-u-si*; in PY Vn 48 in a context of offerings [pp. 126, 138].

M ***tu-ri*** KN Vc 388.

M ***tu-ri-ja-jo*** PY Jn 431.

W ***tu-ri-ja-ti*** PY En 659.

M ***tu-ri-jo*** PY Jn 693.

P (KN) ***tu-ri-so*** KN C 59, etc. Τυλισός [p. 178].

E ***tu-ri-si-jo/-ja*** KN E 668, etc. [p. 291].

M ***tu-ri-si-jo-jo*** PY Sa 758. G.s.

M ***tu-ri-ta*** PY Cn 40.

tu-ro$_2$ PY Un 718. N.p. τυροί 'cheeses'.

tu-ru-pte-ri-ja PY (I) An 35, (II) Un 443. In both cases followed by *o-no*, q.v. Perhaps festival name serving as the date. For (I) see pp. 38 f. and 260; for (II) see pp. 260 f. See also *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*, and *mu-te-ri-ja*.

M ***tu-ru-we-u*** PY An 261.

M ***tu-si-je-u*** PY An 519 [p. 42].

M ***tu-ti-je-u*** PY Cn 4.

M ***tu-to*** KN Ga 419.

tu-wa-si PY Fn 41.15. Name of a person?.

tu-we-a PY Un 267.

tu-wo PY Un 219.

θύεα, θύος 'aromatics' for making perfumed oil and unguents: cf. ἔλαιον τεθυωμένον *Il.* 14. 172 (*Docs.*) [pp. 259, 270. 302].

M ***tu-we-ta*** PY Un 267.

M ***tu-wi-no*** KN Ga 517.

tu-wi-no-no KN Ga 676.

tu-wo, see *tu-we-a*.

W ***tu-zo*** Ap 639.

W ***tu-*qg-mi*** KN Ap 639.

P (PY) ***u-de-wi-ne*** PY Cn 595 [p. 172].

M/E ***u-de-wi-ni-jo*** PY Jn 413.

u-do KN K 873. Comment on a vessel with ideogram surcharged PO: ὑδώρ (?) 'water'.

u-do-no-o-i PY Fn 187.13. D.p. Cult personnel (?). Recipients of barley [pp. 231 ff.].

u-do-ro KN Uc 160 rev.; PY Tn 996. N.p. Name of a vessel shaped like a pail with two horizontal handles some distance from the rim: †ὕδροί 'water pots' (?) [p. 364].

M ***u-du*** KN V 479.

W ***u-jo-na*** KN Ap 639.

P (PY) ***u-ka-jo*** PY Nn 228.

W ***u-pa-ra*** KN Ap 639.

P (PY) ***u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja*** PY Aa 298 [p. 69].

u-pa-ta-ro Ti I. Place-name? Personal name?

P (PY) ***u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*** PY An 654 [pp. 76, 154, 158].

u-po KN Sd 0422. Adverb: ὑπό 'underneath' [p. 317].

P (PY) ***u-po-di-jo-no-wo-wo*** PY Na 105 [pp. 77].
P (PY) ***u-po-jo*** PY Fn 187.8. G.s.
u-po PY Ub 1318 possibly corresponding n.s. [pp. 231, 250].
P (PY) ***u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja*** PY Cn 45 [pp. 76, 164, 167].
u-po-we KN Le 178. Name of a garment designated by ideogram TUNIC: †*ὑποϝες*. VC compare *ὑποέστης· χιτών*, Hesych. [p. 294].
M ***u-ra-jo*** KN B 799, etc.
M ***u-ra-mo-no*** KN As 1516.
P (PY) ***u-ra-*86*** PY Na 466, etc.
M ***u-re-u*** PY Vn 865.
M ***u-ro$_2$*** KN Db 5367.
E ***u-ru-pi-ja-jo*** PY An 519, etc. *Ϝρυπιαῖοι* [pp. 41, 153, 173, 306].
u-ru-to PY An 657. 3rd p. pres. mid. *ϝρύντοι* 'are watching' [pp. 44, 151].
M/E ***u-ta-jo*** KN V 832, etc.
P (KN) ***u-ta-no*** KN Fp 13, etc. [p. 41].
M ***u-ta-no*** KN Dd 1592.
E ***u-ta-ni-jo*** KN E 749, etc. [pp. 233, 236].
W ***u-wa-mi-ja*** PY Ep 416, etc.
P (PY) ***u-wa-si*** PY An 656 [pp. 154, 157].
M ***u-wa-si-jo*** KN Ai 115.
M ***u-wa-ta*** KN Dd 1286.
u-wo-qe-we KN Ch 902. N. dual or p. Designation of functionaries at *o-du-ru-we*: *ὑϝοϙ^{w}ῆϝε(ς)* 'overseers' (?) [pp. 183, 216].

M ***wa-a$_2$-ta*** MY Au 102.
P (PY) ***wa-a$_2$-te-pi*** (l.p.) PY Na 1009 [p. 136].
P (PY) ***wa-a$_2$-te-we*** PY An 207 [p. 136].
M ***wa-da-ko*** PY Cn 285.
M ***wa-de-o*** PY Sa 766. G.s.
M ***wa-di-re-we*** PY Fn 79. D.s.
M ***wa-do-me-no*** PY Vn 130.
M ***wa-du-ka-sa-ro*** KN Da 1445.
M ***wa-du-na*** KN V 503, etc.
M ***wa-du-na-ro*** KN C 912.
M ***wa-du-na-to*** KN As 1516.
M ***wa-du-ri-jo*** PY Jn 725.
M ***wa-e-ro*** PY Cn 1197.
M ***wa-je*** KN V 479.
M ***wa-ka-ta*** PY Jn 658.
E ***wa-ka-ti-ja-ta*** PY An 656 [pp. 153, 158].
M ***wa-ke-i-jo*** KN X 177, etc.
wa-ke-ta KN Fs 4. Recipient of cult rations. Divinity? Functionary? Name? [p. 237].
wa-na-ka KN Vc 73; PY Na 334, Ta 711. N.s.
wa-na-ka-te KN Ga 675; PY Un 2, Fr 1220, etc. D.s.
wa-na-ke-te PY Fr 1215. Alternative spelling.
wa-na-ka-to PY La 622. G.s. *Ϝάναξ* as name of the king and of the 'Young God' [pp. 26, 27, 44, 83, 91, 220, 249, 258 f., 308].
wa-na-ka-te-ro KN X 976; PY En 74, etc.; TH I. N.s.m. and n.
wa-na-ka-te-ra KN Lc 525. N.p.nt. Adj. *ϝανάκτερος* describing plot of land, land-holders, cloths (cf. *e-qe-si-ja*), and oil (TH).
wa-na-se-wi-ja (I) PY Ta 711. N.f. (II) PY Fr 1221. N.p. nt.
wa-na-se-wi-jo PY Fr 1215. G.p. nt. (I) in a description of a jug: *ϝανασσηϝία* 'decorated with Wanassa (and women)'. (II) Name of a festival *ϝανασσήρια, Ϝανασσηϝίων*, 'Festival of the Wanassa' [pp. 45, 60, 250, 341, 353 f.].
M ***wa-na-si-ja-ke*** PY Vn 851.
wa-na-so-i PY Fr 1222, etc. D. dual.
wa-no-so-i PY Fr 1219. Alternative spelling.
Recipients of offerings *ϝανασσοιιν* (?); dat. of *ϝανάσσω*, dual; cf. *ϝάνασσα* [pp. 20, 41, 45, 47, 248 f.].
M ***wa-na-ta-jo*** KN V 466, etc.
wa-na-ta-jo-jo PY En 609. G.s.
M ***wa-ni-ko*** PY Jn 478.
P (PY) ***wa-no-jo wo-wo*** PY Cn 40 [pp. 77, 164].
wa-o PY Ta 716. Name of the objects represented by ideogram DOUBLE AXE [p. 358].

M ***wa-pa-no*** PY Jn 601.
M ***wa-pa-ro-jo*** PY An 656. G.s.
M ***wa-po*** KN Fh 5429.
M ***wa-ra-ki-no*** PY An 615.
M ***wa-ra-ko-no*** PY Jn 845.
M ***wa-ra-pi-si-ro*** MY Au 102.
W ***wa-ra-ti*** KN Ap 639.
wa-ra-wi-ta KN So 0443. Text fragmentary. Word written in top line. Could be description of the wheels. Comments in other texts of this series refer to the source of the wheels (named workshops) or note them as owed, under manufacture, etc., see pp. 322 ff.): *ϝλαριστά* 'war booty' (?). The initial digamma would discredit the etymological connexion of *λῃϊστός*, etc., with Skt. *lotram*. **wla* will be connected with **wel* 'seize' (cf. Germanic *wel-w*, see S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* sub voc. *wilwa*; see also Frisk sub vocc. *ἁλίσκομαι*, *εἴλωτες*, and *ἕλωρ*).
M ***wa-ra-wo-no*** PY Cn 600.
P (PY) ***wa-re-u-ka-ra-***[PY Na 576.
M ***wa-ru-wo-qo*** KN As 1516.
M ***wa-si-ro*** KN V 159.
W ***wa-ti-ka-ra*** KN Ap 827.
M ***wa-ti-ko-ro*** PY Jn 725.
P (KN) ***wa-to*** KN Ch 902, etc.; TH [pp. 182, 275].
wa-tu KN X 114; PY Eq 887, Tn 316. At KN a.s. after ***pe-da*** (q.v.). In Tn 316 the site of the ***po-si-da-i-jo*** and the subject of the verb ***a-ke***: *ϝάστυ* 'the town' [pp. 103, 266].
M ***wa-tu-o*** PY Vn 865.
M ***wa-tu-o-ko*** PY Ea 136.
M ***wa-tu-ta*** PY Jn 725.
M ***wa-tu-wa-o-ko*** PY An 519.
M ***wa-u-do-no*** PY Jn 389.
M ***wa-wa-ka*** KN L 1568.
P E? ***wa-wo-u-de*** PY An 654, cf. Xb 200 [p. 154].
M ***wa-*86-re*** KN Dc 1117.
we-a$_2$-no-i PY Fr 1225. D.p. With ***a-ro-pa*** *ϝε(h)ανοῖ(h)ι* '(unguent) for clothes' [p. 247].
we-a-re-ja PY Ta 642. N.s.f.
we-a$_2$-re-jo PY Ta 714. N.s.m.
Adj. describing a stone table and a chair: *ὑαλεία* 'crystal' (?) [pp. 27, 388, 345].
we-a-re-pe PY Fr 1215, etc. N.s. nt.
we-ja-re-pe PY Fr 1205, etc. Alternative spelling.
Description of perfumed oil: †*ϝε(h)άλειφες* 'suitable for anointing garments'; alternatively *ὐάλειφες*, a compound with prep. *ὐ-* [pp. 27, 247].
M ***we-da-ne-wo*** PY An 610, etc. G.s.
we-da-ne-we PY Es 646, etc. D.s. [pp. 95, 165, 174, 222, 307].
W ***we-e-wi-ja*** PY Ub 1318.4. First word of entry relating to *diptera* (q.v.). Interpreted as *ὗειαι* 'pig's', but the internal digamma is puzzling. Parallel entries (e.g. ***wo-di-je-ja***) show that it is a woman's name [p. 27].
W ***we-i-we-sa*** MY Fo 101.
we-je-ke-a$_2$ PY Sa 787, etc. N.p. nt.
we-je-ke-e PY Sa 487, etc. N. dual nt.
Adj. describing wheels in connexion with single vehicles: 'mounted, vehicle-ready'. Possibly a compound (cf. ***e-ke-i-ja***): *ὐεγχε(h)α*: 'mounted on an *ἔγχος*' [pp. 27, 32, 321, 324, 325].
we-je-we KN Gv 863; PY Er 880. Some kind of plant mentioned with figs and olives: probably vines. VG compares *ὑιήν· τὴν ἄμπελον* Hesych.; *ὑίήω· ποιὰ βοτάνη* Id.: *ὑιῆϝες* 'vines' [p. 217].
M ***we-ka-di-jo*** KN V 831 [p. 51].
we-ka-ta KN C 59, etc. N.p. Description of oxen: *ϝεργάται* 'ploughing oxen' [p. 184].
we-ka-ta-e KN X 1044. Perhaps dual of preceding; cf. ***e-qe-ta-e*** (q.v.).
W? ***we-ke-i-ja*** KN Am 819. Comment on men and boys in a monthly

ration return relating to the place *pa$_2$-ra*. Perhaps the owner (female) of the slaves. See following.

M ***we-ke-i-jo*** PY Jn 937.

we-pe-za PY Ta 713. N.s.f. Adj. describing a table; cf. *e-ne-wo-pe-za*: ϝε(κ)πεζα 'with six feet' [pp. 51, 347].

we-re-ka-ra-ta (I) PY An 298. N.p.m.

we-re-ka-ra (II) PY An 610. Possibly a defective spelling of same. Perhaps textile specialists, but in (II) appearing as rowers along with other miscellaneous contingents (cf. *e-re-e qe-ro-me-no*) [pp. 136 f.].

we-re-ke PY Cn 131, etc. Word appearing after place-name as heading on first tablet of cattle sets: †ϝρέγες 'herds' [pp. 27, 33, 45, 71, 165, 168].

we-re-we KN Ch 902. N. dual or p. Title of some kind of functionary [p. 182].

M? ***we-ro-ta*** PY An 129. Possibly a class of men.

we-te-i-we-te-i PY Es 644. D.s. ϝέτεϊ ϝέτεϊ 'annually' [pp. 48, 58, 221].

M ***we-te-re-u*** PY Eb 472, etc. [p. 210, 370].

we-to PY Ma 365, Sn 64. ϝέτος 'year' [pp. 44, 305].

M ***we-u-da-ne-we*** PY Cn 418. D.s. See *we-da-ne-we*.

M ***we-wa-do-ro*** KN Sc 252.

we-we-e-a KN Le 178, etc. N.p. nt. Adj. describing cloths: ϝερϝε(h)έα = Attic ἐρεᾶ 'woollen'. Basic noun ϝέρρος, ϝερρεσα-'wool'; εἶρος [p. 294].

M ***we-we-ro*** KN V 147, etc.

we-we-si-je-ja PY Aa 762, etc. N.p.f.

we-we-si-je-ja-o PY Ad 318. G.p.f. Group of women, probably belonging to 'textile' groups. See *we-we-e-a* [p. 115].

M ***we-we-si-jo*** (I) PY Jn 431, etc.

we-we-si-jo-jo KN De 1648, etc. G.s. [pp. 125, 178].

we-we-si-jo (II) KN L 654. Entry in parallel with feminine ethnics and place-names. But may be identical with (I).

M ***wi-da-jo*** KN V 60.

M ***wi-da-ka-so*** KN Dd 1402.

M ***wi-da-ma-ro*** KN V 479.

W ***wi-da-ma-ta$_2$*** KN Ap 639, etc.

M ***wi-do-wo-i-jo*** PY Ae 344. See *wi-du-wo-i-jo*, *wi-dwo-i-jo* [pp. 26, 45, 52, 135].

M ***wi-du-ro*** KN B 799.

M ***wi-du-ru*** KN X 5975.

M ***wi-du-wa-ko*** PY Jn 310.

M ***wi-du-wo-i-jo*** PY Jn 415.

M ***wi-dwo-i-jo*** PY Ep 539.

W? ***wi-ja-da-ra*** PY Ad 142.

M ***wi-ja-ma-ro*** KN Da 1378, etc.

W ***wi-ja-na-tu*** KN Ap 769.

M/E ***wi-ja-ni-jo*** PY Jn 431.

P (PY) ***wi-ja-ṇo*** PY Mn 1410.

M ***wi-ja-te-wo*** PY Jn 431. G.s.

wi-ja-te-we PY Cn 45, etc. D.s. [p. 167].

P (PY) ***wi-ja-we-ra$_2$*** PY Cn 643, etc. *Fὶs Ἀϝέλλας* (?) [pp. 166, 280].

M ***wi-je-mo*** KN As 609, etc.

M ***wi-je-so*** KN Da 1163.

M ***wi-jo-ka-de*** Dd 1155.

M ***wi-jo-qo-ta*** KN Db 1305.

M ***wi-jo-ro-jo*** PY Jn 725.

M ***wi-ju-te-u*** KN Dx 1403.

M ***wi-na-jo*** KN K 875, etc.

P (KN) ***wi-na-to*** KN As 604, etc.

P (PY) ***wi-nu-ri-jo*** PY An 610 [p. 69].

M ***wi-pi-no-o*** KN V 958.

M ***wi-pi-o*** KN X 5103.

M ***wi-ra-ne-to*** KN As 1516, etc.

M ***wi-ri-ja-no*** PY Ea 52.

W ***wi-ri-ke-ja*** PY Vn 851.

M ***wi-ri-ki-no*** KN V 831.

wi-ri-ni-jo KN Sd 0401. I.p.

wi-ri-ne-o KN Sd 0408, etc.

wi-ri-ne-jo KN Sd 0415. Adj. describing *o-po-qo* (q.v.) ϝρινίοις, ϝρινέοις, ϝρινείοις 'leather' [pp. 26, 44, 60, 315].

wi-ri-no PY Ub 1318. In a return of skins: ϝρῖνος 'hide'.

wi-ri-za KN Od M 26; PY Un 249. Name of aromatic plant or part of one: ϝιρίδια 'iris root' or ϝρίζα 'root' [pp. 270, 277].

M ***wi-ro*** KN As 1516.
M ***wi-sa-to*** PY Vn 130.
M ***wi-so-wo-pa-ṇa*** PY ` Sh 740. Probably man's name, recipient of corslet [p. 330].
M ***wi-su-ro*** KN Dd 1284.
M ***wi-ti-mi-jo*** PY Jn 605. Bronzesmith.
wi-to-te-ra PY Wa 748.
M ***wi-tu-ta*** PY Jn 320.
wo-de-wi-jo KN Fp 16.1, etc. Name of a month: 'Rose month' (?) [p. 235].
W ***wo-di-je-ja*** KN Ap 639, etc.
M ***wo-di-jo*** KN V 60, etc.
wo-do-we PY Fr 1203, etc. N.s. nt. Description of perfumed oil: *ϝορδόϝεν* 'rose-perfumed' [p. 246].
wo-i-ko-de KN As 1519. A.s. plus 'lative' particle *-de*. Preceded by personal name in genitive, introducing a total of men: (*Di-ri-ne-wo*) *ϝοῖκόνδε* 'to the *oikos* of D.' [pp. 26, 77].
W ***wo-jo*** (I) KN V 492, etc.
wo-jo (II) PY Eb 472. In a specification of a land holding. Analysis unclear [p. 210].
M ***wo-ju-ro*** KN Dw 1492.
wo-ka PY Sa 487, etc. Designation of a vehicle, preceded by proper name in genitive: †*ϝοχά* 'chariot' [p. 324].
wo-ke (I) KN L 698; (II) PY Sh 736. (I) Parallel with *ku-su a-ta-o* and so indication of place; (II) preceded by *me-za-na* (q.v.): *ϝοίκει* 'in the *oikos*' [pp. 47, 53, 330].
M ***wo-ki-ro*** PY Cn 328.
M ***wo-ki-to*** PY Cn 131.
wo-na-si KN Gv 863. D.p. Context trees (see *we-je-we*): *ϝοινάσσι* 'with vineyards' (so *Docs.*).
M ***wo-ne-wa*** PY An 654.
wo-ne-we PY Cn 40, etc. N.p.m. A category of royal cattle, contrasting with *pa-ra-jo* (q.v.). This suggests an age category: from †*ϝόρνον* for *ϝάρνον* (?) [pp. 165, 168].
P (PY) ***wo-no-qe-wa*** PY Na 396 [pp. 76, 157, 306].
wo-no-qo-so KN Ch 897. Name of an ox: *ϝοίνοqʷs* [pp. 26, 43, 44, 182].
P (PY) ***wo-qe-we*** PY An 610, etc. [pp. 69, 76, 131, 162].
wo-ra-we-sa KN Se 880. N.s.f. Adj. describing a chariot body. Perhaps the material or decorative feature or *ϝωράϝεσσα* 'with a cover' [p. 318].
wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo PY Er 312, Un 718. Adj. describing plots of land. Not *ὀργεωνεῖος* [pp. 27, 45, 214].
M ***wo-ro-ko-jo*** PY Sa 763. G.s.
wo-ro-ne-ja MY Oe 111. N.p. nt. Adj. describing wool (fleeces?). If *ϝόρνεια* 'lamb's', plenary spelling or metathesis *ϝρόνεια*. Cf. *wo-ne-we* and *o-u-ka*.
M ***wo-ro-qo-ta*** PY Qa 1305.
M ***wo-ro-ti-ja*** PY Es 728.
wo-ro-ti-ja-o PY Es 650. G.s.
M ***wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo*** PY An 661.
M ***wo-si-jo-ne*** KN B 1055.
M ***wo-ti-jo*** KN Dx 5302, etc.
wo-to-mo PY Sb 1314. Man's name?
M ***wo-tu-ko*** PY Xn 593.
P (PY) ***wo-tu-wa-ne*** PY Cn 4.
M ***wo-wa-ro*** PY Jn 750.
M ***wo-we-u*** (I) PY Ad 142. This text does not belong to the rest of the Ad set. It is in hand 22. *wo-we-u*, described as a *ko-wo*, belongs to *wi-ja-da-ra* (q.v.).
wo-we-u (II) KN (i) Uf 836, (ii) C 911. A function or occupation: (i) describing *ku-ka-da-ro* at *pa₂-ra*, (ii) at *su-ki-ri-ta*. Derivative from *wo-wo* (q.v.): man responsible for cattle stations (?).
M ***wo-wi-ja-ta*** PY An 172, etc.
wo-wo PY An 424, etc. Preceded by man's name in genitive: designating location of cattle. Context suggests some such meaning as 'steading'. Cf. *-wo-wi-ja*, which is presumably

the diminutive: *ϝόρρος, ϝόρρια* (?).

M ***wo-wo*** KN Dk 1071, etc.

wo-ze PY Ea 309, etc. 3rd s. pres.

wo-ze-e PY Ep 704. Infinitive.

wo-zo-e PY Eb 338. Id. Defective spelling.

wo-zo PY An 519, etc. N.s.m. present participle.

wo-zo-te PY Eb 236, etc. D.s. and n.p. present participle. Verb denoting an obligation arising out of major land-holding. *ϝοικ-*'occupy' rather than *ϝεργ-* 'work' [pp. 194, 203 f., 210].

wo-zo-e PY Eb 338.2. Error for *wo-ze-e*. See preceding.

wo-zo-me-no KN So 0433. N. dual nt.

wo-zo-me-na KN So 0438. N.p. nt. *ϝοργόμενα* 'under construction' as opposed to *de-do-me-na* (q.v.) [pp. 52, 322].

P (PY) ***za-e-to-ro*** PY An 610 [pp. 69, 70, 104, 154].

M ***za-ki-ri-jo*** KN Vc 108.

P (PY) ***za-ku-si-ja*** PY Sa 751, 787. L.s. (?). A place-name [p. 326].

M/E ***za-ku-si-jo*** (I) MY Oe 122. D.s.

E ***za*]-*ku-si-jo*** (II) PY An 610. N.p. [pp. 130 ff.].

P (PY) ***za-ma-e-wi-ja*** PY Jn 829, etc. [pp. 69, 76, 303].

za-mi-jo KN As 1517; PY An 129. N.p.m. A category of men: *ζάμιοι* 'forced levies' (?).

M ***za-ra-ro*** KN Dk 1070, etc.

za-we-te PY Ma 225. Adv.

za-we-[*te*] KN X 658. *κιάϝετες* 'this year' [pp. 22, 37, 45, 107, 305].

P (PY) ***ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na*** PY Xa 70. See *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*.

M ***ze-me-(qe)*** KN L 588.

ze-ne-si-wi-jo KN M 720. Name of a month (?): *Γενεσίων* [p. 302].

E ***ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$*** PY Aa 61.

ze-pu$_2$-ra-o PY Ad 664. G.p. [pp. 14, 119].

M ***ze-pu$_2$-ro*** PY Ea 56.

M ***ze-ro*** KN Da 5218.

ze-so-me-no PY Un 267. D.s.m. *ζεσσομένῳ* 'going to boil' [pp. 45, 51, 270].

ze-u-ke-si PY Ub 1318. D.p. *ζεύγεσσι*: designation of *di-pte-ra* (?) [pp. 37, 45, 227].

ze-u-ke-u-si PY Fn 50, 1192. D.p. Men concerned with *ζεύγεα* (see preceding): *ζευγεῦσι* [pp. 37, 45, 227, 229].

M ***ze-wa-so*** KN X M2.

zo-a KN Fh 355, etc. Designation of oil: *ζοά* (cf. *ze-so-me-no*) 'for boiling'.

M ***zo-do-so*** KN As 40.

M ***zo-ra-*[*qe*] KN L 588.

zo-wa KN (I) X 766; (II) X 984; (III) X 0473. (I) with verb *a-ze-to* (*ἄγετο*?); (II) Part of description of an artefact (?); (III) unclear. *ζῶϝα* 'animals' is compatible with (I) and (II).

M ***zo-wi-jo*** KN V 1523, etc.

M ***zo-wo*** PY An 519.

W ****18-to-no*** KN Ap 639.

M ****22-ri-ta-ro*** KN Dw 1216.

W ****34-ke-ja*** Fn 187. A cult functionary listed after *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* [pp. 23, 231 ff.].

****34-ke-te-si*** PY Es 645, etc. D.p. of agent noun in *-τηρ*. Recipients of *do-so-mo*: cult attendants of Poseidon [p. 222].

****34-ke-u*** PY Ta 709. Description of a tripod, parallel with *ai-ke-u* [pp. 22, 343].

****34-te*** PY An 218. Designation of a man described as the ****34-te* of *e-ko-me-na-ta* [pp. 23, 343].

****34-to-pi*** PY Vn 130. I/l.p. [p. 370].

M ****34-zo*** KN Dx 1253. *Λύκιος* (?) [p. 23].

****35-ka-te-re*** PY Va 15. Occupational description (?). Va 15.1. N.p. (?). *οὔϙʷε ἦλθον* ****35-ka-te-re*; ibid. D.s. (?) designation of *e-ti-wa-jo* (q.v.).

****35-ki-no-o*** PY Vn 46. Small pieces of carpentry [pp. 23, 366].

****35-to*** PY Eb 472. Description of a piece of land; indication of place (?) [pp. 210, 370].

P (KN) ****47-da-de*** (lat.) KN Fp 1 [p. 236].

P (KN) ***47-ku-to-de*** (lat.) KN Fp 13 [p. 236].

P (KN) ***47-so-de*** (lat.) KN Fh 351, etc. [p. 249].

M ***47-ta-qo***[KN X 140.2b[3].

M ***47-ti-jo*** KN V 503.2, K 775.

M ***49-so*** KN Dx 1068.

M ***82-de*** PY Cn 600, etc.

M]***82-ni-jo*** KN Dc 1154.

85-de-pi Ta 642 etc. I.p. Accessorial decorative motif (see following): '(decorated) with rosettes' [pp. 22, 338 f.].

85-de-we-sa PY Ta 709. N.s.f. Item in decoration of a portable hearth: 'with rosettes', *vel sim.* [pp. 32, 343].

M ***85-ja-to*** MY Au 102.5.

M ***85-ke-i-ja-te-we*** PY Ub 1318.

85-ke-i-ja-te-we-i PY An 1281. D.s.

85-[***ke-i-***]***ja-te-wo*** PY Fn 50. G.s. [p. 226].

M ***85-ke-wa*** PY An 192, etc. See also *da-mo-ko-ro* [pp. 89, 288, 340, 372].

M ***85-ri-jo*** KN Da 1080, etc. *Σιάλιος* (?) [pp. 22, 41].

P (KN) ***85-ri-mo-de*** (lat.) KN Fp 13 [pp. 21, 41, 236].

85-ro KN Sd 0402. Part of a chariot described as missing. Perhaps *σίαλος* in some technical sense [pp. 22, 29, 317].

M ***85-ta***$_2$ KN Db 1166.

M ***85-ta-mo*** PY Jn 658.4, etc.

85-te PY Ta 709. An item of hearth furniture: †*σαρτήρ* 'brush '[pp. 22, 343].

M? ***85-te-ra*** MY Oe 128.1, etc.

M ***85-to-a***$_2$***-ta*** PY Cn 314; cf. Cn 938. A herdsman.

M? ***85-to-jo*** PY Eb 156. G.s. Probably name of a *ka-ma* holder. Perhaps shortened form of following.

M? ***85-to-34-ta-ra*** PY Fn 187. Personal name or name of function; listed after *e-pi-tu-ra-jo* in the paragraph of *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (qq.v.) [pp. 231 ff.].

85-u-te KN Od 666. Part of a comment on a deficit: †*σι̯άφετες* 'this year' (?). Cf. *za-we-te* (q.v.) [pp. 22, 107, 240].

ADDENDA TO GLOSSARY

a-na-pu-ke PY Sb 1315. N.p.: *ἀνάμπυκες* 'without headbands' [p. 328].

a-pu-ke PY Sb 1315. N.p.: *ἄμπυκες* 'headbands' [p. 329].

P (PY) ***da-i-ja-ke-re-u*** PY An 218 [pp. 76, 142].

E ***ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o*** PY Ad 671. G.p.f. [p. 114].

ke-ni̯-qe-te-we MY Wt 503. N.p.: *χερνιqʷτῆϝες* 'handbasins' [p. 379].

ku-pa-ro-we PY Fr 1203. N.s. nt.: *κυπαρόϝεν* 'with cyperus perfume' [pp. 245 f., 260].

po-qe-wi-ja PY Sb 1315. N.p.f.

po-qe-wi-ja-i PY An 1282. D.p. *φορgʷηϝίαι* 'halters' [pp. 327 f.].

te-ra-ni-ja PY Sn 64.7. N.s.m. A man is described as the *t.* of *po-so-ri-jo*(*n*) [pp. 143, 288].

P (PY) ***wo-no-qe-we*** PY Un 1193. L.s. See ***wo-qe-we*** [p. 162].

wo-no PY Vn 20.2 *ϝοῖνον* (?) 'wine' [p. 369].

W ***35-ke-ja*** PY Eb 871.

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ADDENDA

p. 20. H. D. Ephron (*Minos* 7. 1961. 63 ff.) supports the value *ju* for *65 but adds no new word identifications.

p. 22. For *85 H. D. Ephron (op. cit. 76–84) has proposed the value *au*, following MDP 3. However, the new value introduces a new principle into the syllabary: there are no signs for *u*-diphthongs. Moreover, it also produces impossible phonemic combinations. Thus KN C 1582 reads]*to-*85-ai-ta*, on which JC comments: '*to* doubtful; no divider, but spacing may imply beginning of new word with *85.' To circumvent the strange succession of syllables]*-to-au-ai-ta* Ephron simply proposes to alter the facts: the word 'perhaps ought to be *au-to-ai-ta*'. As for the juxtaposition of *to-jo-qe au-to-jo* PY Eb 156. 2, no attempt is made to translate this entry in the land register (see p. 205). Instead the comment is offered: 'What more beautiful coincidence could anyone ask for?' A Mycenaean ὁ αὐτός would surprise: on the rarity and lateness even in Homer see Chantraine, *Gram. hom.* ii. 156. It is also hard to believe that an offering table, a table, a chair, and footstools were decorated with 'speech symbols', the more so when to achieve this version a word αὖδος has to be invented with a postulated meaning 'speech symbol'.

On the positive side, *au-te* (PY Ta 709. 2) among the hearth implements interprets well as a derivative in -τήρ from the verb αὔω with a very restricted meaning 'get a light, fetch fire' (*Od.* 5. 490); cf. ἐξαῦσαι, ἐξαυστήρ, καταῦσαι· ἀφανίσαι (Hesych.), πυραύστρα. The interpretation of Eb 156. 2 is difficult because this 'proposal' is not reflected in the consolidated version of Ep 617. 9 (see pp. 205 ff.). I prefer to take *85-to-jo* as the genitive singular of a proper name depending on *ka-ma*. However, the second line of Ep 156. 2 could be taken as a comment on the entry of the first line: *Aἰθίοqʷς ἔχει qʷε θώιοι qʷε αὐτοῖο ka-ma*. But this would be unparalleled; in any case the phonemic difficulties would appear to rule out this proposed value.

p. 98. Fn 187 provides an instructive exception to the statement that all the Fn texts were written by 'hand 45'. It was written by 'hand 2', who was also responsible for the Fr series relating to the issue of perfumed oil for ritual purposes. This harmonizes with the analysis of Fn 187 as a text concerned with issues to cult places and personnel on the 'religious' scale 3 (see p. 233).

p. 107. The statement that KN Od 666 was found in the Eighth Magazine was based on the testimony of *SM* ii. Evans's Handlist shows that it was found in the Fifteenth Magazine. Mackenzie's Day Book reveals that this cluster of tablets occurred in the Fifteenth Magazine at a depth from the surface down to 0·50 m.

p. 118. It has been suggested that the Ab series may be a routine ration document and have nothing to do with the 'emergency'. It is certain, however, that we have virtually the complete document. A 'normal' picture would presumably list the women and children place by place in the two provinces. We cannot ignore the curious distribution and concentration; nor again the references to the rowers; still less the reference to certain of the groups acting as *si-to-ko-wo*.

p. 120. The ration text corresponding to Aa 795 is Ab 558: *pu-ro pa-wo-ke* WOMAN 4 *ko-wa* 2 *ko-wo* 1 WHEAT 1/8 FIGS 1/8. TA DA Rev.: Tallying: twelve strokes.

p. 125. pa., *pe.*, and *ne.* occur as classes of animals. If *85=*sja* (Ak 617), this would give us a further link-up: cf. *sa.* RAM. For the cattle, see pp. 177 f., where the suggestion is made that these may be age classes. The order of entry and the fact that they are all also classified as *di.* is consistent with the interpretation that they are age classes intermediate between adult women and the *ko-wa*, *ko-wo*.

p. 135. The personalities on An 39 rev. connect up with the fragmentary Fn 837, which I restore thus (cf. Gallavotti, ad loc.):

pi-ri[*-ja-me-ja*
i-na
e-ri[*-qi-ja*
a-ko-ṣọ-ta
i-je-re-u a-ṗị-[*me-de*
pu-ko-ro
a-[*ma-tu*]*-na*

Cf. Ep 539. The cluster of religious personnel, apparently mentioned in connexion with musters of craftsmen, is further evidence for the importance of the temple economy.

In An 39 the crosses represent check marks on the original.

p. 138. Note that though *a-ta-o* is stationed at *a-pe-ke-e* he is identified by his place of origin: *a-ta-o ti-nwa-si-jo*.

p. 143. KN G 464 was found in the Fourth Magazine. In this deposit the sacrificial substances figure prominently. See my book *The Find Places of the Knossos Tablets* on this magazine.

p. 150. An 661. 4: H. Mühlestein reads *a-o-ri-jo.*

p. 189. The basic noun *o-na* may be attested in PY Ua 158. 1: *ke-do-jo o-na e-pa$_2$-na-qe* 'purchase(s) and acquisition(s) of K.' See Glossary sub vocc.

p. 202. The similarity between *pi* and *si* suggests a scribal error in Ep 617. 6: *a-pi-to-po-qo* rather than *a-si-to-po-qo.* The resultant title *ἀλφιτοπόϙ^{ω}ος* 'barley cooker' is compatible with the following entry *i-je-ro-wo-ko.* For the well-known ritual use of barley cf. *Od.* 14. 429: *καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε, παλύνας ἀλφίτου ἀκτῇ.*

Apropos of the 'Speiseopfer' Nilsson (*GGR*^{2} 131) writes: 'man streut die Gerste in die auf dem Altar lodernde Flamme und auf den Kopf des Opfertieres.' However, the Mycenaean word suggests that the cult official actually cooked the barley. If PY Un 2 is the record of a complex offering, it may be of significance that barley is listed first. Perhaps as a 'Voropfer' followed by aromatics (see Addendum to p. 259).

p. 205. That *to-jo-qe* is part of the same verb as *to-e* / *to-me* is also indicated by its position in the register. It forms part of the text relating to the holding of *e-u-ru-wo-ta* (Eb 156), who in the corresponding Ep 617. 9 follows immediately after *sa-sa-wo,* apropos of whom the verbs *to-e* and *to-me* are used. Note that the 'proposal' relating to *ai-ti-jo-qo* does not appear in the consolidated register.

p. 215. F. W. Householder (*Glotta* 39. 1960–1. 180) also offers the explanation of *to-so-jo* as *τόσϳον.*

p. 222. The new reading of the place-name on Na 1041, *ko-ro-jo-wo-wo* (see *IP*), is of interest in that both places where *we-da-ne-u* supplies SA appear to be in the Further Province. For *a$_2$-ki-ra* see p. 157; *ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* is listed next to *re*[*-u-ko-to*]*-ro* in Mn 456.

p. 227. Fn 1192 has been joined to Fn 79 (see *IP*).

p. 230. The *po-ro-du-ma* is on ration status 2 (corrected reading of Fn 50. 7). The entry Ep 617. 13 = Eb 839 relating to a man described as *mi-ka-ta pa-de-we-u* 'the *mi-ka-ta* of *pa-dwo-*' is further evidence that the *mi-ka-ta* is a religious official. See pp. 201 ff.

p. 231. Note that the text Fn 187 is in a different hand from the other Fn texts: see Addendum to p. 98.

p. 233. See Addendum to p. 230.

p. 240. Evans's Handlist shows that X 664 and Od 666 were found in the Fifteenth Magazine.

p. 245. The sign *po.* is written after the OIL ideogram. It is thus not strictly an adjunct or 'surcharged' or ligatured. We have transcribed it as OIL+PO.

p. 257. Another Anatolian parallel to *ma-te-re te-i-ja* must be adduced which has the advantage of closer geographical proximity to the Aegean. The Lycian inscription TL 134. 4 contains a reference to the divinity *ẽni mahanahi.* E. Laroche (*Bull. Soc. Ling.* 53. 1958. 190), following Sturtevant (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 59. 1928. 48 ff.), equates *ẽni* with the Luvian *anni-* 'mother' and points out that the title corresponds letter for letter with the Luvian *anniš maššanaššiš* 'Mother of God(s)'. With Sturtevant he would identify the goddess thus named with the Lycian Leto, mother of Apollo. Laroche excludes the equation with the Hittite *šiwanzanna-* on the grounds that this is a purely Hittite compound. Note the theophoric name *Annimaššani.* See further Ph. J. Houwink ten Cate *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period,* 1961, p. 203.

p. 259. On *mu-jo-me-no* see now the discussion of the new reading *mụ-te-ri-ja* in PY Un 443+998 (Glossary sub voc.). If this text is the record of a complex offering, the order of the entries may not be accidental: barley followed by two aromatic entries (cyperus and O.); then food stuffs (flour, olives, a liquid, honey, and figs); then cattle; finally a large quantity of wine (poured on the burnt offering?), with another aromatic (*146) to end off.

p. 259. JC also now reads *e*[*-ra*] U 1 in Un 219. 8: see *IP* ad loc.

p. 260. In Un 443+998 read *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* (l. 2) and *mụ-te-ri-ja* for BARLEY 1. The text thus contains three festival names: *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja, po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja,* and *mụ-te-ri-ja.* For discussion, see Glossary sub vocc.

p. 260. o-na may be feminine: cf. *ὦνος, ὠνή* (see Glossary).

p. 278. In *ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo* it is doubtful which is noun and which

adjective. Thus an alternative rendering would be 'in the service of the golden shrine'. *i-je-ro* as a noun may appear in the OIL tablet KN Fp 363. 2: *da-*83-ja-de | i-je-ro*.

p. 289. The comment *qe-te-o* KN J 693 (written suprascript) suggests that the bronze recorded is a means of payment rather than pieces attached to the tunic.

In J 58 *bis* the ideogram BRONZE is now doubted and instead RO 3 is read (*Nestor* I. X. 61, p. 154). This change prompts reconsideration of its classification and also of the units of weight at the lower end of the scale. The tablet was found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, and this hoard included the Np series, recording small amounts of SAFFRON, where the unit RO also figures. VC (*Docs.* p. 55) regard RO as a variant of the third unit of weight, but the facts suggest that it may be a unit intermediate between the fourth and fifth. To clarify the presentation the transcriptions OZ, DR, RO, and QI will be used for the successive units beginning with the third unit of the system, as at present in use.

The revised entry of J 58 *bis* reads DR 1 RO 3. Np 271 presents RO 1 QI 1, but Np 270 DR 2 QI 4. RO 1 occurs alone on Np 268. DR entries are preceded by OZ entries on Np 274, 275, etc. QI entries figure by themselves on Np 269, 272, 277, and 5047. Thus we have the series OZ, DR, RO, QI. Since RO 3 occurs there are likely to be 4(+) RO to one DR. In view of QI 4, the QI will be 1/5 or less of a RO. A reasonable guess at the series would be 1 OZ = 12 DR = 48 RO = 288 QI. In other words the series is: $1, \frac{1}{12}, \frac{1}{12\times4}, \frac{1}{12\times4\times6}$. There remains the sign (here transcribed ?) recorded by VC as a variant of the smallest unit (QI). It is used in J 693 in the measurement of *sa-pa* (or its payment): DR 2 ? 1. Thus it occupies the same position in the series as RO; further, it resembles RO in shape, the upper part of the vertical line being a kind of crook. It may well be that RO is a simplified form of this sign.

p. 300. The new finds at Pylos (*AJA* 64. 1960. 153–64; 65. 1961. 153–63; 66. 1962. 145–52) provide further evidence that *146 is a substance used in offerings. This is clearly so in PY Un 6 (revised text *AJA* 66. 1962. 151). The two divinities concerned are *po-se-dạ-*[*o-ne* and *pe-re-* **82* (in the same order as Tn 316 rev.). First animal offerings are recorded to each god separately; then in a new paragraph *146, *166, MA+RU, and A+RE+PA, followed by animals.

In Ua 1413 (see *IP*) *146 and *166 are recorded with a text *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro po-re-no-tu-*[. The first two words indicate a destination

of an offering in Fr 1220 and 1226, while the last word recalls *po-re-na* and *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* (see Glossary sub vocc.).

Mn 1411, according to Ma L, by hand and form of tablet belongs to Mn 1368. It reads:

ṭi-[
e-re-de ṿạ-[
ma-se-de ro-u-si-[

e-re-de was known from PY Fr 1228. Our interpretation as the allative of *"Ελος* receives some support from the parallel *ma-se-de*, for *ma-so*[is read in PY Vn 48, where again the offering text is clear (LP 23. 14 f.). *ṿạ*-[may be completed *wa*-[*na-ka-te*; in this case the lower entry may be *ro-u-si*-[*jo-i* (cf. *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i* PY Fr 1216). *wa-na*]-*ka-te* is a likely restoration in Mb 1402, recording *146 5; and in Mb 1366 (recording *146 2) *di-wi-jo* is likely to be an alternative spelling of *di-u-jo* (Tn 316 rev. 8; cf. *me-wi-jo*, *me-u-jo*). This gives a further link of this hoard with the subject of Tn 316.

Three times *146 is associated with *166 (INGOT+WE). At Knossos the latter occurs in a dated offering context on Oa 7374:

ka-ra]-*ẹ-ṛi-jo me*-[*no*
po-ti-ni-ja INGOT+WE *ṇṇ*[

The same ideogram recurs on KN Oa 734 *bis*. This fragment was found in the Throne Room area and belongs with Oa 733 and 734, both of which have the ideogram INGOT+PE. This is a further link with *146, since this, too, is surcharged with PE on M 7373. The conclusion to be drawn is that both *166 and *146 occur in forms indicated by the surcharged signs WE and PE. That *146 is a textile and *166 a bronze ingot seems unlikely. The analysis of the PY Ma set indicated that *146 is an agricultural product. There it is regularly listed first. Now we find it given priority in the entries of what appears to be a 'Voropfer'. Note that in Un 6 after *166 there occurs MA+RU, which has been diagnosed as some kind of aromatic. It is appropriate to this general picture, emerging from many independent lines of inquiry, that the 'Voropfer' should end with A+RE+PA 'unguent'.

p. 304. In the Ma series the substances *A* and *D* are simply recorded by numerals, but *B*, *C*, and *E* are calculated in units corresponding to the second unit of weight. It is noteworthy that the major unit of weight is not used in these returns even when the number exceeds 29. The same unit is also used for the measurement of the spice *po-ni-ki-jo* in the KN Og series.

p. 311. The order of entries suggests that *qo-u-ko-ro* Nn 831. 5 is a proper name. The text first records seven named individuals and then the *ko-re-te*, the shepherds, and the bronze-smith.

p. 312. *i-su-ku-wo-do-to* may be a proper name.

p. 318. In view of the uncertainty of the value of *35, **35-ki-no-o* should be kept separate from *ai-ki-no-o*, which may be a proper name: cf. *a-re-ki-si-to-jo* Se 1053. This would explain the suprascript position in Se 879.

p. 328. For the text of Sb 1315 see now *IP*.

p. 331. The entry of KN Sc 266 is instructive: TUNIC+QE 1 QE ZE 1. The scribe, having entered one corslet, makes explicit that it consists of a pair of *qe-ro*$_2$.

p. 341. The name in PY Fn 324. 2 could equally well be completed [*a*]-*mo-ke-re-we-i*; cf. Nn 831. 3.

p. 341. *to-qi-d-* could be interpreted *στορq^{w}hίδ-*. For the various meanings of *στρόφις*, *στροφίς* see *LSJ* sub voc. For **streg^{w}h* see Glossary sub vocc. *ku-su-to-ro-pa*$_2$ and *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no*.

p. 344. *δέπας* is possibly another Luvian loan-word. On *tepas-* 'an open bowl or cup' see E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*, i 96. Note that the Luvian word is also an *s*-stem.

p. 361. The dangers of argument from archaeological silence have been underlined by the discovery of the Dendra corslet: see provisionally *Archaeological Reports* for 1960–1, 9 f. The type of armour, despite statements by N. Verdelis and M. F. S. Hood (ibid.), does not correspond with that recorded in the Linear B tablets. Nothing corresponds to the 20+10 larger and smaller *a-pa-wo-ta*, and nothing in these stereotyped tablet entries corresponds to the three horizontal metal strips in front and behind (ibid. 10, fig. 8). Moreover, the helmet in this find appears to have been of the boar's tusk type, whereas the Linear B type has 4 (once 2) *o-pa-wo-ta*. Hood would equate the Dendra corslet with the Homeric corslet having *γύαλα* and *ζωστήρ*. We should then have the anomaly that Homer describes a corslet equatable with one dated to LH IIb–IIIa (1450–1400 B.C.), which exhibits greater metallurgical sophistication than the somewhat primitive tunic with attached small *o-pa-wo-ta* such as is regularly described in a mainland archive of *c.* 1200 B.C. We emphasize

again that the latter type of corslet accounts for the great numbers of *ra-pte-re* in the craftsman musters. The find circumstances and the evidence for dating the Dendra corslet will deserve careful scrutiny when the definitive publication is to hand.

S. Marinatos (*Praktika* 37. 1962. 72–80) seeks to distinguish two types of corslet in the KN tablets on the basis of the ideograms. The great majority of the Sc tablets show a corslet of the Pylian type with horizontal bands. But four fragmentary tablets have CORSLET+QE. However, these tablets were written in a different hand, and the difference of the ideogram is simply one of scribal habit: this man also draws a simpler horse without the triple-tufted mane, MO without the laterals on the three branches, and a simpler form of ZE (cf. 266 with 222, and, for the combination of traits, the fragmentary 220, which on these criteria will belong to the CORSLET+QE scribe). The scribe who surcharges his ideogram QE naturally does not cover it up with transverse lines representing the bands. Marinatos interprets this mutual exclusiveness of lines and QE in scribal hands as further evidence for real differences. He next identifies *qe-ro*$_2$ as *γύαλον*, despite the plural form *qe-ro*$_2$. The fact that the numeral is missing after *o-pa-wo-ta* in KN S 8100 allows the statement that the suit of armour comprises 'a limited number of metal bands (*o-pa-wo-ta*) for the protection of belly and hips'. The picture which emerges resembles, of course, the Dendra corslet; but in fact this object has been used to interpret the tablets, so that the argument is circular. The further conclusion that the corslet tablets of Knossos are of the same date as the Dendra corslet provides an opportunity of archaeological verification. The Sc set was found on both sides of a low seat or bench in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, which had been constructed of re-used steps taken from the stairway leading up to the Piano Nobile from the South Propylaeum. The stairs had been dismantled and stones had been used to lay the foundations of a rectangular building just to the south of the Room of the Chariot Tablets, the whole being covered up with a layer of 'clay' (the so-called Central Clay Area of the first year's excavations). As for V 789, this formed part of a deposit of tablets found in the Northern Entrance Passage above the LM III roadway in conjunction with a great seal to the north-east of the Room of the Spiral Cornice. Deep below this roadway a test excavation of 1913 recovered *inter alia* LM III sherds (for details see *The Find Places of the Knossos Tablets*).

p. 367. The numerals in Vn 46. 5 are now read 80 and 40 (see *IP*): this gives a 2:1 relationship between **35-ki-no-o* and *o-pi-te-te-re*.

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